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Reconstruction of Andhra Chronology

By GIRINDRASHEKHAR BOSE

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Names and references mentioned only once are given in full in the body of the text and are not included here.

2. *Authors' Names* are indicated by three capital letters each.

BLI: Bhagvanlal Indraji.
 DRB: D. R. Bhandarkar.
 EJR: E. J. Rapson.
 MMW: Monier Monier-Williams.
 RDB: Rakhal Das Banerji.
 VAS: V. A. Smith.

3. *Books* are indicated by a capital letter followed by two small letters.

Bgp: Bhāgavat Purāṇa.
 Cca: Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western
 Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty. E. J. Rapson. Published
 by the Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1908.
 Dtp: Dvātrīṁsat Puttalikā, complete works of Kālidāsa.
 Published by S. C. Chakravarti, Calcutta.
 Ehi: The Early History of India. V. A. Smith. Revised by
 S. M. Edwardes. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924, 4th Edition.
 Klp: Kalki Purāṇa.
 Mbh: Mahābhārata.
 Mtp: Matsya Purāṇa.
 Ppv: Purāṇapravēśa. Bengali. Girindrashekhar Bose. Pub-
 lished by M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Ltd., 15, College Square,
 Calcutta, 1934.
 Rgm: Raghuvarṇsam. Kālidāsa.
 Sed: A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Monier Monier-Williams.
 Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1899.
 Skp: Skanda Purāṇa.
 Vap: Vāyu Purāṇa.
 Vip: Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

4. *Journals* have been indicated by groups of appropriate small letters each preceded by a j.

jasb: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
 jbras: Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic
 Society.

jbors: Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
 jia: Indian Antiquary.
 jras: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

5. *Reports, Proceedings, Lists, etc.* are indicated by at least two small letters each.

ap: Appendix to Reconstruction of Andhra Chronology.

aswi: Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India.

bg: Bombay Gazetteer.

ei: Epigraphia Indica.

ls: Lüders' list of Brahmi Inscriptions. Appendix to Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. X.

6. *Publishers, Editors, Translators, etc.* are indicated by a single small letter preceded by a hyphen.

-a: Ānandāśram publications.

-b: Baṅgavāsi publications.

-w: Translated or quoted by H. Wilson and edited by F. Hall.

7. *Editions* are indicated by Arabic numerals, *e.g.*, Second edition: 2nd.

8. *Volumes, Books, Chapters and Sections* when requiring a special mention are indicated by Roman numerals, *e.g.*, Fourth volume: IV. Third Book: III. Puranic adhyāyas are indicated by numbers, *e.g.*, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Baṅgavāsi publication, Fourth Book, Twenty-fourth adhyāya, śloka 32: Vip-b. IV. 24. 32.

9. *Pages, Lines, Ślokas, Foot-notes* are indicated by numbers after suitable small letter or letters, *e.g.*, Third page: p. 3. Pages 219 and following: pp. 219-. Lines 4 to 6: ll. 4-6. Foot-note No. 3: n. 3. Ślokas 246 and following: 246-.

10. *Paragraphs* of Reconstruction of Andhra Chronology are indicated by numbers within brackets, *e.g.*, 23rd Para.: (23).

11. *Dates.* Years elapsed after Christ: a.C. Years elapsed before Christ: b.C. Actual dates in Christian era: A.D. or B.C.

12. *Sequence of Mention.* The single small letter symbols for publishers, editors, etc. which follow the symbols for the names of the books are separated from the latter by a hyphen. All other individual symbols are separated from one another by full stops.

Author. Book-Publisher, Editor or Translator. Year of Publication. Edition. Book, Chapter or Section. Page. Line. Foot-note.

One or more of the above items may be omitted. Instead of page numbers chapter and verse numbers may be introduced, *e.g.*, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Baṅgavāsi publication, fourth book, twenty-fourth chapter, verses 34 to 42: Vip-b. IV. 24. 34-42.

1. PRESENT POSITION OF ANDHRA CHRONOLOGY

1. *Andhra Chronology requires Revision.* The chronology of the Andhra kings of ancient India as accepted at present requires a drastic revision.

2. *Khāravela and Śātakarnī. 168 B.C.* According to the account of the modern historical scholars Aśoka's great empire began to show signs of disintegration towards

I. Summary of the latter part of his reign. The Kalingas and the Andhras under Kṣemarāja and Simuka respectively broke away from the Maurya yoke about 240 to 230 B.C.

Kṣemarāja's name is to be found in the Hatigumpha inscription in which his grandson Khāravela's military conquests and other activities are recorded. The inscription is dated in the 13th year of Khāravela's reign and in the year 165 of Rāja Muniya, i.e., of Candragupta. Assuming Candragupta's date of accession to be 322 B.C., Khāravela's accession would be placed in $(322 - 165 + 13 =) 170$ B.C. In the second year of his reign, i.e., in 168 B.C., Khāravela defied Śātakarnī 'the protector of the West'. Śātakarnī's name is to be found in another inscription at Nanaghat in which his father's name Simuka is also mentioned.

3. *Simuka the first Andhra King. 230 B.C.* The purāṇas give a dynastic list of the Andhra kings together with the regnal period of each. Although the puranic account of the Andhras cannot be admitted in its entirety the portions that do not come into conflict with epigraphic evidence may be accepted. In the puranic Andhra dynastic list we find the names of the first three kings as Śiśuka or Śipraka, Kṛṣṇa and Śātakarnī in order of their succession. Śiśuka is the corrupt form of Simuka of the inscription. The name of the second king Kṛṣṇa also is to be found in another inscription. The purāṇas state that Kṛṣṇa was the brother of Simuka and that Śātakarnī was the son of Simuka. This latter statement is supported by inscriptive evidence. Epigraphic considerations show that all the inscriptions bearing the names of Simuka, Śātakarnī and Kṛṣṇa belong to the second century before Christ. The beginning of Andhra reign is thus to be fixed at about 230 B.C. which would be the time of Simuka. The Andhras therefore were contemporaries of the later Mauryas, of the Sungas who came after them and of the Kanvas who followed the Sungas. According to the purāṇas the total period of reign of the Andhra dynasty is about 450 years and the number of kings 30. These figures can be accepted. The purāṇas are however obviously wrong in stating that the first Andhra king Śiśuka murdered the last Kāṇva king who reigned till about 28 B.C., and usurped the

throne, and that the Andhra dynasty succeeded the Kāṇvas. Some later Andhra king might have killed the last Kāṇva.

4. *Gautamīputra and Puṇumāvi.* 106 A.D.-150 A.D. The next Andhra kings of any importance whose names appear in inscriptions are Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and his son Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṇumāvi who are to be identified with kings Nos. 23 and 24 of the purāṇas. Inscriptions at Nasik and Karle show that these kings were contemporaries of certain satrap kings named Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and Rudradāman who ruled over western India at the time. The dates of these western satraps have been preserved in inscriptions and coins. This evidence proves that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṇumāvi must have reigned during the period 106 A.D. to 150 A.D. Ptolemy, who flourished about 120 A.D. to 160 A.D., mentions Puṇumāvi as if he were his contemporary. A Nasik inscription records that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was a great conqueror 'who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas who rooted out the Khakharāta family; who restored the glory of the Śātavāhana race'. The Andhra kings belong to the clan known variously as Śātikarna, Śātakarni, Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana. Nahapāna the western satrap belonged to the Khakharāta or Kṣaharata family. Thus it seems it was Nahapāna that was uprooted by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi; an evidence of this fact is to be found in the discovery of a large number of coins of Nahapāna struck over with the legend of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as a sign of his conquest. The twenty-seventh king in the puranic list is Yajñāśri. Numerous coins and inscriptions mentioning the name of this king have been discovered. He seems to have been also a very powerful monarch ruling over extensive territories.

5. *End of the Andhras.* 225 A.D. Various inscriptions and coins containing the names of other Andhra kings such as those of Cuṭukadānanda, Mudānanda, Gautamīputra Viśvāyakura, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Viśvāyakura, Māṭharīputra Śivalakura, Śivaśri Śātakarṇi, Śri Candra Śati, Catarpana, Śri Rudra Śātakarṇi, Śri Kṛṣṇa Śātakarṇi, Śri Candra, Śivaskanda Varman and a few others have been found. Some of these kings have been identified according to the puranic list while the positions of others remain uncertain. The Andhra kingdom came to a close about 225 A.D. This was followed by a dark period in Indian history. Vincent Smith writes, 'But the third century after Christ is one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history, and almost every event of that time is concealed from view by an impenetrable veil of oblivion'. (Ehi. p. 226.)

6. *Reference.* This short account of the Andhras has been culled from Rapson's 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra

Dynasty' and Vincent Smith's 'The Early History of India'. It will refresh the memory of the reader and will serve as an introduction to the discussion that follows.

7. *Andhra People and Andhra Country.* Mention of the

Andhras is to be found in ancient Sanskrit literature in many places, the oldest being the well-known passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The Andhra people have been mentioned also in the *Mahābhārata*. (Mbh-b. Sabha. 31. 71 and Bhisma. 9. 49.)

The *purāṇas* however form the main depository of our information regarding the ancient Andhras. The ancient Andhras, as their present-day descendants do, lived in the deltas of the Godavari and the Krishna rivers on the eastern sea coast of India. The Andhra country, *i.e.*, the part of India where these people lived, has been called the *Andhra Deśa*. The Andhras have often been in later times grouped together with the Kalingas who were their neighbours and who occupied the territory to the north of the *Andhra Deśa*.

8. *Bali and Andhra Deśa.* The *purāṇas* mention a king of the Anu dynasty named Bali who was a contemporary of the Ikṣvāku king Māndhātr. Bali's kingdom lay to the south of the Vindhya Ranges. Bali had five sons begotten by the sage Dirghatamas through his queen Sudesna. These sons were named Āṅga, Baṅga, Kaliṅga, Suhma and Pundra. Each of them became the ruler of the province named after him. Apparently these provinces had formed part of Bali's empire. The *Bhāgavat purāṇa* mentions a sixth son who has been called Oudra in some manuscripts and Andhra in others. (Bgp-b. 9. 23. 5, 6.) The *purāṇas* specifically mention the fact that Bali's 'sons' were Kṣatriyas. (Vis-b. IV. 18. 1; Vap-a. 99. 28.) If we reject the doubtful *Bhāgavat* tradition and accept the other account we may say that the earliest Andhra kingdom must have been formed long after the establishment of the kingdom of Āṅga, Baṅga, Kaliṅga, Suhma and Paundra. In early times, previous to its consolidation as a separate kingdom, Andhra Deśa formed part of the Anu empire under Titikṣu who has been described in the *purāṇas* as a renowned king ruling in the east. (Mtp-a. 48. 22.) Bali was Titikṣu's great-great-grandson. After Bali the Anu empire was divided among his sons as mentioned and Andhra Deśa seems to have been included in the kingdom of Kaliṅga.

9. *Ancient Andhra Kingdom.* Andhra people and Andhra kingdom are not identical entities and the further distinction between an Andhra king (*i.e.*, a king belonging to the Andhra race) and a king of the Andhras (who may not necessarily be an Andhra himself) should be kept in mind. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of the Andhra people as base descendants of Viśvāmitra. They have been classed with the uncivilized Pulindas. (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. vii. 18.) On the other hand the early kings who ruled

over the Andhras belonged to the Anu family and were Kṣatriyas. No reference to any name of any Andhra king is to be found in Sanskrit literature, as far as I know, down to the time of the *Kaṇvas*. There seems to be no doubt, however, that a separate Andhra kingdom was an established fact before the *Mahabharatan* war and rulers of the Andhra people existed either as independent kings or as feudatories to some sovereign power. Reference to such rulers is to be found in the *Mahābhārata* in the passages previously cited.

10. *Kālidāsa* does not mention the Andhras. Curiously enough in describing Raghu's military conquests of different people *Kālidāsa* does not mention the Andhras in his *Raghuvamīsa*. Raghu's victorious army penetrated into the eastern kingdoms bordering on the sea, conquered Suhma, Baṅga, Kaliṅga and Pandya. (Rgm. 4. 32. 49.) The Pandya territory formed the extreme south of India. The Pandyas are to be distinguished from the Paundras. *Kālidāsa*'s omission of the mention of the Andhras is remarkable. If *Kālidāsa* were a contemporary of the Guptas he must have been familiar with the great Andhra tradition.

11. *Omission of the name Andhra in Ancient Reference.* One also misses the name of Andhra in many passages in the *purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* where one would expect it to be present. It is possible that although the Andhras had existed as a people for a very long time past no separate Andhra kingdom was formed till about the time of the *Mahabharatan* war. This may be the reason why the name Andhra is not found associated with Kaliṅga in literary references to early period. In references to later periods these names often occur together. The first literary mention of an Andhra king as distinguished from a king of the Andhras is to be found in the *purāṇas* in connection with the description of the Andhra dynasty.

12. *Puranic Account of Mauryas and Sungas.* The *purāṇas* are unanimous in asserting that one Sindhuka or Śipraka or Śiśuka, who belonged to the Andhra race and who was a servant (apparently a provincial governor) of the last *Kaṇva* king, overthrew his master and occupied the throne. It should be remembered that according to the *purāṇas* the empire ruled by the Mauryas passed on to the Sungas. The first Sunga king Pusyamitra was a provincial governor or a general under the last Maurya king Brhadratha. Pusyamitra killed Brhadratha and exalted his own son Agnimitra to the throne and governed the empire in the name of the latter. Pusyamitra has been described by *Kālidāsa* in his *Mālavikāgnimitra* as 'senāpati' or commander-in-chief of his son Agnimitra. Matsya in referring to Pusyamitra (Mtp. a. 272. 27) says 'kārayisyati bai rājyam', which means 'caused the empire to be governed by another'. The dethroning of Maurya Brhadratha by his 'servant' Pusya-

mitra had many precedents. Candragupta who was apparently a governor of the Nandas had usurped the empire of his master; so also had Pradyota's father Munika overthrown his master Ripuñjaya and installed his own minor son in his place. It seems that in deference to public opinion neither Munika nor his later prototype Pusyamitra ventured to occupy the throne themselves. Both of them made their sons emperors.

13. *Kaṇvas and Andhras.* History repeated itself again when Vāsudeva the first Kaṇva, who was a servant of the last Suiga king, murdered his master and occupied the throne. The last Kaṇva king Suśarman in his turn was killed by his 'servant' Śipraka or Simuka the Andhra who stepped into the throne and became the founder of the Andhra dynasty. The purāṇas are unanimous in asserting that Sindhuka or Śipraka belonged to the Andhra race (Vap-a. 99. 348; Mtp-a. 273. 2; Vip-w. IV. p. 194) and that it was he that had usurped the throne by killing the last Kaṇva king. The purāṇas do not state that the Maurya empire broke up after the death of Aśoka as has been supposed by modern scholars. The puranic description implies that the empire in a more or less complete form passed from the hands of the Mauryas to those of the Sungas and from the Sungas to the Kaṇvas and from the Kaṇvas to the Andhras.

14. *Modern Version of Andhra History.* Modern scholars are of opinion that the Andhras did not come after the Kaṇvas and that the puranic version is wrong in asserting that it was the first Andhra king who had killed Suśarman the last Kaṇva. Vincent Smith writes 'The Purāṇas treat the whole Āndhra dynasty as following the Kānva, and consequently identify the slayer of the last Kānva prince with Simuka or Sipraka, the first of the Āndhra line. But, as a matter of fact, the independent Āndhra dynasty must have begun about 240 or 230 B.C., long before the suppression of the Kānvas about 28 B.C. and the Āndhra king who slew Suśarman cannot possibly have been Simuka. It is impossible to affirm with certainty who he was, because the dates of accession of the several Andhra princes are not known with accuracy. All that can be affirmed at present is that the slayer of Suśarman, the last Kānva, apparently must have been one or other of three Āndhra kings, namely Nos. 11, 12 or 13. The year 28 B.C. may be accepted as the approximately true date of the extinction of the Kānva dynasty; because it depends, not on the duration assigned to each several Āndhra reign, but on the periods of 112 and 45 years respectively allotted to the Sunga and Kānva dynasties, which seem worthy of credence; and this date, 28 B.C. apparently must fall within the limits of one or other of the three Āndhra reigns named above. Foot-note: close of Maurya dynasty; c. 185 B.C. from which deduct $112+45 = 157$; leaving 28'. (Ehi. pp. 216, 217.)

15. *Puranic Account and Inscriptions.* The reasons that have led modern scholars to reject portions of the puranic account are, as already stated, mainly based on inscriptions and numismatic evidence. The puranic version of Andhra history has been corroborated in certain

IV. Reasons for
Acceptance of Por-
tions only of
Puranic Account

particulars by the discovery of Andhra coins and inscriptions. No modern scholar is therefore disposed to reject the puranic story wholesale. If we neglect the purāṇas altogether there will not be much to write about the Andhras or, in fact, about any ancient Indian royal dynasty that would be considered history. All workers on Andhra history have thus made efforts to correlate their numismatic and other findings with the puranic account. They have rejected those portions of the purāṇa story only that come into conflict with their own conclusions. There is nothing in the purāṇas about the Andhras that is inherently impossible. No Andhra king has been endowed with any fabulous longevity nor has any been made the hero of an impossible feat.

16. *Purāṇas partly accepted.* It will be noticed that scholars like Vincent Smith, although they reject the puranic order of dynastic succession, have accepted the statement of the purāṇas that Śiśuka or Simuka was the founder of the Andhra dynasty. That Simuka killed Suśarman is not believed, but the statement that Suśarman was killed by an Andhra king has been accepted and the slayer has been sought to be identified with the Andhra king No. 11, 12 or 13. So also the total period of Andhra reign, as mentioned in the purāṇas, has been held to be true but not the reigning periods for the individual kings. Rapson writes 'The latest inscriptional date for the reign of Gautamiputra is the year 24 = A.D. 130+x in a postscript to the Nasik edict above referred to. This date is interesting, as it affords a means by which the evidence of the Purāṇas can be tested and is found wanting, for with great unanimity they seem to agree in assigning a reign of 21 years only to this king'. (Cca. p. xxx.) It seems that modern scholars have accepted, rejected, amended and modified puranic data as they suited their own conclusions. All this may appear to be making wild work of the purāṇas but if we remember the generally unrecognized dependence of modern scholars on puranic materials for their historical account of ancient India and their eagerness to correlate puranic data with their own we can very well understand their ways of handling the purāṇas and their express attitude towards them. (85, 86, 87.)

17. *Inscriptional Evidence is really an Interpretation.*

V. Limitations
of Inscriptional and
Numismatic Data

Inscriptional and numismatic data by themselves can at most give us a mere skeleton or more correctly a part of a skeleton of history in the majority of cases. It is their interpretation that lends to them their first fleshy covering. This

interpretation is known to the historian as inscriptional or numismatic *evidence*. Although the inscriptional datum itself can seldom be challenged a good deal of uncertainty creeps into its interpretation at times. This is the reason why different scholars have come to different conclusions starting from the same numismatic or inscriptional data. This fact is very often forgotten and an undue reliance is placed on so-called inscriptional *evidence* which is really an interpretation. It is necessary to reiterate this as, although scholars are alive to this possibility of error, a warning is necessary because, when it comes to the practical application of this principle, mistakes are frequently made and a mere probability is often posited as a certainty. I shall have occasion to cite illustrations later on.

18. *Relevant Inscriptional and Numismatic Records.* Quite a fair amount of material in the shape of inscriptions and coins is now available for the elucidation of the history of the Andhras. Instead of going through the list of all the inscriptional and numismatic data, it will be profitable for the present to examine only those that have a bearing on Andhra *chronology*, so that we may test the reliability of the conclusions of modern scholars with respect to cases in which they have differed from the *purāṇas*. Inscriptional and numismatic details that are not essential to the purpose of this discussion have been left out here, but it should be noted that no serious student can afford to disregard any such detail or material, however insignificant it might appear to be at first sight. I should therefore urge my readers to turn to the full original sources before coming to a decision regarding any disputed point raised in this article.

19. The main arguments of modern scholars in fixing Andhra chronology may be summarized as follows:—

19 (1). *Literary Evidence.* The Andhras are an ancient VI. Modern people as is proved by old literary evidence, Scholars and *viz.*, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 18. This work Andhra Chronology was composed prior to 500 B.C.

19 (2). *Hatigumpha Inscription.* The Udayagiri or Hatigumpha inscription of Khāravela is dated in the year 165-164 of Raja Muriya, *i.e.*, Candragupta. Since Candragupta's accession to the throne took place about 322 B.C. the date of the inscription is about 157 B.C. This date corresponds to the 13th year of Khāravela's reign. Rapson puts the date of Khāravela's accession at 170 B.C. and Vincent Smith at c. 171 B.C. In his second year, *i.e.*, about 168 B.C., Khāravela defied Śātakarni who is called 'the protector of the West'. This Śātakarni has been identified with the third Andhra king of the same name in the puranic list. Rapson writes 'The date c. 168 B.C. as that of a year falling within the reign of this Śātakarni, is the only fixed chronological point in the early history of the Andhra dynasty'. (Cca. p. xviii.)

Khāravela's inscription shows that he was the third king of the Cheta or Chaita dynasty of Kalinga. So his grandfather must have been the person who broke free from Maurya overlordship; his period would approximately be c. 232 B.C. (Cca. p. xvii), and this would coincide with the period of Aśoka's death immediately after which disintegration of the Maurya empire was likely to have set in.

19 (3). *Andhras and Kaliṅgas.* It is likely that the Andhras, like their neighbours the Kaliṅgas, declared independence about the same time so that the first Andhra king, called Śiśuka or Śipraka by the purāṇas, and who may be assumed to have been the same person as Simuka of the Nanaghat inscription, may be supposed to have been a contemporary of Khāravela's grandfather the first Cheta king of the Kaliṅgas. Vincent Smith says 'the independent Andhra dynasty must have begun about 240 or 230 B.C.'. (Ehi. pp. 216, 217.)

19 (4). *Śātakarṇi and Simuka.* The purāṇas say that the first Andhra king was Śiśuka, the second his brother Kṛṣṇa and the third Śiśuka's son Śātakarṇi. Since this Śātakarṇi is the third in succession from Śiśuka, the contemporary of the first Chaita king, he must be the Śātakarṇi of the Khāravela inscription, Khāravela being also the third king counting from the same point of time. It is therefore clear that the Śātakarṇi of the Khāravela inscription is the third Andhra king of the purāṇas, and his date is 168 B.C. as already stated.

19 (5). *Nanaghat Inscriptions.* The Nanaghat inscription that indicates that Śātakarṇi was the son of Simuka the founder of the Andhra dynasty, is written in a script which is similar to the Asokan script. There is another inscription at Nanaghat which bears the name of king 'Kanha (Kṛṣṇa) of the Śātavāhana race'. This Kanha is the second Andhra king Kṛṣṇa of the purāṇas. Rapson quotes Bühler as follows: 'According to the epigraphical evidence, these documents may be placed a little but not much later than Aśoka's and Daśaratha's edicts. But what, in my opinion, most clearly proves that they belong to one of the first Andhras is that their graphic peculiarities fully agree with those of the Nasik inscription (No. 1) of Kanha or Kṛṣṇa's reign'. Rapson continues: 'The Nāsik inscription referred to bears the name of "King Kanha (Kṛṣṇa) of the Śātavāhana race," and it was assigned by Bühler, on epigraphical grounds, to "the times of the last Mauryas or the earliest Sungas, in the beginning of the second century B.C.".' (Cca. p. xix.)

19 (6). *Gautamiputra and Uṣabhadāta.* At Nasik an inscription has been discovered which is dated in the year 18 of Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarṇi. (Is. 1125.) Another inscription has been found at Karle which is also very likely dated in the year 18 of Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarṇi. (Is. 1105.) Both these inscriptions record the gift made by Gautamiputra of lands which had just previously belonged to Rṣabhadatta (Uṣabhadāta).

The first inscription specifically mentions the name of Rśabhadatta. We can get Rśabhadatta's date from other inscriptions. At Nasik an inscription has been found in which is recorded the construction of a cave by Rśabhadatta, son-in-law of Nahapāna. (ls. 1131.) Other inscriptions of Rśabhadatta have been found bearing the dates 41, 42 and 45. (ls. 1133.) An inscription at Junnar has been discovered executed by Ayama, minister of Nahapāna, dated year 46. (ls. 1174.) These dates are very likely in Śaka era and therefore 41 to 46 would correspond to 119 to 124 A.D. We learn from another inscription that Gautamīputra Śri Śātakarnī extirpated the Khakharāta family to which Nahapāna belonged. Nahapāna's coins are found restruck by Gautamīputra.

19 (6a). *Gautamīputra's Date.* Rapson writes 'Gautamīputra's conquest of Nahapāna seems undoubtedly to have taken place in the 18th year of his reign. We therefore have the equation:—Gautamīputra's year 18 = 124 A.D. + x. On this synchronism, on the recorded regnal dates in the inscriptions of other Andhra sovereigns, and on the known date 72 = 150 A.D. of Rudradāman as Mahāksatrapa, rests at present the whole foundation of the later Andhra chronology'. (Cca. p. xxvii.) Gautamīputra Śri Śātakarnī's date of accession would thus be 106 A.D. + x. (Cca. p. xxx.) Gautamīputra figures as the 23rd king in the puranic list.

19 (6b). *Rudradāman and Pułumāvi.* There is an inscription in the Girnar mountain executed by Rudradāman and dated in the year 72 = 150 A.D. in which is recorded that he twice defeated Śātakarnī the lord of Dakṣināpatha. (ls. 965.) Rudradāman was the grandson of Caṣṭana and the father-in-law of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pułumāvi (the son of Gautamīputra Śri Śātakarnī) whom he defeated.

19 (6c). *Pułumāvi the son of Gautamīputra.* A Nasik inscription dated in the year 19 of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri Pułumāvi executed by his grandmother Queen Gautamī Balaśrī enables us to make out that Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri Pułumāvi was the son of Gautamīputra Śri Śātakarnī. (ls. 1123.)

19 (6d). *Kings No. 23 and No. 24.* Gautamīputra Śri Śātakarnī and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri Pułumāvi have been identified with kings No. 23 and No. 24 of the purāṇas. They have been called respectively Gautamīputra and Pulomā in the purāṇas. Their dates would thus lie between 106 A.D. and 150 A.D.

19 (7). *Ptolemy and the Andhras.* The Greek geographer Ptolemy, who died after 161 A.D. and who lived at Alexandria for forty years, writes about Pułumāvi and Caṣṭana in a way that seems to indicate they were contemporaries with him. (Ehi. p. 232; Cca. p. xxxix.)

19 (8). *Traikūtaka dynasty.* In Mahārāstra the Andhras were succeeded by a dynasty of Ābhiras who very likely belonged

to the Traikūṭaka dynasty. Inscriptions and coins show that the date of the beginning of the Traikūṭakas is 294 A.D. (Cca. p. xliv.)

20. *Andhra Reign. 230 B.C. to 225 A.D.* Vincent Smith writes 'the long series of Āndhra kings came to end about A.D. 225 The testimony of the Purāṇas that the dynasty endured for either 456 or 460 years, or, in round numbers, four centuries and a half, appears to be substantially accurate. The number of the kings also appears to be correctly stated as having been thirty'. (Ehi. p. 224.)

The Andhra dynasty is thus supposed to have reigned from 230 B.C. to 225 A.D., *i.e.*, for about 455 years.

21. *Two Pillars of Andhra Chronology.* Briefly stated the whole structure of Andhra chronology as built by modern scholars rests mainly on two pillars, *viz.*, the identification of Śātakarnī of the Khāravela inscription with the third Andhra king in the puranic list on the one side and the identifications of Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarnī and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Śātakarnī, also called Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Puṇmāvi, with Gautamīputra and Pulomā kings Nos. 23 and 24 respectively of the purāṇas on the other side. Before I proceed to test the validity of these three identifications it will be profitable to discuss certain general questions pertinent to the problem.

2. PROVINCIAL RULERS

22. *Kṣatrapas and the Paramount Power.* It should be remembered that the purāṇas mention genealogies only of sovereign powers and not of any satrap or provincial governor, however powerful he might have been. In this connection the distinction between what we call a 'King' in English and a 'Raja' or a 'Narapati' or a 'Rāṣtrapati' (*e.g.*, Dakṣināpathapati) or a 'Kṣatrapa' or a 'Mahākṣatrapa' should be borne in mind. It seems that during the Andhra period the titles kṣatrapa and mahākṣatrapa were originally used by provincial rulers of Parthian or Scythian descent acknowledging suzerainty of some paramount power. Very likely their relations with the paramount power consisted merely in the payment of tribute of some sort. They were free to mint their own coins, wage war against neighbouring provinces and act in any other way they liked. It is probable that a kṣatrapa was often subordinate to a mahākṣatrapa who was the direct tributary of the paramount power. A mahākṣatrapa might have several kṣatrapas under him. Sometimes a kṣatrapa would wage war on other kṣatrapas and usurp their dominions and, perhaps by paying a higher tribute to the paramount power, would be recognized as a mahākṣatrapa. Mahākṣatrapas and kṣatrapas often ruled contemporaneously. (Cca. p. xxvii. n.) It appears also that the paramount power

did not bother itself as to who became the *kṣatrapa* or *mahākṣatrapa* of a particular province so long as it received the stipulated tribute.

23. *Kṣatrapas of Indian Descent.* In later periods rulers of Indian descent also sometimes styled themselves *kṣatrapas* or *mahākṣatrapas* after having ousted rulers of Scythian descent from their possessions. Perhaps the association of these titles with a particular province was so firm owing to long continued rule by foreigners to whom the epithets properly belonged that when any Indian stepped into their place he found it more convenient to use the same designations in State matters as those of his predecessors. The facts collected about the western satraps of the Andhra period by Rapson (Cca. c, ci) would serve to support the validity of the above assumptions.

24. *Four Classes of Provincial Rulers.* Rulers of different

VIII. Classes of Provincial Governors

provinces under a paramount power in ancient India can be placed under different classes. In the first place, we might have kings who had lost their original independence

as a result of aggrandizement of the paramount power and had become tributary to it. In describing Raghu's conquests Kālidāsa compares such defeated kings with the paddy plant which yields grain when uprooted and planted again. The conqueror who after defeating an independent king reinstated him as tributary has been called 'dharmavijayi' or the righteous conqueror. (Rgm. 4. 37-43.) In the second place, provincial rulers of one paramount power might transfer their allegiance to another as a result of military conquest by the latter. Greek satrapies under Selukus were transferred to Candragupta after the defeat of the former. In the third place, special officials might be appointed by the paramount power to rule over certain provinces, e.g., a military commander might be appointed as a governor in a province liable to invasions by other powers (Kaniska's governors). Fourthly, princes of the royal blood and relations of the royal family might be appointed, irrespective of their merits, in certain provinces. Sometimes minor princes occupied the position of provincial rulers under the protection of some elderly person of the royal blood. Khāravela inscription records that he was a *Yuvarāj* at sixteen.

25. *Royal Provincial Rulers.* It is conceivable that a prince of the royal line in his capacity as a provincial ruler might come into conflict with a neighbouring governor under the same paramount power just as different *kṣatrapas* might fight among themselves and it is further conceivable that the paramount power would remain neutral in such fights so long as it received its revenues from one party or another. In the course of this article I shall have occasion to show that in all probabilities such a contingency did arise at least twice during the Andhra reign. (50.) The posts of provincial governors, except

in the cases of the princes of the royal blood who would succeed to the throne of the paramount ruler, were generally hereditary. An examination of the coin legends and inscriptions of the Andhra period shows that the prefix 'śri' was used only by persons of the royal family. The satraps, although they called themselves 'rajas', did not put the honorific 'śri' before their names; on the other hand we find legends of royal personages in which only 'śri' occurs and no 'rājā'. I shall presently cite reasons for believing that the title 'rājā' without the 'śri' was very likely confined to provincial rulers only and when it is found associated with a 'śri' it is even then no bar to the supposition that the person of the royal blood might have been a provincial governor at the time the coin, bearing the legend, was struck or the inscription carved.

26. *Coins minted only by Provincial Rulers.* The provincial

IX. Minting of
Coins

rulers during the Andhra period issued coins and it is quite likely that a prince of the royal blood also issued coins in his own name during the period of his provincial governorship. Rapson writes 'Indian coin types are essentially local in character. At no period with which we are acquainted, whether in the history of Ancient or of Mediæval India, has the same kind of coinage been current throughout any of the great empires. Each province of such an empire has, as a rule, retained its own peculiar coinage, and this with so much conservatism in regard to the types and the fabric of the coins, that the main characteristics of these have often remained unchanged, not only by changes of dynasty, but even by the transference of power from one race to another'. (Cca. pp. xi, xii.) The obvious conclusion that can be drawn from the facts noted by Rapson is that the paramount power never troubled itself with the issue of coins—a function which was left to the discretion of the provincial rulers. The central government, it seems before the Guptas at any rate, did not attach much importance to the minting of coins and in the case of big empires it is doubtful whether any special central imperial coin was ever issued. This would explain the absence of any coin bearing the name of emperors such as Aśoka on the one hand and the great preponderance of coins belonging to the satraps on the other. The conservatism in coin types that Rapson has noticed would make any guess regarding the age of a particular type of script on any coin in the absence of dates a hazardous game. I shall have occasion to refer to this problem again.

27. *Restriking of Coins is not necessarily a Proof of Victory.*

X. Restriking
of Coins

In view of the indifference of the central government to provincial coins it is extremely unlikely that the imperial power would think of restriking any coin to commemorate any victory as has been supposed in the case of the restruck coins of Nahapāna. It is

practically impossible for any imperial power to call back all coins of a particular type in circulation merely for the purpose of restriking them. This method of commemorating a victory, to say the least, can only attain partial success. Then again in considering the problem of the restriking of coins one has to remember that of three Andhra rulers *Vāsiṣṭhiputra Vilivāyakura*, *Māṭhariputra Śivalakura* and *Gautamiputra Vilivāyakura*, all apparently belonging to the same family, each of the last two restruck coins of his predecessor or predecessors. There is no evidence to show that this was done to commemorate any victory of one over the other or others. (191, 192.)

28. *Double-struck Coins.* Double-struck coins belong to the same category as restruck coins. Such coins of *Gautamiputra Vilivāyakura* and of *Gautamiputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarnī* have been found. Restruck punch-marked coins have also been found suggesting the possibility that the restriking was done when the original markings got effaced by usage. (Walsh. Punch-marked Silver Coins. Their standard of weight, age and mint, *jas.* 1937, Apr.) In view of these considerations the argument that restriking of a coin by another king is a proof of military victory on his part loses much of its force. It is difficult to say in the absence of any definite information what might have led to the restriking of particular coins. The hypothesis of military victory is only one possibility among many, and this hypothesis fails altogether when applied to double-struck coins and to restriking by successive rulers belonging to the same family. It is probable that just as we have special coronation medals struck at the time of accession of kings at the present time, coins were similarly restruck in ancient times on special occasions for distribution as alms, etc. This would explain the presence of coins that have been restruck by a ruler of the same family as the one issuing the original coin and also of double-struck coins bearing the same legend of the same ruler twice. This explanation will be especially applicable to those cases in which there is no sign of any effacement of the original stamping due to usage. Effacement of the original markings, whether as a result of usage or of any other factor, will very likely account for restriking in a certain percentage of cases as has already been stated.

29. *Treasure Trove Act in Ancient India.* The denominational values of ancient coins were very likely in the majority of cases greater than their intrinsic values. If anybody was fortunate enough in discovering a hoard of coins belonging to a former reign in those days the only way to utilize the coins profitably would be to get them restamped with the current legend by the State mint and release them for circulation. Melting the coins would not be a business proposal. It is mentioned in *Manu-saṁhitā* and *Mitākṣarā* that if any person, other than a learned brahmin, discovers a hidden treasure, the king shall

appropriate one-sixth or one-twelfth of the amount. A learned brahmin discoverer of a hoard may keep the whole of it for himself. If anybody fails to intimate the discovery of a treasure hoard to the State, he shall forfeit the whole of it, and the king shall punish the discoverer suitably. (Manu. 8. 35. 39; Mitāksarā-Vyavaharādhaya. 34, 35.) It is therefore quite likely that in the event of a discovery of a hoard of coins, not current at the time, the government would restamp the coins, take a part of the same for its own coffers and give the rest to the discoverer.

3. THE ANDHRA KINGS

30. *Śātakarṇi a Clan Name.* The names of the Andhra

XI. Clan Name of Andhra Kings kings, as recorded in the purāṇas and in inscriptions and coins, are worthy of careful consideration. It is very difficult to get at the personal names of these kings. We have to take into account their clan name. The clan name itself shows great variation in different records. In the purāṇas, for instance, we have Śātikarna, Svātikarna, Śātikarṇi, Śāntikarna, Śāntakarṇi and Svāti, apparently all variations of the same name. In traditions we come across the names Śatavāhana, Śātavāhana, Śātavāhana and Śālivāhana. In coins and inscriptions we have Śāta, Śātavāhana, Śātakarni, and Svāti. The origin of the clan name Śātakarni, which seems to be the proper designation, cannot be definitely traced. The literal meaning of the word is 'one who has handsome ears'. Both Śātakarṇi and Śātakarṇi are correct forms according to this derivation.

31. *Origin of the name Śātakarṇi.* It seems that besides the Andhra kings there were others who bore the personal name Śātakarni. There is an author of this name who wrote a treatise on alankāra. (Śātakarṇi on Alankāra quoted by Śaṅkara. Oxf. 135a. Catalogus Codicium Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae by Aufrecht.) Kālidāsa records the tradition of a ṛṣi of the name of Śātakarni, living somewhere on the banks of the Godavari before the time of Rāma. This sage was a very renowned person because of his austerities. (Rgm. 13. 38-40.) It is just possible that the Andhra kings claimed their descent from this famous holy man. Another tradition traces the name to one Śāta or Śāla who was a Yakṣa and who became a lion later on. This Yakṣa was the first Andhra king's vāhana, i.e., he used to carry the king about. Two other clan or sub-clan names occur in inscriptions and coins associated with the Andhras, namely, Vilivāyakura and Śivalakura. Whether these two clans or sub-clans are identical with the Śātakarṇi clan or whether they are different cannot be definitely stated. (183.)

32. *Gotra Names and Matriarchy.* Besides the clan name some of the Andhra kings also bear *gotra* names. It appears from their *gotra* designations that they came from matriarchal families. Vatsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* records that in Dakṣināpatha matriarchy was the social order. 'Mātulakulānu-varti dakṣināpathe'. (Kanyasamprayukta. 3. 1.) Even at the present day we find matriarchy prevalent in southern India. The *gotra* names are all derived from the names of ancient ṛsis and are used even now both by brāhmaṇas and by non-brāhmaṇas. In patriarchal families the *gotra* name takes the male form in male descendants, *e.g.*, Gautama Buddha, but in matriarchal societies since the *gotra* name comes through the mother, it takes a female inflection and then the word 'putra' has to be added to it to make it an appropriate designation for a male member, *e.g.*, Gautamīputra Śātakarnī, which means that Śātakarnī is the son of a woman who belongs to the Gautama *gotra*. In the case of females it is impossible to determine from the *gotra* name alone to which type of family she belongs, *e.g.*, Gautamī Balaśrī may be the member of either a matriarchal or a patriarchal family.

33. *Gotra Names and Patriarchy.* In patriarchal families the same *gotra* name is transmitted through successive male issues and is a common epithet for all members of the same dynasty whereas in matriarchal societies it changes from father to son. The father and the son thus always belong to different *gotras* as marriage within the same *gotra* is not allowed by Hindu custom. Thus in a matriarchal family, like that of the Andhras, Gautamīputra Śātakarnī's son can never be a Gautamīputra but can be a Vāsiṣṭhiputra, or Māṭharīputra or Hāritīputra. The importance of the woman is far greater in a matriarchal society than in a patriarchal one, and in royal families of the former type it is not at all uncommon to find women associated with State affairs. Sometimes the sister's son gets preference over the son in succession to properties in matriarchal societies.

34. *Uncertainty regarding Names.* It was customary in ancient days to address a person by his *gotra* name instead of by his personal name, particularly when special honour was intended to be shown by the addressor. The use of personal names was thus limited to intimate circles of relations and friends in the case of kings. This is perhaps the reason why so much uncertainty exists regarding the correct names of ancient rulers. In the different *purāṇas*, for instance, the same king has been called under such different names as *Adhisimakṛṣṇa*, *Adhisāmakṛṣṇa*, *Adhisomakṛṣṇa* and *Asimakṛṣṇa*. Among the Andhra kings the names that seem to be personal are: (1) *Sipraka*, *Simuka* or *Siśuka*, (2) *Kṛṣṇa*, (3) *Pulomā*, *Pulumāvi*,

Pulumāyi, Palumān or Pulomāchi, (4) Ariṣṭakarmā, Nemikṛṣṇa, Riktavarṇa or Gorakṣakṛṣṇa, (5) Pattalaka or Mandulaka, (6) Pravillasena, Putrikasena or Purindrasena, (7) Śivaśrī, (8) Yajñiśrī, (9) Vijaya, and (10) Candraśrī, Dandaśrī, Cadaśrī or Vadaśrī. The gotra names found are Gautamīputra, Vāsiṣṭhiputra, Māthari or Mādharīputra and Hāritiputra. In some families it was the custom to designate the son according to the mother's personal name, e.g., Gaurika which means 'son of Gauri', Yasomatika meaning 'the son of Yasomati', etc.

35. *Same Name for different Kings.* The clan and gotra names combined were often considered enough to designate any particular king. Sometimes only the clan name or the gotra name has been mentioned so that an identification becomes still more problematic. Almost all the Andhra kings could be designated as Śātakarni and certainly more than one could call himself Gautamīputra Śātakarni. To add to the confusion several kings with identical personal names are to be found in the Andhra dynasty. There are at least three Pulumāvis or Pulomās among Andhra kings. Thus there may be more than one Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi. Then again it was common in ancient India in royal families for the same series of names to be repeated for the father and the sons at intervals of several generations. According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa Parikṣit I and Parikṣit II had sons with identical names, viz., Janamejaya, Srutasena, Ugrasena and Bhimasena. We have the same state of affairs in England also. There are four Williams, six Georges, eight Edwards and eight Henries among forty English kings. Supposing that definitely dated records were absent it would be a problem for the historian of the future to determine who was who from names only. (71, 72, 76.) We are experiencing the same difficulty with reference to the past Andhra dynasty.

36. *Nicknames indicating Bodily Peculiarities.* Identification has been rendered still more difficult by the presence of more than one name for one king and of nicknames of royal personages. XIV. Nicknames of Andhra Kings Some Andhra kings are known only by their nicknames. The third puranic Andhra king has the name Sri Mallakarni according to the Matsyapurāṇa. This appears to be a nickname and it means 'the royal one with the (twisted) ears of an athlete'. The fourth king has the name Purnotsanga meaning 'the one with a full haunch'. The fifth king, according to the Hall manuscript, has the name Skandhastambhi meaning 'the stiff shouldered'. The seventh king has the name Lambodar meaning 'the long bellied'. The eighth king, it appears, bore two nicknames, viz., Dwibilaka and Apitaka. The first means 'one with two (prominent nasal) holes' and the second 'the fat one'. All these names refer to some bodily peculiarities of the kings. If we are to credit the nicknames with any significance we may infer that the Andhra stock was well-built and had big mascula-

ture and that the kings were devoted to wrestling and athletic exercises. Some colour is lent to this supposition by the description of personal features of King Gautamiputra to be found in the Nasik inscription of his mother (ls. 1123). (Transcript in bg. Vol. XVI, p. 550.) The relevant lines are as follows: 'Pañipuṇa cada mañala sasirika piyadasanasa varavāraṇa vikamacaruvikamasa bhujagapati bhoga pīnabata bipula dīgha suda [ra] bhujasa'. This means 'whose appearance has the grace of full lunar circle, whose gait is as pleasing as that of the noblest elephant, whose arms are as muscular, rounded, massive, long and beautiful as the body of the king of serpents'.

37. *Artistic Nicknames.* The jest of irreverential nicknames seems to have pursued the first eight kings after which the names become more respectable and even artistic. Among the later kings we have such names as Kuntala meaning 'lock of hair', Sundara 'the fair one', Cakora or 'Greek partridge', Yajñaśrī or 'the sacrificial grace' and Candraśrī or 'the beauty of the moon'. Candraśrī has also been called Vadaśrī or 'the grace of discourse'. The names Śaktiśrī and Vedaśrī have been found in an inscription; they mean 'the grace or beauty of strength' and 'the grace of the Veda' respectively.

38. *False Identifications.* In view of the welter of clan, gotra and nicknames and paucity of personal names of Andhra kings and in view of the fact that different kings sometimes bore the same name and the same king many different names, it is extremely hazardous to effect a concordance between the two series of data as found in the purāṇas on the one hand and in inscriptions and coins on the other. As I have already pointed out, it is very difficult and often impossible to say who is who in the absence of dates on the two sides and the chances of mistaken identity are very great. I shall point out presently that such false identifications have actually been made in the working out of Andhra history by modern scholars.

39. *Defects in Puranic Time Records.* It is generally believed that the purāṇas, although they, like a modern historical work, mention regnal years of kings and the total periods of reign of the different dynasties and the order of their succession, are not entirely trustworthy; then again the purāṇas do not record any specific date in terms of any era. There can therefore be no absolute point of reference-time on the puranic side. The inscriptions enable us to fix the time of three of the Andhra kings at least, viz., Śātakarṇi, Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Puṇḍravāṇi. Thus there exists a sort of absolute time scale on the inscriptional side but none on the puranic side. This state of affairs naturally makes it difficult for us to correlate the two series of data and chances of mistaken identity cannot be eliminated.

4. ANDHRA TIME RECORDS

40. *Inscriptional and Puranic Regnal Years.* I shall consider some of the peculiarities of the inscriptional Andhra time records before I take up the problem of puranic time reference with regard to the same dynasty. None of the inscriptional records of Andhra sovereigns bear any time reference in terms of any era. They mention only the regnal years of individual kings. There is a discrepancy between puranic and inscriptional accounts of regnal periods in the case of some of the kings and on the strength of this the puranic account has been declared untrustworthy. (Cca. p. xxx.) I should like to point out certain fallacies in this connection. First, the identification may have been wrong; secondly, we should always keep in mind the probability of some of the Andhra kings' acting as provincial governors before they came to occupy the imperial throne. In such an eventuality the period of governorship and the period of overlordship being continuous would be taken together and the regnal years mentioned in inscriptions would have to be counted from the time of the beginning of provincial governorship. There is evidence to show that *Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi* reigned in the capacity of a provincial governor simultaneously with his father *Gautamiputra Śātakarni*. (DRB. Dekkan of the Śātavāhana Period. jia. June. 1918. p. 152. See also 151.) While inscriptions are likely to record the conjoint regnal period of *Pulumāvi* the purāṇas mention only the duration of his subsequent overlordship or actual reign as emperor as they are mainly concerned in recording the turn of events from the imperial standpoint.

41. *Regnal Years and Provincial Governorship.* Since the title 'rājā' was very likely associated with provincial governorship any inscription or coin legend bearing that title conjointly with the royal prefix 'śri' would indicate that it was executed during the period of provincial reign of the prince. In the case of *Yajñāśri* of the purāṇas, about whose identification with *Gautamiputra Svāmi Sri Yajña Śātakarni* of the inscriptions not much doubt exists, the purāṇas record a regnal period of nine years only, while we find from inscriptions that he reigned for at least twenty-seven years. A long period of provincial rule was not likely to be followed by another long period of imperial reign except in the case of a prince who happened to have ruled as a minor under the guardianship of somebody else during his governorship. If we assume that *Yajñāśri* had been a provincial ruler before he became a king and that the inscription mentioning the 27th year of his reign (Cca. p. lii) was incised during this period we can get the total period of *Yajñāśri*'s reign by adding the minimum of 27 years as governor to 9 years as an imperial ruler as mentioned in the purāṇas. There is the other possibility

that the inscription was carved while Yajñaśrī was an imperial ruler; this would give a minimum of 18 years as the period of his provincial reign. The large variety of the coins that Yajñaśrī struck is, from this standpoint, to be considered as a corroborative evidence of his long period of provincial governorship at different places. As mentioned before, no coin of Yajñaśrī is to be expected for the period of his reign as the paramount lord. I have not mentioned the case of other kings as I shall show that considerable uncertainty exists regarding their identity. In view of the possibilities mentioned here it will not be justifiable to discredit the puranic account of regnal period of any king solely on the ground of its discrepancy with the inscriptional data.

42. *Use of the Śaka Era by Satraps.* Although princes of

XVI. Western
Satraps. Śaka Era

the royal blood of the Andhra dynasty do not mention any era in inscriptions the western satraps mostly record time in terms of the Śaka year which begins in 78 A.D. In fact it is their use of this known era and the contemporaneity of some of them with certain Andhra kings as found in inscriptions that have enabled the modern scholar to determine the dates that form 'the whole foundation of the later Andhra chronology'. None of the great imperial rulers of old seem to have used any era that might have been current in their times. Each one of them dated his records in terms of his own regnal years. It was only the satraps or the provincial governors outside the royal family who used a common era. Whenever we come across any time record in terms of regnal years of any person the presumption would be that he was an independent ruler or a prince of the royal blood who aspired to be an independent king some day. The use of a common era like the Śaka era, particularly in the absence of any reckoning of regnal period, by any person would be, on the contrary, a presumptive evidence in favour of his subordinate position. The western satraps of the Andhra period who used the Śaka era in their records never called themselves 'mahārājās' nor did they use the honorific 'śrī' in connection with their names. The only exception seems to be Svāmi-Simhasena whose coin legend reads 'Mahārāja-Kṣatrapa-Svāmi-Simhasenasya'. (Cca. p. 190.) The 'mahārāja' seems to have been a title of courtesy here conferred by the paramount power. The association of the epithet 'kṣatrapa' with 'mahārājā' proves that his was a subordinate position. No independent ruler would delight in using an epithet like 'kṣatrapa' which implies dependency. Simhasena was not in the direct line of Rudradāman II, the latter being his maternal grandfather. It is likely that Simhasena's father was an Andhra prince. This supposition will explain the use of the title of mahārājā by him. Iśvardatta, who ousted other satraps and became a mahākṣatrapa, mentions

regnal years in his coins. (Cca. p. 124.) Perhaps he had an ambition to rule as an independent sovereign or, as is more likely, he belonged to an Andhra royal sub-clan. (183.)

43. *Royal Princes who did not succeed to the Throne.* It is highly improbable that all princes of the royal blood who had served their provincial governorship would be fortunate enough to ascend the imperial throne. Death, disease, intrigue and more powerful rivals might conceivably interrupt a career. Under these circumstances one would expect to find inscriptions with legends showing the epithets 'rājā' and 'śri' and time records in regnal years without being able to assign the person concerned a place in the list of imperial rulers. Such a case appears to have been that of Catarapana. The inscription mentioning his name at Nanaghat shows the legend 'Rano Vāsiṣṭhiputra Catarapana-Śātakanisa' dated in the year 13. (Is. 1120; Cca. pp. xli, lii.) There is no doubt that he belonged to the royal Śātakarnī clan and ruled over some territory, yet he cannot be given a place with any degree of certainty in the list of Andhra kings. Very likely the same fate as that of Catarapana overtook Mahāhakuśi of the Nasik inscriptions. (Is. 1117, 1141; Cca. pp. xx, xlvi.)

44. *Minting of Coins by small Independent States.* Only in the case of big empires with a well-organized system of provincial governors would one expect the absence of imperial coins minted by the central government. Where the independent ruler controlled a comparatively small territory he would naturally strike coins in his own name, mention his own regnal periods and would perhaps use an era started by himself or by one of his illustrious ancestors. In an inscription by Dahrasena, son of Indradatta, we find mention of an era (Traikūtaka) and the legend 'Mahārajendradattaputra Parama-Vaiṣṇava Śri-Mahārāja Dahrasena'. (Cca. p. 198.) Here we find the association of 'śri' with 'mahārāja'; there is no mention of his being a kṣatrapa or a provincial ruler under a paramount power. He used an era perhaps started by some of his ancestors as it mentions the year 207. The obvious conclusion is that Dahrasena must have been an independent king directly ruling over a territory without the help of provincial governors and issuing coins in his own name and recording time in terms of a family era and regnal periods.

45. *Western Satraps were Feudatories of the Kusānas.* The western satraps who belonged to the family of Castana used the Śaka era. Very likely the Ksaharātas belonging to the family of Nahapāna also did the same; there is however some doubt on this point. (RDB. jras. 1917.) Rapson writes 'that the dates of the western kṣatrapas are actually recorded in years of the Śaka era, beginning in 78 A.D., there can be no

XVII. Theory of of Castana used the Śaka era. Very likely Kusāna Origin of the Ksaharātas belonging to the family of Śaka Era

possible doubt. The question of the origin of this era has, therefore, an important bearing on the history of this dynasty. The titles "kṣatrapa" and "mahākṣatrapa" certainly show that the western kṣatrapas were originally feudatories; and the era used by them is presumably, as is regularly the case in similar instances, the era of the dynasty to which they paid allegiance. Until recent years Fergusson's theory that the Śaka era was founded by Kaniṣka was more generally accepted than any other; but a host of rival theories have since been proposed, and it cannot be said that at the present time there is any general consensus on this subject among scholars. One of the main objections brought against Fergusson's theory was that Kaniṣka was not a Śaka but a Kuṣāna; but this objection is not insuperable, if the suggestion just made may be entertained, *viz.*, that the *name* of the era, which is not found in inscriptions, until after the power of the western kṣatrapas had been well established, may have been derived from the kings who used it rather than from the king who established it'. (Cca. pp. cv, cvi.)

46. *No Positive Proof of Kuṣāna Origin of Śaka Era.* Of course Rapson's suggestion is no positive proof of Fergusson's theory of the Kuṣāna origin of the Śaka era. It, however, serves as a warning to those who may seek to trace the epoch of the era to some king of genuine Scythian descent. Accepting Rapson's suggestion one might argue that the western satraps were tributaries to the Andhras. This view has actually been held by Oldenburg, Burgers (referred to by DRB. Dekkan of the Śātavāhana Period. *jia.* June. 1918) and others.

47. *Kadphises as Founder of Śaka Era.* Vincent Smith writes 'Chastana, therefore, may be placed in the period from about 80 A.D. to 110. These dates imply that Chastana held his office as Great Satrap under the Kushān dynasty, that is to say, under Kadphises II, according to my chronology. The Śaka satraps of Surāshtra and Mālwā naturally followed the examples of their Kushān sovereigns by using the Śaka era then newly established'. (Ehi. pp. 222, 223.) It will be seen that Vincent Smith believes that it was Kadphises II and not Kaniṣka (who according to him came to the throne in A.D. 120) who founded the Śaka era. Vincent Smith also does not advance any argument to support his views about the Śaka era beyond pointing out the coincidence of dates. On the basis of the same argument the foundation of the era may be ascribed to the Andhras. The Andhras about 78 A.D. were as much powerful emperors as the Kuṣānas. No fact has been discovered that might suggest that the Andhras could not possibly have started the era.

48. *Probable Andhra Origin of Śaka Era.* All the arguments mentioned here in favour of the Kuṣāna source of the Śaka era can be applied with equal, if not greater, force to the possibility of its Andhra origin. The assertion that the era was founded by

some Kuṣāna king rests only on the fact that there existed a powerful Kuṣāna empire at the time of the epoch of the era. There is no independent evidence to show that either Kadphises II or Kaniṣka ascended the throne exactly in 78 A.D. or that there was some special Kuṣāna event that might account for the foundation of the era. On the other hand if we consider (i) the close affinity of the Andhra coins with those of the western satraps—an affinity that made Rapson consider the two series of coins together in his book, and (ii) the significance of the name Śālivāhana which is inseparably associated with the Śaka era in Indian tradition, we are led to the admission that in all probability the era was started by an Andhra or a Śālivāhana king. I shall point out other arguments in support of this view later on. (161, 166, 167.)

49. *Difficulties in accepting Theory of Kuṣāna Origin of Śaka Era.* On the supposition that Kadphises II founded the Śaka era it is difficult to understand why Kaniṣka, his immediate successor to the throne, and belonging to the same family, should have thought of starting another era of his own. Admitting that Kaniṣka did start an era, it will be difficult to explain the continued use of the Śaka era even during Kaniṣka's time by the western satraps who are supposed to have been under him. Therefore probably either Kaniṣka did not start an era or the western satraps were not under him. It may be that both the above propositions, *viz.*, that (i) neither Kaniṣka founded an era, (ii) nor the western satraps were under him, are true. If it can be proved that the Andhras started the Śaka era and that the Kuṣānas dated their records in terms of it, it will have to be admitted that the latter were in all probability subordinates to the former. Both the western satraps and the Kuṣānas would then have to be considered feudatories to the same sovereign power, namely, the Andhras. The purāṇas do not mention the Kuṣānas which they presumably would have done had the Kuṣāna power been a paramount one for any length of time. The Andhras are the only paramount rulers of this period according to the purāṇas.

50. *Significance of Defeat of Pulumāvi by Rudradāman.*

XVIII. Rudradāman and Pulumāvi

There is a fact in this connection that is very significant as throwing some light on the position of the western satraps during the Andhra period. Rudradāman I boasts in an inscription (Is. 965) of having defeated the lord of Dakṣināpatha twice in fair fight. The defeated ruler was very likely Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Pulumāvi. Rudradāman spared his life because he was a near relation (son-in-law). What seems very peculiar is that Rudradāman did not seize any of these two opportunities to dispossess his son-in-law and to usurp the Andhra emperor's crown. He could have easily made his son-in-law a feudatory under him and with the enhanced resources at his command

could have defied the paramount power to whom he was a satrap at the time. The fact that he did nothing of the sort but meekly continued in the position of a glorified servant, *viz.*, that of a mahāksatrapa and even boasted about it is to be best explained on the supposition that both he and his son-in-law were tributaries to the same sovereign power, *viz.*, Gautamiputra. Gautamiputra lived till 130 A.D. (Table IV); the fight took place before this date. For reasons which I have already discussed before, it can be assumed that the paramount power would not interfere in a struggle between two of its provincial rulers. Although Rudradāman was victorious over his son-in-law who was presumably a provincial ruler at the time of the fight, he dared not defy the imperial power. He did not usurp the throne of the Andhras because the paramount Andhra power remained unconquered; it also remained indifferent; presumably it continued to receive its dues from mahāksatrapa Rudradāman. Had Rudradāman been a Kusāna satrap, his new acquisitions of victory would have meant a loss of revenue to the paramount Andhra power whose representative was the defeated son-in-law of Rudradāman. The paramount power would certainly have interfered in such a contingency. It was not overthrown; nor did it fight Rudradāman. The frequent shuffling of territories from the Śātakarnīs to the western satraps and *vice versa* (Cca. pp. cxx, cxxi), that forms an interesting problem of Andhra history, is satisfactorily explained on the supposition that in most cases it was a change in provincial governorship only and did not affect the central power in any way.

5. EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

51. *Caution in admitting Epigraphic Evidence.* In fixing

XIX. Unreliability of Epigraphic Evidence the time of the inscriptions referring to the Andhra kings epigraphic evidence has been requisitioned to a very great extent. It is well known that the form and other characteristics of the alphabet change in the course of time and epigraphists have sought to determine the rate of these changes and thus to fix the time of an undated inscription starting from the form of letters of a known date. The reliability of any epigraphic evidence should be very carefully considered before it is taken as final. Unfortunately historical scholars have not always been very critical about their judgment of epigraphic finding and they have often placed an undue amount of reliance on it as I shall presently show.

52. *Changes in the Brāhmī Script. No Established Law of Change.* In cases of the dated coins of western satraps the changes through which the forms of the Brāhmī alphabet passed during the Andhra period 'may often be traced with great chronological accuracy' (Cca. p. xiii) so that it is possible for epigraphists to

say that so much change has occurred in so many years. There is nothing to say against such assertions; they are mere statements of facts. When, however, it comes to a consideration of the problem from the opposite angle, *i.e.*, when one has to fix the date of an inscription from the nature of the deviations that have occurred from a known standard of a known period, the matter becomes quite different. There are so many factors that go to determine the type of the alphabet or writing in an inscription that any definite statement becomes an impossibility. One must have established laws of change supported by proper evidence before one can hazard an opinion. For example, it is one thing to say that a particular train has taken so much time to cover so much distance and quite another to say on the basis of the above fact that since so much distance has been covered by another train it must have taken so much time; there are unknown periods of stoppage and other disturbing factors on the way in the absence of knowledge of which no prediction can be considered reliable. The margin of error may be so great as to render all conclusions valueless.

53. *Margin of Error. Vagueness in Indication.* Statisticians always consider the questions of probable error and standard deviation before they put their reliance on any figure arrived at by such methods as described above. It is true that epigraphists often qualify their estimates by saying that such and such a date is correct 'within a margin of not more than a hundred years' but when it comes to a practical application the 'margin' is very often forgotten and statements and conclusions assume a definite character for which there is no warrant. Then again there is no objective scientific standard for determining the 'margin'. Every individual worker makes his own guess and the different guesses vary widely from one another. The vagueness that characterizes the assertions of historians in this matter is to be seen further in their way of statement of the 'margin' of error. They do not usually indicate the direction of error so that it is difficult to understand what is actually meant by such expressions as 'margin of error of a hundred years'. Does it mean that the date might be wide of the mark in each direction by a hundred years so that an inscription for which an epigraphic estimate fixes the time at, say, 150 A.D. might have been actually executed at any time between 50 A.D. and 250 A.D. or does it mean that the actual date would be somewhere between 100 A.D. and 200 A.D.? All confusion might be avoided if the amount of possible error and deviation is stated as a plus-minus quantity so that 150 A.D. \pm 100 years would mean that the date may vary within the limits 50 A.D. and 250 A.D.

54. *Difference of Opinion.* The following quotations from the writings of recognized historical authorities will serve to illustrate the wide difference of opinion that exists among scholars in regard to epigraphic evidence: Referring to the Hatigumpha

inscription, the date of which is the keystone of modern Andhra chronology,

54 (1). *Jayaswal*. Jayaswal says 'The characters which are Northern Brāhmī have been already discussed by Bühler. It is sufficient to say that they are regarded by him to belong to about 160 B.C. The history of development of the Brāhmī letters from the third century B.C. to the first century A.C. is so well known to the Indian epigraphist that the age of an inscription falling in that period could be definitely fixed within an ambit of 30 years or so'. (jbors. III. Hatigumpha Inscription of the Emperor Khāravela. p. 428.)

54 (2). *Chanda*. Speaking of the same inscription Ramaprasad Chanda writes 'But the wide difference in form between the alphabet of the edicts of Asoka on the one hand and that of the Hathigumpha inscription on the other, already noted by Bhagabanalal, renders the estimate of Khāravela's date quite untenable'. Chanda proceeds to discuss the points of difference and says: 'Therefore Śātakarni mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription should also be identified with Śātakarni II whose reign may be tentatively dated between 75-20 B.C.'. (Date of Khāravela. jia. Nov. 1919. pp. 215, 216.) According to Chanda therefore Bühler's epigraphic estimate is wrong by 100 years.

55. *Bhagvanlal Indraji*. Discussing the Nasik inscriptions of the Andhra period in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI, 1883, p. 607, Bhagvanlal writes 'If these considerations are kept in view for the whole of India, from the forms of the letters the dates of inscriptions can be determined within a margin of not more than a hundred years'.

56. *Rapson*. Referring to one of the Bhilsa Topes inscriptions (Sanchi, No. 1, ls. 346) which contains the name Śrī Śātakarni Rapson writes 'He must, in accordance with the epigraphical evidence as interpreted by Bühler, be placed early in the dynasty. Bühler, indeed, proposed to identify him with the Śrī Śātakarni of the Nanaghat and Hathigumpha inscriptions, on the ground that the alphabet of the Bhilsa inscription showed similar characteristics.... On the whole, it appears more probable that Bühler was mistaken in assigning so early a date to this inscription, and that this king [Vāsisthiputra] Śrī Śātakarni is to be identified with one of several Śātakarnis who appear later in the puranic lists'. (Cca. p. xxiv.) The date of Śātakarni of the Hatigumpha inscription is supposed to be 168 B.C. and the dates of the later Śātakarnis, with one of whom Rapson proposes to identify the Śātakarni of the Bhilsa inscription, would be any time from, say, 75 A.D. to 255 A.D. when the Andhra dynasty is supposed to have come to an end. Rapson is inclined to ascribe the Bhilsa inscription to Vilivāyakura who, according to him, may be identified with any among kings No. 19,

No. 20 and No. 21 (Cca. pp. xxvii, xxviii). Thus according to Rapson Bühler's epigraphic estimate goes wide of the mark by about 250 years.

57. *Rapson on Epigraphy as applied to Coins.* In discussing the discrepancy between coin and other inscriptional evidence in regard to Cutukulananda Rapson remarks 'From the epigraphical point of view the coins seem to be older than the inscriptions, but it must always be borne in mind that the evidence of epigraphy as applied to coins is at present very uncertain . . . if this view be correct, the coins would be two or three centuries earlier than the inscriptions . . .' (Cca. p. lxxxv.)

58. *Different Readings.* The uncertainty that attaches to the epigraphic evidence of dates is often complicated by other factors. The same inscription is often read differently by different scholars. Taking the Hatigumpha Khāravela inscription as an example not only did different scholars give different readings of this inscription at different times but even now, when good facsimiles are available, there is no consensus on this subject. While Bhagvanlal, Jayaswal, Banerji, Rapson and others are of opinion that the inscription is dated in terms of Muriya era, Fleet, Lüders and others who have followed them think that there is no mention of date in this inscription. (The Hatigumpha Inscription. J. F. Fleet. *jas.* 1910. p. 825; ls. 1345.) Numerous other points of difference in reading by different workers are to be found in regard to this inscription. In inscriptional and coin legends of western satraps the same name has been read as 'Ghsamotika' by some and as 'Ysamotika' by others (cf. Rapson and Bhandarkar). Epigraphical knowledge could not prevent scholars from coming to different opinions even in such an elementary matter as reading a double letter. All these considerations would justify the rejection of epigraphic 'evidence' when it comes into conflict with well-supported conclusions from other sources.

59. *Persistence of Old Forms of Writing.* Certain possible fallacies in connection with epigraphic evidence remain yet to be mentioned. It is a matter of everyday observation, in Calcutta at least, that house mottoes are inscribed by illiterate masons in letters the forms of which have been handed down to them by their forefathers. One thus comes across a legend in comparatively old type of letters but executed quite recently. In State affairs archaic types of writing are likely to persist for a considerable time even when modern forms are current. A reference to hand-written legal documents of the present day will afford ample proof in support of the above statement. In Nasik caves series of inscriptions are found belonging to different Andhra periods but since they are all distributed about the same place the engraver of the later period

might conceivably have copied the style of writing of his predecessors.

60. *Futility of Epigraphic Evidence.* The utter futility of epigraphic evidence will be seen from the following quotations from Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. V. Bühler writes 'Thirdly, it must be conceded that the characters of the Nanaghat inscriptions belong to period anterior by about 100 years to that of the edicts of Gautamiputra Śātakarnī I. and his son Vāsishthiputra Pulumāyi' (p. 65) 'Hence the beginning of the Kshatrapa era falls about the middle of the first century B.C., and the reign of Gotamiputra Śātakarnī I, who destroyed Nahapāna's power, a little earlier' (p. 73) 'Kanha's Nasik inscriptions belong to the first half of the second century B.C., *i.e.*, were incised between 200-150 B.C. It agrees with this estimate that the differences between the characters of Gautamiputra Śātakarnī and those of the Nanaghat documents are such that it is not possible to place them, as Pandit Bhagvanlal has also seen, at a distance of more than about 100 years' (p. 73). While Bühler definitely places Gautamiputra Śātakarnī a little earlier than 50 B.C. other scholars like Rapson and Smith have as definitely assigned to him a date as late as 106-130 A.D. Epigraphic evidence has thus been entirely overthrown. It is interesting to note that epigraphic location in time has in this case gone astray by more than 150 years, a period long enough to condemn epigraphy as a false guide to the determination of a dynastic chronology.

61. *Risks of relying on Epigraphic Evidence.* It is not my contention that epigraphic considerations should be altogether excluded from ancient Indian historical research. What I want to emphasize is that extreme care should be taken to admit epigraphic evidence as it stands today in chronological determinations. When one finds that on the basis of a mere similarity in names, and that though the name is none too exclusive, the two Śātakarnis of the Hatigumpha and Nanaghat inscriptions have been regarded as the same person and further they have been sought to be identified with the third Andhra king called Śri Śātakarnī in some of the purāṇas, one naturally wonders what could have led experienced indologists to support such weak arguments. Our surprise becomes all the greater when we find further that the name of the third Andhra king is given as Śri Śātakarnī only in those purāṇas in which the dynastic list is obviously incomplete so that the true position of the king remains a matter of doubt. Further, this doubt leads to the suspicion that an error has been committed when we find that in the more complete list in the Matsyapurāṇa the third name is Srīmallakarnī and not Śri Śātakarnī, and that when the different puranic lists are collated it is seen that it is the sixth king and not the third whom the purāṇas mean to designate specifically by the name Śātakarnī. It appears that historical scholars who

generally strain at a gnat have swallowed a whole camel in this instance. The reason is not far to seek. Epigraphists have told us that the Hatigumpha and the Nanaghat inscriptions belong to the same period and that these along with the Nasik inscription of king Kanha, whose name appears as second in the puranic list, should be assigned to 'the times of the last Mauryas or the earliest Sungas in the beginning of the second century B.C.' (Bühler, Cca. p. ix.) Once this was admitted it was easy to accept all the arguments mentioned above in spite of their extremely weak character. This was naturally followed by the identification of Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarnī of the Nasik inscriptions with the twenty-third king Gautamiputra of the purāṇas. The name Gautamiputra again is not an exclusive one and might conceivably be applied in conjunction with Śri Śātakarnī to more than one Andhra king. It is on such a weak foundation that the whole structure of modern Andhra chronology has been built up. Epigraphic considerations form its main prop, the illusory strength of which makes us forget the extreme weakness and insecurity of the foundation. I shall presently illustrate by a hypothetical example from English history the risks and pitfalls of the methods that have been employed by modern scholars in the elucidation of Andhra history.

6. TWO GROUPS OF DATA

62. *Correlation of Puranic and Inscriptional Data.* There

XXI. ^{Two} Groups of Andhra Data are two different groups of available data for working out the history of the Andhras, viz., (1) the puranic records, and (2) the objective materials in the shape of coins and inscriptions.

These data may be called the special data without which no connected account of the Andhras can be built up. The two series when properly correlated become complementary to each other. For instance, from the inscriptional and coin records discovered up to date we would never have known without the help of the purāṇas that the kings Simuka, Gautamiputra Śātakarnī and the others classed with them belonged to the Andhra dynasty. On the other hand the purāṇas do not mention anything about the exploits of Gautamiputra or of his relation with the western satraps. Literary reference to the Andhras whether indigenous or foreign and tradition, if any, should be considered as external evidence which may support or go against conclusions derived from either of the two special sources mentioned above. It should be noticed that the purāṇas alone make a point of presenting a historical and connected dynastic list; all other data are merely incidental in the sense that they are not the products of an *intention* to preserve history. The function of the historian is, as I have already said, to correlate the different data available from different sources. By the correlation of puranic and

inscriptional data in the case of the Andhras is meant, primarily, the establishment of identity between kings mentioned in the puranic list on the one hand and those mentioned in inscriptions on the other. For the purpose of this discussion I propose to include coin records under inscriptional data. The task of correlation is an extremely difficult one, much more difficult than has been generally supposed. As there are so many pitfalls to avoid in this matter it will be desirable to consider certain broad principles before proceeding to the actual task of identification or of criticism of the results arrived at by modern scholars.

63. *The Fourfold Basis of Identity. Identity of Names.*

XXII. Canons for establishing Identity of a puranic king with one mentioned in the inscription may be established on the basis of one or more of four different factors, *viz.*, (i) identity of names, (ii) identity of incidents, (iii) identity of dates, and (iv) identity of places. I shall consider them one by one. When any name in an inscription is found to be identical, either in its entirety or in one or more of its components, with a puranic name in the dynastic list, there is the probability that the two kings are identical. Of the two names, one may be a corrupt or a Prâkrita form while the other a Sanskritic one, *e.g.*, 'king Kanha of the Śâtavâhana race' of the inscription has been identified with 'Kṛṣṇa' the second king in the puranic list. Needless to say that the identity established on the basis of a mere similarity of names rests on a very insecure foundation, particularly in the case of kings of ancient India. There have been so many persons belonging to the same or different dynasties bearing the same name that the risks of error in identification are very great. A dated inscription showing the name Surendranath Banerji, for instance, may not at all be connected with the famous Bengali orator of that name, and however great the temptation of a future historian of Bengal may be to identify one with the other it will be obviously absurd to do so. The warning in this matter cannot be too often repeated, as a mere similarity in names unsupported by other reliable considerations has sometimes been considered sufficient to establish an identity. The identification of Śâtakarnî of the Hatigumpha inscription with the third king in the puranic list is an illustration in point.

64. *Identity of Incidents.* Identity of incidents may suggest an identity of persons. For instance, if it is found in one series of data that a certain person was anointed king while yet a minor and was killed before attaining majority and in the other series it is found that a king of such and such a name ascended the throne as a minor and was killed immediately afterwards, there would be some grounds for supposing, even in the absence of any name in the first series, that the two persons are identical. Here again it should be remembered that history

has the curious knack of repeating itself in royal families, and similarity of incidents may be a false guide altogether.

65. *Identity of Dates and of Places.* The strongest basis for identification is the concord of dates between the puranic and the inscriptional series. If independent time records exist on both sides and if there is an agreement between the dates, we shall have found the safest basis for identity. If, for instance, puranic records independently show that king Śrī Śātakarṇi flourished about 100 A.D. and if we find in dated inscriptions that king Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi existed about the same period, then that will be a strong positive evidence of identity of the two persons provided, of course, they can both be located in the same province as well. When the dates and localization agree but the kingly names differ, chances are, provided there is no evidence to the contrary, that the names belong to the same person. The other possibility that we have to keep in mind in such a case is that of joint reign over the same territory by the two persons; this must be a rare occurrence. The most perfect evidence of identity would be a fourfold agreement in time, place, name and incident. It is only seldom that such complete proof can be obtained.

66. *Disagreement between Puranic and Inscriptional Records.*

XXIII. Amend-
ing Puranic
Accounts

Supposing that after an identity has been established beyond dispute, we find a disagreement between the puranic statement and the inscriptional record, the natural presumption would be that the latter gives the correct account. Inscriptions are certainly more reliable than written records like the purāṇas that have been repeatedly transcribed and handed down from generation to generation. There is just the possibility, however, that an inscription might give the wrong version of the story. There is nothing to prevent a king from recording exaggerated and false accounts of his exploits. Such foible is only human. Coming to recent times, it may be pointed out that the truth of the statements recorded in the Black Hole monument in Calcutta has been seriously challenged by honest historians.

67. *Puranic Statements should not be amended.* The tendency to discredit a puranic account simply because of its disagreement with deductions possibly of uncertain value drawn from inscriptional evidence is to be strongly deprecated. No one should alter or amend a puranic statement to suit his own ideas. One may, for example, certainly reject altogether the puranic account that Śiśuka the first Andhra king killed Suśarman the last Kaṇva, but one runs the risk of committing a grave error in splitting up the statement and then accepting the first portion of it only and ascribing the act of murder to a later king. A particular puranic statement can only be modified by collation of different readings in the different purāṇas or on the ground of internal inconsistency; even then such an

alteration is a risky procedure as different purāṇas may have given different versions of the same incident and mere collation of different manuscripts will not enable us to arrive at the truth. The Mahābhārata, for instance, gives two different dynastic lists of the Purus in two successive chapters. (Adi. 94 and 95.) These are obviously different versions preserved by the sūtas or chroniclers. The puranic and the inscriptional data should of course be critically examined individually and independently of each other before any attempt at correlation is made. Disregard of this rule may lead to trouble. As soon as we correct puranic statements on the strength of inscriptional evidence and *vice versa*, the two series of data cease to be complementary to each other, and if after having made such corrections we proceed to draw conclusions from the joint series of amended material, mistakes and artifacts are inevitable.

68. *Hypothetical English Purāṇa.* The following hypothetical example from English history will

XXIV. Pitfalls in Identification. Hypothetical Illustration from English History serve to illustrate the types of mistakes and artificial conclusions that are likely to arise from a neglect of the principles enunciated here.

Let us suppose that the history of England has not been so well preserved as it actually is and that scholars have to piece together items of information obtained from inscriptions and written accounts of the nature of Indian purāṇas in order to get a connected story of England in the Middle Ages. The supposition of the existence of English purāṇa in a hypothetical example is not so fantastic as might appear at first. The genealogical accounts in the Bible remind one strangely of the Indian puranic dynastic lists. 'And Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his own likeness, after his image; and called his name Seth. And the days of Adam, after he had begotten Seth, were eight hundred years; and he begat sons and daughters. And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years and he died. And Seth lived an hundred and five years and begat Enos. And Seth lived, after he begat Enos, eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters. And all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years; and he died', etc. (Genesis V.) An Englishman named Thomas Stephens, a priest of the Society of Jesus, who came to India about 1583 A.D. actually wrote an account of the Old and New Testaments in puranic form in the old Marathi-Konkani poetical language. He called the first part of his book corresponding to the Old Testament 'Paillea Purāṇa' and the second part corresponding to the New Testament 'Dussrea Purāṇa'. (J. A. Saldanha. 'The First Englishman in India'. *jbbras.* XXII. pp. 209-221.)

69. *A Hypothetical Account.* Let us suppose then for the purpose of our example that English purāṇas written in prophetic

style like the Indian purāṇas exist and that a careful collation of the various readings of the different extant English purāṇas gives the following story:

‘Several different dynasties will rule in England during the Middle Ages. There will be three kings of the York dynasty, namely Edward, Edward and Richard. They will rule this earth for 22 years, 2 months and 2 years respectively. The successor of Edward will be under age when he will ascend the throne. He

TABLE I. HYPOTHETICAL EXAMPLE

Serial No.	ENGLISH PURĀṇA		Dynasty	INSCRIPTION
	Regnal Period	Name and Incidents		
1	22 Yrs.	EDWARD		EDWARD II
2	2 Mts.	EDWARD		1327 A.D. EDWARD III
3	2 Yrs.	RICHARD Close blood relation of Edward. Successor of Edward. Minor at coronation. Murdered by his uncle while yet a minor.	YORK	RICHARD II Son of Black Prince and grandson of Edward III. Successor of Edward III. Minor at coronation. Killed by his cousin Henry IV.
4	24 „	HENRY Relation of Yorkists. Killed Richard the last Yorkist. First of the Tudor dynasty.		HENRY IV Cousin of Richard II. Killed Richard II. First king of a new dynasty.
5	38 „	HENRY		
6	6 „	EDWARD		
7	5 „	MARY		
8	45 „	ELIZABETH Died in 1603 A.D. End of Tudor dynasty.	TUDOR	
	142 „	—Total period of York and Tudor reigns. After the Tudors the Stuarts ascended the throne.	STUART	1603 A.D. JAMES I The first Stuart king.

The date of king No. 2, Edward of the puranic list, is 1327 A.D. according to the inscription. According to the purāṇas 142—22 (the regnal period of king No. 1), *i.e.*, 120 years intervened between king No. 2, Edward and No. 8, Elizabeth. Since the date of king No. 2 is 1327 A.D. according to the inscription, Elizabeth must have died in $(1327 + 120 =) 1447$ A.D. and not in 1603 A.D. as stated by the purāṇas. The purāṇas obviously confuse the date of death of the last Tudor with the date of accession of the first Stuart king, James I, in 1603. There is really an interval of $(1603 - 1447 =) 156$ years between Elizabeth and James I as the inscriptive evidence proves. This interval is the dark period of English history.

TABLE II. HYPOTHETICAL EXAMPLE

Serial No.	ENGLISH PURĀNA		Dynasty	INSCRIPTION
	Regnal Period	Name and Incidents		
1	22 Yrs.	EDWARD IV		EDWARD II
2	2 Mts.	EDWARD V Close blood relation (son) of Edward IV. Successor of Edward IV. Minor at coronation. Murdered by his uncle Richard III while yet a minor.	PLANTAGENET	1327 A.D. EDWARD III RICHARD II Son of Black Prince and grandson of Edward III. Successor of Edward III. Minor at coronation. Killed by his cousin later.
3	2 Yrs.	RICHARD III		HENRY IV
4	24 ,,	HENRY VII Relation of Yorkists by marriage. Killed Richard III the last Yorkist king. First of the Tudors.	YORK	Cousin of Richard II. Killed Richard II. First king of new dynasty, <i>viz.</i> , Lancaster.
5	38 ,,	HENRY VIII		HENRY V
6	6 ,,	EDWARD VI		HENRY VI
7	5 ,,	MARY		
8	45 ,,	ELIZABETH Died in 1603. End of Tudors. Beginning of Stuarts.	TUDOR	
			STUART	1603 A.D. JAMES I

will be murdered while yet a minor at the instigation of his uncle. Richard, who will be king after Edward, will be closely related by blood to the latter. Henry of the Tudor dynasty, who will be a relation of the Yorkists, will kill the last Yorkist king and will usurp the throne. The Tudor reign will come to an end with Elizabeth. The interval between the birth of Christ and the death of Elizabeth will be of 1,603 years. The first Tudor will rule for 24 years, Henry will rule for 38 years, Edward for 6 years, Mary for 5 years and her sister for 45 years. The Yorks and the Tudors will jointly reign for 142 years after which the earth will pass to the Stuart kings'.

70. *A Hypothetical Inscription.* Let us suppose that in later times an inscription is discovered which records the following:

'After Edward II, Edward III ascended the throne of England in 1327 A.D. He had a son named Black Prince who died while yet a prince. Black Prince's minor son Richard II became king after the death of his grandfather Edward III. A treacherous cousin of his, Henry by name, killed Richard II and ascended the throne as Henry IV and became the first king of a new dynasty'.

71. *Tabulation of the Hypothetical Data.* Let us suppose that a scholar in trying to correlate the two accounts tabulates the 'puranic' and inscriptional data side by side (see Tables I and II).

72. *Conclusions from the Hypothetical Data.* Our scholar is likely to draw the following deductions:

From a comparison of the two columns placed side by side in Table I it is obvious that king No. 2, Edward, of the English 'purāṇa' is Edward III of the 'inscription'. King No. 2, Edward, is said to be a close blood relation of his successor king No. 3, Richard, according to the 'purāṇas'; also Edward III of the inscription is the grandfather of his successor Richard II; this fits in with the 'puranic' account. The successor of Edward who must be king No. 3, Richard, of the 'purāṇa' is described as a minor when he ascended the throne; so also Richard II of the 'inscription' was a minor when he became king. Then again the successor of Edward and Richard II were both murdered. That king No. 3, Richard, was the person murdered while yet a minor is supported by the short reign of 2 years ascribed to him in the 'purāṇas'. The statement of the English 'purāṇas' that he was murdered by his uncle is obviously wrong as the 'inscription' definitely records that he was murdered by his cousin. The purāṇas frequently make mistakes of this type. King No. 4, Henry, of the 'purāṇas' was the founder of a new dynasty, *viz.*, the Tudor; the 'inscription' shows that Henry IV was also the first king of a new dynasty. The correspondence between the 'puranic' and the 'inscriptional' account is perfect. There is however one important point in the 'puranic' story that

goes against the 'inscriptional' evidence. From king No. 2, Edward, to the death of No. 8, Elizabeth, 142 minus 22 (the regnal period of the first king), *i.e.*, 120, years intervened according to the 'purāṇas'. There is no reason to disbelieve this account. Since king No. 2 is Edward III of the 'inscription' and since Edward III ascended the throne in 1327 A.D. according to the same 'inscriptional' record, Elizabeth must have died in $(1327 + 120 =) 1447$ A.D. and not in 1603 A.D. as stated in the English 'purāṇas'. This shows the unreliability of the 'purāṇas'.

73. *Emergence of an Artificial Dark Period in History.* Let us suppose that another 'inscription' is found that shows that James I the first Stuart king ascended the throne in 1603 A.D. The conclusion is natural that the English 'purāṇas' have ascribed this date to the end of the Tudor dynasty by mistake; this supposition explains the discrepancy between the 'puranic' and the 'inscriptional' time records. It is clear that there is a blank in English history of $(1603 - 1447 =) 156$ years between the extinction of the Tudors in 1447 A.D. and the rise of the Stuarts in 1603 A.D. This period may be called the dark period in the history of England.

74. *Results of Faulty Correlation of Data.* Our hypothetical example has landed us in a pretty mess. Both the 'puranic' account and the 'inscriptional' record are historically absolutely true by themselves but from their faulty correlation and combination has arisen a mass of absurdities the most striking among which is the artifact, namely, the emergence of a dark period in English history which does not really exist. A reference to Table II will show at a glance the different varieties of mistakes that have been committed in the deductions which appear unassailable at first sight. It will be profitable to analyse the different mistakes and the defects in the reasoning that led to them.

75. *Mere Identity of Names is often a False Guide.* In the first place it will be noticed that the kings whose names appear in the 'inscription' really preceded the kings of the 'puranic' list. Identity of names has been responsible primarily for the mistaken conclusion that the 'puranic' and the 'inscriptional' records refer to the same series of kings. It is indeed a strange coincidence that the four names of the preceding kings should have been repeated in their exact sequence at a later period. This should serve as a warning to scholars of the risks of placing too much reliance on similarity of names while correlating puranic and inscriptional data.

76. *Identity of Incidents is not a Safe Guide.* Similarity of names has been responsible, in the second place, for ascribing the incidents that pertain to king No. 2, Edward, of the purāṇa to king No. 3, Richard, as both of them could be correctly

described as 'the successor of Edward'. This mistake was confirmed by the chance accidents that both king No. 2, Edward, of the purāṇa and Richard II of the inscription were minors at coronation and both were killed, one in infancy by his uncle and the other later on by his cousin. The 'puranic' account that it was the uncle who instigated the murder of the previous king and the 'inscriptive' record that it was the cousin who had killed the previous king are both true in their respective spheres and it was unwise on the part of our scholar to 'correct' the puranic statement on the strength of the inscriptive record. King No. 4, Henry, was a relation of the previous king by marriage and was the first of the Tudors while Henry IV of the 'inscription' with whom king No. 4, Henry, was wrongly identified, was a cousin of the previous king and was the first of the Lancasters. It is again a strange coincidence that both should be the founder of a new dynasty, a fact which helped to consolidate the mistakes of our scholar. This should be a warning again to historians that incidents often repeat themselves in royal families.

77. *Identity of Uncorrected Dates is a Safe Guide.* Had our scholar been careful of the dates in the two series of data and had he placed greater reliance on the puranic account that Elizabeth died in 1603 A.D. and refrained from 'correcting' the date on the strength of 'inscriptive' evidence he could have avoided all pitfalls. Dates therefore form our safest guide in the correlation of puranic and inscriptive data. Attempts at any correction of puranic statement of dates lead to serious errors and should never be undertaken if the purāṇas are to be used as a complementary source of information to the inscriptions. Of course if anybody happens to be dissatisfied with the puranic version he can reject it altogether and depend on the inscription alone. To correct puranic data on the strength of inscriptive evidence and then to apply them to elaborate inscriptive accounts is to say the least of it extremely hazardous as our hypothetical example clearly proves.

78. *Possibility of getting Dates from the Purāṇas.* It will now be profitable to examine critically the reliability of Andhra chronology as established by modern scholars. In Table III I have placed the puranic Andhra data in one column and the corresponding inscriptive and other data in another column. This will help us to understand the points of agreement and difference of the two series. I have already said that in the absence of independent dates on both the sides no certain conclusions can be arrived at and the identifications cannot be properly tested. It is usually believed that (i) although the purāṇas record regnal periods of individual kings

TABLE III. ANDHRA CHRONOLOGY

No.	PURĀNA		INSCRIPTION, ETC.	
	Regnal Years	Name and Incident	Regnal Years	Name and Incident (Inferences within brackets)
1	23	ŚIŚUKA First Andhra king. Servant of the Kanvas. Killed Suśarman the last Kanya. Father of the third king Śri Śātakarni.	..	SIMUKA Nanaghat. (Father of Śri Śātakarni the third king. First Andhra king. Broke away from Maurya yoke at the same time as Khāravela's grandfather Kṣemarāja. 230 B.C.—according to Hatigumpha and epigraphic evidence of Nanaghat.)
2	18	KRŚNA Brother of Simuka ..		KANHA Nasik. (Not mentioned in Nanaghat. Likely to be brother of Simuka.)
3	10	ŚRĪ ŚĀTAKARNI		ŚĀTAKARNI Hatigumpha. Contemporary of Khāravela—168 B.C. (Date supported by epigraphy.)
17	5	HĀLA		HĀLA Literary reference—Saptasātaka. (First century A.D.)
23	21	GAUTAMIPUTRA	24	GAUTAMIPUTRA ŚRĪ ŚĀTAKARNI Nasik and Karle. Father of Vāsishthiputra Śri Pułumāvi. (Contemporary of Nahapāna and Esabhadatta, 124 A.D.).
24	28	PULOMĀ	24	VĀSISTHIPUTRA ŚRĪ PULUMĀVI Balaśri—Nasik. Girnar. (Contemporary of Rudradāman. 150 A.D.) Literary reference. Ptolemy. 121–161 A.D.
		There were 30 kings in this dynasty who ruled for 456 years after the Kanvas. (Accepting end of Kanvas at 28 B.C. [Ehi] end of Andhras will be 456–28=428 A.D.)		In Mahārāṣṭra the Andhras were succeeded by Traikūtaka dynasty. Inscriptions and coins show that the date of the beginning of the Traikūtakas is 249 A.D. Andhra reign ended about this time.)

The dates 168 B.C. for the 3rd king Śātakarni, 124 A.D. for the 23rd king Gautamiputra and 150 A.D. for the 24th king Pułumāvi are the

and the total reigning periods of dynasties they do not mention any specific era by reference to which the chronological points can be determined; (ii) the puranic regnal periods also are supposed to be not very reliable so that it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw up from the dynastic lists any dated table of kings even when fixed chronological points can be found for some of them from other sources. I shall show later on that both these statements are entirely wrong. Reliable figures for the individual regnal periods can be obtained from puranic records and the dates of individual kings can be fixed as well on the time scale of a specific era provided by the purāṇas. For the present purpose of judging the identifications of puranic Andhra kings with those mentioned in inscriptions the approximate date 28 B.C. assigned by Vincent Smith to the end of the Kaṇva dynasty will be sufficient. (Ehi. p. 217.)

79. *The Kings whose Dates are available.* In Table III I have mentioned the names of those kings only with regard to whom dates are available either from inscriptions and coins or from literary sources other than the puranic. Many of the intermediate puranic kings whose names have not been noted in the table have been identified with more or less success from inscriptional records. I have excluded them from my consideration because these records do not give us any indication of dates. If two or three definite chronological points can be fixed in the history of the Andhras, these names can be utilized for filling in the intervals, otherwise they have not much significance from the standpoint of chronology.

80. *Accepted Identifications. Dark Period after the Andhras.* It will be noticed from Table III that although on puranic evidence Simuka is accepted as having been the first king of the Andhra dynasty his date has been pushed back considerably by historical scholars. The purāṇas intend to place him about 28 B.C. (if we accept this date as that of the end of the Kaṇva dynasty) while the inscriptional evidence assigns to him a date as early as 230 B.C. If the latter date be correct naturally Simuka cannot be regarded as the slayer of the last Kaṇva; the purāṇas have therefore been supposed to be wrong in this assertion.

three chronological fixed points in the history of the Andhra dynasty. The puranic statement that 30 kings ruled for 456 years may be accepted but the purāṇas are obviously wrong in stating that the first Andhra king Śiṣuka killed the last Kaṇva king. The date of the end of the Kaṇva dynasty is about 28 B.C. (Ehi) while Śiṣuka's date according to inscriptional evidence is 230 B.C. Some later Andhra king might have killed the last Kaṇva. The discrepancy in regnal periods of king No. 23 between inscriptional and puranic versions is another evidence of the unreliability of the purāṇas. Andhra reign ended about $(456 - 230 =)$ 225 A.D. According to the purāṇas this date would be $(28 \text{ B.C.} + 456 \text{ years} =)$ 428 A.D. The purāṇas are wrong. There is a dark period after the Andhras.

Śātakarnī, king No. 3 of the purāṇas, is believed to be the Śātakarnī of Hatigumpha inscription. His date is fixed at 168 B.C. (19. 2.) King No. 23, Gautamīputra, has been identified with Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarnī of the inscription. His date is found to be about 124 A.D. on the strength of this identification. (19. 6a.) His son Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi is naturally identified with Pulomā, king No. 24 of the purāṇas. Pulomā was the contemporary of Rudradāman whose inscriptive record shows his date to be 150 A.D. (19. 6b.) These three dates only are definitely known in Andhra history. In Mahārāṣṭra the Andhras were displaced by the Traikūṭakas. The beginning of Traikūṭaka era is supposed to be 249 A.D.; this date roughly corresponds to the end of the Andhra rule. (19. 8.) The total period of Andhra reign is 456 years according to the purāṇas. This figure has been accepted. Since according to scholars the Andhras came into power in 230 B.C. the dynasty must have ended about (456—230 =) 225 A.D. (19. 8.) Historians have recorded a dark period after the Andhras. (5.) According to the puranic account the Andhra rule came to an end 456 years after the death of the last Kaṇva, *i.e.*, about (456—28 =) 428 A.D.; scholars have not accepted this date for reasons already cited.

81. *Insecure Foundation of Andhra Chronology.* If we compare Table III with Table I we shall find that the data in the former offer a ground much less firm for drawing deductions from than those in the latter. Andhra chronology as worked out by modern scholars rests on an extremely insecure foundation and the reliability of deductions drawn therefrom is even less than that of the conclusions arrived at in the hypothetical example cited before and the chances of error far greater in the former. In the example identity was sought to be established on the basis of similarity of names of four successive kings, namely, Edward, Edward, Richard and Henry; all these are personal names and three of them are dissimilar so that the chances of an accidental coincidence here are far less than in the Andhra list where only two successive kings could be identified by their names, namely, Gautamīputra and Pulomā; of these two names again Gautamīputra is a gotra name and may be applied as well to other kings besides No. 23. There are several Pulomās in the puranic list and nothing to indicate who is who. The identification of Śātakarnī of the Hatigumpha inscription with Śrī Śātakarnī, king No. 3, rests on a basis much weaker than that in the case of either Gautamīputra or Pulomā. In the first place Śātakarnī is a clan name and may be applied with equal justification to almost all the members of the Andhra dynasty. There might have been other Śātakarnis as well who were not Andhras. Then again grave doubts exist whether the third name in the puranic list is at all Śātakarnī. The date of Khāravela himself, the contemporary of Hatigumpha Śātakarnī, also is in

dispute. Some epigraphists are of opinion that there is no mention of any date in the inscription. The uncertainty of epigraphic evidence regarding possible dates minimizes the value of support from Nanaghat and Nasik inscriptions in this matter. The statement that Simuka was the father of Hatigumpha Śātakarṇi is nothing more than a guess. The relation of Simuka to Śātakarṇi of the Nanaghat inscription also is open to different interpretations. Bhagvanlal's opinion that these two stand in the relation of father and son is again a mere conjecture. Simuka's image in the cave might well have been placed first because he was the founder of the royal dynasty, and the second image with the legend 'Śātakarṇi' might very well be a representation of a later king belonging to the same family. (181.)

82. *Comparison with the Hypothetical Example.* A comparison of Table III showing Andhra chronology with Table I of the hypothetical example from English history brings out a striking likeness between the two. The methods employed in establishing Andhra chronology are almost identical with the methods illustrated in the example, and the deductions also show similar characteristics. In both we find that identifications have been effected not on the basis of dates but on that of similarity of names. Incidents and dates belonging to the puranic series have been corrected on the strength of the inscriptive evidence in both the instances and then the data thus amended have been utilized in the elaboration of the inscriptive account. In both the tables we find that the entire series of puranic kings has been pushed back in time in complete disregard of chronology as stated in the purāṇas, with the result that a blank has appeared in later historical account. The most striking point of resemblance between the two instances is the emergence of this dark period in the wake of the dynasty.

83. *Suspicion of some Grave Error in Andhra Chronology.*

XXVI. Attitude
of Scholars towards
the Purāṇas

The above considerations raise the suspicion that a grave error has been committed in the identification of Andhra kings and that the chronology requires revision. I have repeatedly insisted on the fact that in the absence of dates on the puranic side it is impossible to test the identifications effectively. So before trying to locate any error that might exist in the accepted Andhra chronology it is desirable to find out whether we could get dates of the Andhras from the purāṇas, dates that would be free from internal inconsistency. If we succeeded in fixing puranic dates for the Andhra kings independently of inscriptive or other evidence, we could easily appraise the identifications by modern scholars, and in case of any discrepancy discovered between the puranic and the inscriptive account we could reject one or the other according to the demands of probability.

84. *Onus of Proof for Puranic Statements.* Unless, as mentioned just now, independent dates are available on both sides no correlation of any value can be established between puranic and inscriptional accounts. Unfortunately modern scholars think that the purāṇas stand on unreliable ground so that for every puranic statement an objective proof is sought before it is admitted. For instance, when anybody asserts on puranic authority that Rāmacandra ruled in Ayodhyā in remote times the historians are unwilling to accept this statement unless inscription or coin or some such solid objective evidence is forthcoming. The onus of proof that Rāmacandra existed lies here with the person who makes the assertion. On the other hand, when the modern scholar says merely on the strength of written evidence that there was a king named Harold in England in ancient time no 'solid' proof in the shape of inscriptions and coins is demanded from him; the generally prevalent attitude is one of belief in this case; if anybody happens to doubt the correctness of this statement the onus of proof that Harold did not exist is thrown on him.

85. *Attitudes of Belief and Disbelief in the Choice of Historical Material.* This general attitude either of belief or of disbelief on the part of a historian towards written accounts is mainly responsible for his choice or rejection of materials from such sources for historical purpose. For example, the modern historian, while rejecting the portions containing obviously absurd and exaggerated descriptions, has accepted in the main the accounts of Greek writers like Megasthenes even when corroborative evidence is wanting; the general attitude is one of belief towards Greek accounts. On the contrary, in the case of the purāṇas not only are the absurd portions discarded but practically nothing is admitted unless supported by external evidence or unless the account serves to support conclusions drawn from other sources. The purāṇas, owing to the prevalent attitude of disbelief towards them, have thus been given no intrinsic historical status. The result has been that scholars have always tried to fit the puranic account into their own findings, and no attempt has been made in the reverse direction, namely, to fit inscriptional records into puranic statements by any scholar of repute up to the present time. Had this been done in the case of the Andhras quite a different series of identifications would have been effected, and a worthier and, I would venture to say, more reliable chronology would have been established.

86. *Bühler and the Purāṇas.* The attitude of modern scholars towards purāṇas in general, and puranic chronology in particular, is best summed up in the words of Bühler. He writes 'Further, as regards the Purāṇas their aim is to bring the history of India into the frame of the Yuga theory. For this purpose their authors have to pile dynasty on dynasty in order

to fill a space of many thousand years. Historical research has shown that they possessed *some* reliable information not only as to names, but even as to years. In the case of the Andhra dynasty, the coins and inscriptions prove that the order in which the corrupt forms of the names Gautamiputra Śātakarnī, Puṇamāyi, Sakasena (*Śrisesa*) Māthariputra, and Gautamiputra Yajñāśri Śātakarnī are given, is perfectly correct, as well as that Simuka, Krishna and Śātakarnī reigned a considerable time before the former princes, and followed each other closely. But it by no means follows that all the other names or the order in which they are given are reliable. Nor is there any guarantee that the dynasty of Simuka-Śipraka ruled during about 450 years, much less that Simuka-Śipraka reigned 350 or 360 years before Gautamiputra Śātakarnī I. All these points have to be proved. Though I think it right and necessary, therefore, to look to the Purāṇas for the kings mentioned in the inscriptions, I deny the possibility of making up a chronological account of the Andhras with their help. It seems to me that the only means for approximatively fixing the age of the group of kings—(1) Simuka, (2) Krishna, (3) Śātakarnī—and of that containing (1) Gotamiputra Śātakamṇi, (2) Puṇamāyi, (3) Sakasena Mādhari-putra, (4) Gotamiputra Sriyana Śātakamṇi, and (5) Chandasri, are epigraphic evidence, and the synchronisms with the Western Kshatrapas who date according to an era, not according to regnal years'. (aswi. Vol. V. pp. 72, 73.)

87. *Modern Scholars and the Purāṇas.* It is true that latter-day historians have accepted, as it suited their own findings or fancy, some of the puranic statements that were rejected by Bühler, but it must be admitted that the general attitude of disbelief towards the purāṇas remains unaltered to this day. It is not my intention here to establish the authenticity of the purāṇas in general, what I want to stress is the fact that the purāṇas have given us a chronology of the Andhras that is free from internal inconsistencies and that is well-supported from several directions by the purāṇas themselves, and as such the chronology is worthy of our careful attention.

88. *Preparation of Puranic Urtext is not possible.* Certain general rules will have to be observed in collecting data from the purāṇas. Since the purāṇas differ from one another and since even the different manuscripts of the same purāṇa may differ in certain respects, collation of texts and a critical and careful selection are necessary before we can get materials suitable for our purpose. Some scholars are of opinion that all the purāṇas may be traced to a common source and it is therefore possible to prepare an urtext that might be supposed to be free from interpolations and errors of scribes. I do not subscribe to this view. It is true that there are certain portions in certain purāṇas that have a common

origin, but even a casual glance at the contents of the different purāṇas will convince anybody that they had different sources to draw from and that each of them has some special topic not found in the others. The dynastic lists in many of the purāṇas show evidence of having individual and independent sources. Under these circumstances artificially prepared urtexts are likely to be misleading as the different readings very often represent different versions of the same account. Mere collation of texts is not likely to enable us to choose the correct versions. Other critical methods will have to be employed to find out which form among the different readings is likely to give us a correct statement of affairs. I should like to emphasize again that inscriptional and other considerations should not be brought in to find out the correct text if we intend to correlate the two series of puranic and inscriptional data. It will not be wise to go beyond the purāṇas for deciding the correct version. In dynastic and chronological matters the purāṇas often provide us with different types of information so that from a consideration of these it is generally possible to decide which is to be accepted and which rejected. The text of any particular purāṇa should certainly be settled by collation of different manuscripts of the same purāṇa.

89. *Different Names for the same King.* To come to specific questions in Andhra chronology it may be stated that no effort should be made to correct the names of kings by a comparison of the different records in the different purāṇas. I have already cited the instance of a king of the Puru dynasty who has been called under various names, *viz.*, Adhisimakṛṣṇa, Adhisāmakṛṣṇa, Adhisomakṛṣṇa and Asimakṛṣṇa. It is evident that the king could not possibly have all these four names. It is however impossible to determine which is the correct name of the king. Collation of manuscripts will not help us in this matter and the preparation of an urtext is likely to give a misleading information. The best plan is to leave these names alone till fresh evidence is forthcoming. After all it does not very much matter for historical purpose which is the real name of a king among many variants. In India, particularly in the case of educated families, the general tendency has been from time immemorial to allot meaningful names to persons. These names are generally Sanskritic. Even now one finds the same tendency in different parts of India and more particularly in Bengal. In actual use these Sanskritic names are very often abbreviated and corrupted. For instance, 'Debendra' becomes 'Deben', 'Profulla' becomes 'Pipu' and so on as Robert becomes Bob, Thomas Tom and John Jack. The same thing must have happened in ancient India also; that is why Sanskritic forms like 'Śātakarni', 'Kṛṣṇa', etc. have appeared in records in their Prakritic forms 'Śātakanī' or 'Śātakamṇī' or even in the abbreviated form 'Śāta', 'Kṛṇha',

etc. It may be deemed justifiable therefore to change the Prākritic forms into Sanskritic ones in historical accounts. Nothing more than this should be allowed. The different forms of names should be left untouched and for the purpose of writing historical accounts any one of these, preferably the most common one, may be used.

90. *Andhra Dynastic List.* The Andhra dynastic list is not to be found in its complete form in any of the purāṇas. The number of kings is stated to be thirty and there is some amount of agreement on this point. The Radcliffe copy of the Matsyapurāṇa, as quoted by Wilson, gives 29 names; Fitzedward Hall has supplied the missing name from his copy of Matsya. Wilford's Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, quoted by Wilson, mentions 24 names. The editions and manuscripts of Viṣṇupurāṇa, that I have seen, give 24 names only. The Bhāgavat has 23 names and the Ānandāśram edition of Vāyu contains 15 or probably 16 names; some manuscripts of Vāyu mention a few more.

91. *Andhras and Andhrabhrtyas.* From the lists from which several names have been omitted it is difficult to fix the position of individual kings mentioned therein in the complete series of thirty and mistakes are likely to occur. The safest guide will be to rely on the most complete list available and that is the Radcliffe Matsya list. The names occurring in the other purāṇas may best be arranged taking the Radcliffe list as the standard. There is one name short in the Radcliffe manuscript referred to above. The missing name and its position can be easily determined by comparison with other lists. There emerges the twentieth king Sundara Śātakarṇi. Hall in his note to Wilson's reproduction of Radcliffe's list says, as already pointed out, that his own copy gives the name of the twentieth king as Sundara-Swātikarna. (Vip-w. IV. 24. p. 201. n.) The Matsya seems to distinguish between true Andhras and Andhrabhrtyas among the 30 kings. According to the Matsya there were 19 true Andhras. (Mtp-a. 273. 16.)

92. *Unanimity in the Purāṇas regarding the first Andhra King.* Fortunately, the purāṇas do not give us different versions of any incident pertaining to any Andhra king. All are unanimous in saying that the first Andhra king killed the last Kaṇva. We may therefore accept this as a definite puranic statement. Whether it is true or false is quite another matter and has to be decided by other evidence.

93. *Determination of Puranic Regnal Periods.* The names of the Andhra kings and their respective positions in the puranic dynastic list do not offer so much difficulty as the fixing of the individual regnal period for each. There is so much discrepancy to be found in the different purāṇas and in the different manuscripts of the same purāṇa that at first sight it seems hopeless that connected and reliable reckonings can be at all obtained

that may with justice be avowed as puranic. The task, however, is not an impossibility if we remember that the purāṇas give total periods of dynastic reigns besides regnal years for individual kings. Regarding the duration of the total periods there is more unanimity than in that of the individual regnal periods. Very often the regnal years when added together do not tally with the total dynastic period. It may be assumed that the total periods give reliable and correct figures while the regnal periods contain errors that may be traced to various causes. The supposed error, however, may not be an error at all. The Vāyu mentions, for instance, that the Śiśunāka dynasty ruled for the total period of 362 years, but the individual regnal years when added together give 332 years only. There is a discrepancy of 30 years which has to be accounted for. It is absurd to suppose that the author of these statements could not even notice this simple arithmetical mistake and allowed it to stay on. Sometimes this sort of discrepancy has been adduced as proof of the unreliability of the purāṇas. More charitably disposed scholars have ascribed such 'mistakes' to scribes and have tried to correct them. These discrepancies are not to be regarded as errors; they are deliberate statements the reason for which may be easily found in most cases by a careful reading of the text.

94. *Durations of Reigns of Śiśunākas and Mauryas.* It has been said of the Śiśunākas that they ruled in Benares before they usurped the imperial throne. (Vap-a. 93.315.) Apparently the Śiśunākas were independent kings at Benares for 30 years before they became paramount. It is because of this that in the successive lists of paramount rulers the Śiśunākas have been allotted a reign of 332 years while as a dynasty they are said to have ruled as independent kings for 362 years. The Vāyupurāṇa is therefore not at all inconsistent in this matter; on the other hand, the apparent inconsistency, when interpreted in the light of the text, gives us valuable historical information. Similarly the discrepancy of 5 years between the summed-up regnal periods and the total period of reign of the puranic Mauryas may be explained on the supposition that Candragupta the conqueror of the Nandas ruled in the Punjab as an independent king for 5 years. A reference to Table IV will clearly show the consistency of the puranic chronology. The discrepancies, as I have said, can be satisfactorily explained in the majority of cases on the authority of the purāṇas themselves; they will then be seen to yield valuable historical information; *vide* notes to Table IV.

95. *Omissions and Unjustified Additions.* Omissions and unjustified additions in the list of kings for any dynasty can be satisfactorily adjusted in most cases by comparing the different purāṇas which usually show unanimity in their statements of the number of kings for each dynasty. Sometimes one or more

regnal periods would be missing. They can be supplied from more complete lists in other purāṇas. When the purāṇas differ in their statements of regnal periods a choice has to be made from among the contending versions. No correction of any regnal period in any purāṇa is justifiable. We can make a choice for our required list from among different versions. The convenient and plausible explanation of mistakes in transcription should not be a justification to alter puranic data to suit our requirements. The only exception is the case in which different readings are found in different manuscripts of the same purāṇa; in such circumstances, provided the errors of the scribe can be detected with certainty, corrections can be introduced into the copies giving a wrong version.

96. *Total Dynastic Reign as a Guide in selecting Individual Regnal Periods.* When different purāṇas give different regnal periods for the same king our choice should be guided by a reference to the total reigning period of the dynasty. The figures that give a correspondence between the summed-up regnal years and the recorded total period should be accepted. If no manuscript gives the required figure, it will be wise to acknowledge a failure. A forced correspondence produced by modifying puranic figures on the assumption of a copyist's mistake is to be strongly deprecated. Let me repeat again that one may accept or reject a puranic statement but nobody has the right to amend it. To cite an illustration, although it has been stated that there were 10 kings in the Maurya dynasty, only 9 kings with corresponding 9 regnal periods have been recorded in the Vāyu. The name of the missing king can be supplied from either the Viṣṇu or the Matsyapurāṇa which latter gives a list which is, however, very incomplete. The king has been called Saṅgata in the Viṣṇu and Saptati in the Matsya. The regnal period for this king in the Matsya is 9 years. This may be accepted to fill up the gap in the Vāyu. Even now we find that the summed-up regnal periods come up to only 132. The Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Matsya are unanimous in stating that the Mauryas ruled for 137 years. Our figure thus falls short of the required number of 137 by 5. Aśoka's regnal years have been mentioned as 26 by certain manuscripts of the Vāyu and as 36 in other manuscripts. The last figure is given by the Matsya also. If we now replace the Vāyu figure of 26 by the Matsya figure of 36 we get the total of 142 years. This again goes wide of the mark by an excess of 5. No amount of manipulation of the figures available from the different purāṇas will enable us to make the figures tally. If we assume, as I have indicated before, that Candragupta ruled for five years in some province as an independent king before he came to occupy the imperial throne we get over the difficulties. It is true that this assumption is not supported by any puranic text in so many words; if, however, we remember the definite statements of the purāṇas in similar cases in other dynasties, we

need have no hesitation in accepting the supposition. The *Vāyu* states that Kauṭilya after having ousted the Nandas installed 'King' Candragupta on the throne. Candragupta was thus already a king when he came to Magadha. (*Vap-a.* 99. 331.) Had no purāṇa mentioned Aśoka's regnal period as 36 we would not have been justified in introducing the figure, however great the temptation might have been to do so. A dynastic list can be called puranic only when it is based on the purāṇas. No figure should be introduced in drawing up a list in any case unless it has the authority of one of the purāṇas at least.

97. *Māgadhas, Sūtas and Purāṇakāras.* The methods of puranic interpretation that I have discussed here get support from the purāṇas themselves. There were three types of historical chroniclers in ancient India, *viz.*, the 'māgadhas', the 'sūtas' and the 'purāṇakāras'. Every king used to maintain a 'māgadha' in his court. The function of the 'māgadha' was to keep a record of the events of the reign of his master and of those of the preceding kings of the same dynasty. The 'māgadha' was the local State chronicler and it is conceivable that his records were often biased towards his master. The 'sūtas', on the other hand, were in nobody's employ, they visited different countries and courts and faithfully recorded what they saw or heard and thought to be true history. 'Sūtāḥ paurāṇikah prokta māgadhā vamśabedinah' (śloka quoted by Śridhar in his commentary on *Viṣṇupurāṇa*), *i.e.*, the 'sūtas' were recorders of puranic facts (history) while the 'māgadhas' were familiar with the events of individual dynasties. The functions and qualifications of the 'sūtas' have been described in *Vāyu*. 1. 31-32, 4. 8, 99. 213; *Matsya*. 164. 16-18; *Brahmānda*. 1. 21 and in various other places. According to these descriptions the sūtas were learned, intelligent and truthful persons who could be relied upon and who faithfully recorded according to their individual capacities and without any alteration what they saw or heard (yathāśakti, yathāvrittam, yathādṛiṣṭam, yathāśavdham, yathāśrutam). It was their duty (*svadharma*) to record the genealogies of 'gods', kings and ṛsis. The sūtas travelled about from place to place in search of historical information, and recited their records before learned ṛsis assembled at the performance of *yajñas*. The 'purāṇakāras' or the actual authors of the purāṇas were mostly ṛsis; they came to the *yajñas* for the purpose of hearing the sūtas who were expected to be present at the functions. The 'purāṇakāras' also recorded faithfully for their books whatever they could gather from the sūtas' recitation.

98. *Sound Resemblance of different Readings.* Each purāṇakāra noted exactly what he heard. It seems that the purāṇakāras did not get much opportunity of verifying their notes by consulting the sūta again. After the sūtas had finished their recitals they were richly rewarded by the ṛsis conducting the *yajñas*. The sūtas left immediately afterwards. (*Skp-b.*

Prabhās. 44. 27.) This fact would explain the peculiar variations of the same śloka in the different purāṇas. The sound-resemblance among the different readings is remarkable and can only be explained by the supposition that the different recorders heard the same person differently because the latter's voice happened to be indistinct at the time or because it was drowned to some extent in other noises. In an emergency of this type the individual purāṇakāras tried to maintain the sound-forms of the sūta's reading intact, at the same time keeping in mind the needs of grammar. A comparison of the ślokas Viṣṇu. IV. 24. 45-48, Vāyu. 99. 437-440 and Matsya. 273. 55-58 will show what frantic efforts the different purāṇakāras made to maintain the same sound-form while trying to avoid errors of facts and of grammar. (Ppv. pp. 180-194.) The preparation of an urtext for such passages only may be a justifiable procedure although it may not be possible in all cases. The absurd theory that big volumes of purāṇas were transmitted from generation to generation solely by being committed to memory cannot be applied here as the facts recorded in the ślokas refer to a time when, even according to the most ardent exponent of the 'memory theory', the art of writing must have been well established. Among the different auditory variations there is no reason why one version should be given preference over others for the purpose of correction. The puranic account is therefore not to be touched in any way. 'Vedabanniscalam manye purāṇam bai dvijottamah' (Skp-b. Prabhās. 2. 90), i.e., 'O learned brāhmaṇas, the purāṇas are considered to be as fixed as the Vedas themselves'. Although the purāṇas, as written by the purāṇakāras, are inviolable, there is nothing to prevent the 'purāṇārthakāra' or the interpreter of the purāṇas from rejecting one version or the other, after consideration of the different purāṇas, or from offering his own explanations of facts. The intention of the purāṇakāras is that the original sources should be left untouched.

7. PURANIC CHRONOLOGY

99. *Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Matsya suffice in drawing up a connected Chronology.* If we follow the methods of

XXVIII. Puranic Chronology puranic interpretation discussed above, it will be possible to draw up a connected chrono-

logical story that may be deemed avowedly 'puranic' by consulting the easily available printed editions of Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Matsya. These three should suffice and there would be no need to hunt after the manuscripts of all the extant purāṇas for this purpose. It is possible that variations might be discovered regarding minor details in other purāṇas but they will in no way affect the validity of the main conclusions drawn from the three sources mentioned here. Even if a different, connected and consistent story can be built up from other

manuscripts or from other purāṇas, the possibility of any of which I deny however, it can be considered as a different version of puranic chronology and it would then be desirable to consider which is to be accepted. So long as such a different version is not forthcoming we may safely adopt the puranic account given here for the purposes of history.

100. *Andhra Chronology as Part of a Bigger Scheme.* The puranic Andhra chronology is to be considered not as an isolated affair but as a part of a bigger scheme that would include the preceding dynasties as well. This will bring out the wonderful consistency of the puranic account and will help us to understand the strength of the puranic evidence and its reliability. After such a table has been prepared it will be time to make an effort to correlate it with inscriptive and other data. To economize space I have arranged the puranic data in tabular form. The justification of selecting a particular figure from variants will be apparent from a close inspection of the table and of the figures for accepted total periods of dynastic reigns. The remarks and notes appended to the tables will also serve to explain the choice. I have made no effort in the tables to determine the correct names of kings. I consider this to be an impossible task in the present state of our knowledge. It will be seen that the Viṣṇupurāṇa does not give regnal periods for individual kings. The list of 30 Andhra kings is in accordance with the Radcliffe copy quoted by Wilson and amended by Hall. The dates in Christian era have been fixed in accordance with the accepted regnal years and on the assumption that Nanda's coronation took place 401 years before Christ. The grounds for this supposition have been discussed in connection with the reference era of the purāṇas. The date of Nanda's coronation is the key-date in later puranic chronology. (120-131.)

TABLE IV. PURANIC REGNAL YEARS AND CHRONOLOGY.

King No.	NAMES OF PURANIC KINGS			REGNAL YEARS			Total years	Date b.C.	Notes
	Vip.-w	Vap-a	Mtp-a	Vap	Mtp	Accepted			
<i>Pradyotas</i>									
0	Suniķa	..	Pulaka	..	..	..	10	881	Muniķa killed his master and installed his minor son (Mtp. 858 272, 2) on the throne and managed the empire for 10 years.
1	Pradyotana	..	Pulaka's boy	..	23	13		871*	
2	Pālaka	..	Pālaka	..	24	24		858	
3	Vīśakha-yūpa	..	Vīśakha-yūpa	..	50	53		834	
4	Janaka	..	Ajaka	..	31	21		784	
5	Nandivardhana	..	Vartivardhana	..	20	20		733	The family is named after Muniķa's son and the total period of reign from Pradyota to Nandivardhana is 138 years as the purāṇas record it.
	Stated No.	5	..	..	..	..		..
	Total years	138	138	148	155	148	148	..	
<i>Śiśumākas</i>									
1	Śiśumākas in Baranasi	..	Śiśumāka	..	..	..	30	..	
2	Śiśunāga	..	Śiśunāga	..	40	40		733	
3	Kākavarna	..	Kākavarna	..	36	36		693	
4	Kṣemadharman	..	Kṣemavarma	..	20	26		657	
5	Kṣatrinrajas	..	Ajātasestru	..	25	24		637	
6	Vidmisara	..	Kṣatratja	..	40	28		612	
7	..	..	..	..	..	..		332	
8	Ajātasañtru	..	Vivisara	..	..	..		572	
9	Darbhaka	..	Darsaka	..	28	27		544	
10	Udayasīva	..	Udayī	..	25	24		519	
	Nandivardhana	..	Nandivardhana	..	33	33		486	
	Mahānandin	..	Mahānandi	..	42	40		444	
	..	..	..	..	43	43		401	

TABLE IV. PURANIC REGNAL YEARS AND CHRONOLOGY—*continued*

King No.	NAMES OF PURANIC KINGS			REGNAL YEARS.			Total years	Date b.C.	Notes
	Vip-w	Vap-a	Mtp-a	Vap	Mtp	Accepted			
<i>Mauryas</i>									
1	Candragupta outside Magadha	..	..	..	..	..	5	320	Matsya does not mention the order of succession of the Mauryas.
2	Candragupta Bindusāra	..	Maurya	24	..	19	315	296	
		..	..	25	..	25	296		
3	Asokavardhana	..	Śaka	..	..	..	271	235	Vap-a, kha, gha. 99. 332, n. 27 give 36 years as Asoka's regnal period.
4	Suyasas	..	Kunjal	..	..	..	137	227	The summed up regnal periods of the Mauryas give 142 years while the dynastic reign is stated to be 137 years.
5	Daśaratha	..	Daśaratha	..	..	..	219	210	The discrepancy of 5 years is to be explained by the assumption that Candragupta was an independent king for this period before he ousted the Nandas of Magadha (96).
6	Sangreta	..	Sapati	..	..	..	200	193	
7	Śalistaka	..	Indrapālī	..	..	..	185	185	
8	Somaśarmā	..	Devavarmā	..	..	..	178	178	
9	Śatadhanvan	..	Śatadhar	..	..	..	..	..
10	Br̥hadhr̥tha	..	Br̥hadasya	..	..	..	..	..
	..	..	Br̥hadhr̥tha's son	..	..	..	..	..
	
	
Stated No.	10	9	10	..	..	..	..	..
Total years	137	137	137	123	136	142	142	142	

<i>Sūnigas</i>		<i>Karavas</i>	
1	Puspanītra	Puspanītra	Puṣyamitra
2	Agnīmitra	Puspanītra's son	..
3	Sūjyesthā	Jyesthā	Vasujyesthā
4	Vasumītra	Vasumītra	Vasumītra
5	Ārdraaka	Andhraka	Antaka
6	Pulindaka	Pulindaka	Pulindaka
7	Ghosasvāsu	Ghosasvāsu	Vajramitra
8	Vajramitra	Vikramitra	Punarbhava
9	Bhāgavata	Bhāgavata	Samabhāga
10	Devabhūti	Kṣemabhūti	Devabhūmi
	Stated No.	..	..
	10	10	..
	112	300?	136
	Total years 112		102
			112
			..
			66
			45
			57
			43
			31
			21
			..
			45

TABLE IV. PURANIC REGNAL YEARS AND CHRONOLOGY—*continued*

King No.	NAMES OF PURANIC KINGS			REGNAL YEARS			Total Years	Date	Notes
	Vip-w	Vap-a	Mtp-a	Vap	Mtp	Accepted			
<i>Andhras</i>									
1	Śipraka	Sindhuka	Śīsuka	23	23		21	b.C.	
2	Kṛṣṇa	Bhāṭa	Kṛṣṇa	18	18	18	20	a.C. 2	The complete list of Andhra kings is to be found in Radcliffe's manuscript quoted by Wilson and amended by Hall in Vip-w. IV. p. 201, n.
3	Śri Śātakarni	...	Śri Mallakarni	18	18	18	38		
4	Pūrṇotsanga	...	Pūrṇotsanga	18	18	18			
5	Śātakarni	...	Śrī Śātakarni	18	18	18	56		The 5th king is called Śātakarnī in Hall's manuscript.
6	Lambodara	...	Sācakarni	56	56	56	74		Also called Dvivikāka.
7	IVīlaka	...	Lambodara	18	18	18	130		
8	Meghavāṭi	...	Āpādabādiha	40	12	12	148		
9	...	...	Āpītaka	...					
10	...	...	Sāṅgha	18	18	18	328		
11	...	...	Śātakarni	18	18	18	178		
12	...	...	Skandhasvāṭi	7	7	7	196		
13	...	...	Mrigendra	3	3	3	203		
14	...	...	Kuntalasvāṭi	8	8	8	206		
15	Patumat	...	Kuntalasvāṭi	8	8	8	206		
16	Aristakarman	...	Svātiikarna	1	1	1	214		
17	Hāla	...	Pulomāvīt	36	36	36	213		
18	Patiālaka	...	Gorakṣasvāṭi	25	25	25	251		
19	Pravillasena	...	Hāla	1	5	5	276		
			Māntalaka	1	5	5	281		
			Pūrnikāṣṭa	21	5	21	286		There were 19 Andhra kings (Mtp-a. 16-18).

TABLE V. SYNOPTIC TABLE OF DYNASTIC REIGNING PERIODS

Dynasty	Purāna	Stated number of Kings	Number of names recorded	Stated dynastic reign in years	Sum of recorded regnal years	Reference
Pradyotas	Vip.-W	5	5	138	148	IV. 24, pp. 178, 179.
	Vap.-a	5	5	138	155	99, 314.
	Mfp.-a	5	5	152?	155	272, 5.
Śisunākas	Vip.-W	10	10	362	332	IV. p. 182.
	Vap.-a	10	10	362	344	99, 321.
	Mfp.-a	12	12	360		272, 13.
Nardas	Vip.-W	9	2	100	40+x	IV. pp. 185, 186.
	Vap.-a	9	2	100	100	99, 330.
	Mfp.-a	9	2	100	100	272, 22.
Mauryas	Vip.-W	10	10	137	123	IV. p. 190.
	Vap.-a	9	9	137	136	99, 336.
	Mfp.-a	10	6	137	136	272, 26.
Śuṅgas	Vip.-W	10	10	112	136	IV. p. 192.
	Vap.-a	10	9	112	102	99, 342, 343.
	Mfp.-a	10	9	300?	102	272, 31, 32.
Kavayas	Vip.-W	4	4	45	55	IV. p. 193.
	Vap.-a	4	4	45	45	99, 346, 347.
	Mfp.-a	40	4	45	45	272, 32, 36.
Andhras	Vip.-W	30	24	456	269 ₁ ₂	IV. pp. 199, 200.
	Vap.-a	30	16	456	436 ₁ ₂	99, 357, 358.
	Mfp.-a; Vip.-W	19+7+x	29+	460		-a, 273, 17, 18; Vip.-W. IV. p. 201.

TABLE VI. STATED INTERVALS

Intervals	Purāṇa	Years	Reference
From birth of Parikṣit to Mahāpadma Nanda's coronation.	Vip-w	1,015	IV. p. 229.
	Vap-a	1,050	99. 415.
	Mtp-a	1,050	273. 36.
From Mahāpadma Nanda's coronation to the end of the Andhras.	Vip	....	....
	Vap-a	836	99. 416, 417.
	Mtp-a	836	273. 37, 38.

101. *Twofold check for Regnal Periods.* From an examination of Tables Nos. IV, V and VI XXIX. Nanda as Regent of Mahānandi it will be seen that a perfectly consistent chronological account of the later puranic kings can be made out from the puranic records. It is possible to do so in spite of different readings of regnal years because of a twofold check provided by the purāṇas themselves. In the first place there is a remarkable unanimity among the purāṇas in their statements of the number of kings for each dynasty and for the total period of the dynastic reign. The total figure enables us to choose the regnal periods correctly from among a number of variants when they exist. Where there is a discrepancy between the total period and the properly chosen summed-up regnal years, as in the cases of the Śiśunākas and the Mauryas, it may be assumed that the succeeding dynasty came from a different province where it had already been independent for the time indicated by the difference. Usually the purāṇas have given the proper hint in such cases. The second check lies in the stated intervals. The relevant different total dynastic reigns when added together should tally with the stated interval.

102. *Nanda as Regent.* If we add the puranic successive dynastic periods from Nanda to the end of the Andhras we get (Nandas—88 years+Mauryas—137 years+Śuṇigas—112 years+Kaṇvas—45 years+Andhras—456 years =) 838 years. But Vāyu (99. 416, 417) and Matsya (273. 36-38) both state that there is an interval of 836 years between Nanda's coronation and the end of the Andhras. The discrepancy of (838—836 =) 2 years is to be explained on the supposition that Nanda acted as the regent of his father Mahānandi during the last 2 years of the latter's reign. I first made this suggestion in my book *Purāṇapravēśa* (pp. 97, 134, 153, 154) in 1934. Since then the publication of *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* by Jayaswal has strikingly confirmed the supposition by the statement that Nanda was the *mantri* of Mahānandi for some time before his kingship. (Slokas 422-424.) Besides these two checks, the application of which will be apparent from Tables IV and V, the purāṇakāras have mentioned yet another chronological control.

103. *Cycle of 2,700 Years.* The purānakāras thought that it required a hundred generations to cover a period of 27 centuries. (Vap-a. 99. 418.)

XXX. Saptarsi Century

They devised a century scale on this basis and called it the Saptarsi Cycle. The Saptarsi Cycle consisted of 2,700 years divided into centuries. The centuries were named according to the 27 stellar constellations. The cycle was called the Saptarsi Cycle from the convention that the straight line passing through the mid-point of the line connecting the first two stars of the Ursa Major or the Saptarsi and the pole, when prolonged, was supposed to travel across the 27 constellations, one by one, taking 100 years to cover each. The idea originated in the observed movement of this line as a result of the precession of the equinoxes. The actual amount of this movement does not, however, correspond to the conventional movement of the Saptarsi line that is supposed to demarcate the stellar centuries. Anyway, the convention of the Saptarsi Yuga was a recognized time scale. Primarily the Saptarsi Cycle was counted from 'Jyeṣṭhā', literally the 'eldest' constellation. Later on the first point or epoch was shifted to 'Aśvini' which was called the first century. (Ppv. pp. 86-.) To distinguish the two methods of counting the first is called the 'prayuga' and the second 'navayuga' or simply 'saptarsi yuga' in the purāṇas. It is stated both in the Vāyu (99. 418) and in the Matsya (273. 39) that the Saptarsi Cycle will end and begin again at the time of the Andhra dynasty.

104. *The end of the Saptarsi Cycle during the Andhra Period.* The two ślokas, referred to here, offer certain difficulties in explanation. I have consulted several learned pundits regarding grammar, syntax and meaning of the ślokas which I quote here for ready reference. The *anvaya* and the meaning given here have been suggested by the pundits I consulted. The Vāyu śloka runs:

Saptarsayastadā prāhuh pratipe rājñi bai śatam
Saptavimśaiḥ śatairbhābhyā andhrānām te tvayā punah.
(Vap-a. 99. 418.)

The *anvaya* is: Andhrānām (kāle) śatam (saṁkhyah) rājñi pratipe bai tadā punah te saptarsayah saptavimśaiḥ śataih tvayā bhābhyā (iti) prāhuh (śrutarsayah). The meaning is: 'During the time of the Andhras, when counting backwards, a hundred kings will have passed away, the saptarsis, you should know, will begin again for 27 centuries, so say the sages'. The Matsya śloka is as follows:

Saptarsayastadā prāṁśu pradīptenāgninā samāḥ
Saptavimśati bhābhyānām-andhrānām tu yadā punah.
(Mtp-a. 273. 39.)

The *anvaya* is: Yadā saptavimśati bhābhyānām andhrānām (kālah) tadā tu punah saptarsayah pradīptenāgninā samāḥ

prāṁśu (bhavīṣyanti). The meaning is: 'During the time of the future 27 Andhra kings the saptarśis will rise high again like flaming fire'.

If instead of reading 'saptavimśatibhābyānām' we read 'saptavimśatirbhābyānām', the *anvaya* would be: Yadā bhābyānām andhrānām (kālah) tadā prāṁśu pradiptenāgninā samāḥ saptavimśatih saptarśayah punah (bhavīṣyanti), *i.e.*, 'During the time of the future Andhras the twenty-seven saptarśis that rise like high flaming fire will begin their course again'.

Whichever version of the Vāyu and the Matsya śloka we accept the meaning is clear that a new Saptarśi Cycle began during the time of the Andhras.

105. *The Kali Yuga.* According to the purāṇas Nanda's period falls within the 'pūrvāśādha' century. (Vip-w. IV. p. 234.) Pūrvāśādha century is the 20th navayuga. Parikṣit's time is the maghā century (Vip-w. IV. p. 233), *i.e.*, the 10th navayuga. There are still other time cycles to be considered. There is a time scale in the purāṇas which may be called the Dharma Yuga. This consists of four periods, *viz.*, kṛta, tretā, dvāpara and kali; the respective durations of these are in the ratio of 4 : 3 : 2 : 1. This manner of division on the 'dharma' scale may be applied to any yuga or cycle. For historical records the purāṇakāras further conceived of a short yuga of 5 years. (Vip-w. II. p. 255.) A thousand such yugas, *i.e.*, 5,000 years, constituted a kalpa. This cycle of 5,000 years was divided on the dharma scale, *i.e.*, it comprised a kṛta of 2,000 years, a tretā of 1,500 years, a dvāpara of 1,000 years and a kali of 500 years. Each of these is supposed to begin and end with a transition period of as many months as the years of the division itself. Thus dvāpara ends with a transition period of 1,000 months and kali begins with one of 500 months. I made a full discussion of these time scales in my book 'Purāṇapraveśa'.

106. *The Maghā Century and the Kali.* It is said in the Mahābhārata (Ādi. 2. 13) that the war between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas took place when the transition periods between dvāpara and kali were over, *i.e.*, 500 months or about 42 years after kali started. This is the year of Parikṣit's birth as well. The purāṇas state that the maghā century of the Saptarśi Cycle and the kali of the Kalpa Cycle started at the same time. (Vip-w. IV. p. 233; Bgp. 6. 122. 31.) According to Viṣṇu the interval between Parikṣit's birth and Nanda's coronation is 1,015 years. Supposing Nanda's coronation took place in 401 b.C., the Mahabharatan war, according to the purāṇas, must have occurred about 1416 b.C. and the kali must have started in (1416 + 42 =) 1458 b.C. (128-131.) Then again this would be the beginning of the maghā, *i.e.*, of the 10th saptarsi century as well. Counting from the 1st nakṣatra aśvini, the 27th nakṣatra, *i.e.*, the last of the cycle, is revatī. From the beginning of maghā the 10th saptarśi century to the end of revatī the 27th, there would be

1,800 years. Therefore the 'nava' Saptarṣī Cycle came to an end in (1800-1458 =) 342 a.C. and a new Saptarṣī Cycle began with aśvinī as the 1st century which lasted from 342 to 442 a.C. According to the purāṇas, therefore, the end of the Andhra dynasty falls within this period.

107. *Parikṣit-Andhra Interval of 1,893 Years.* The birth of Parikṣit occurred after 42 years had elapsed of the maghā century which began simultaneously with the kali. From the birth of Parikṣit to the coronation of Nanda there is an interval of 1,015 years and from the latter to the end of the Andhras there is the interval of 836 years. Therefore from the starting point of the maghā century to *the end of the Andhras* there is an interval of (42+1015+836 =) 1,893 years. Again from the same starting point to *the end of the aśvinī* of the new Saptarṣī Cycle there is an interval of 1,900 years (maghā is the 10th century, the last century is the 27th; from maghā to the end of the cycle there are thus 18 centuries = 1,800 years. Add 100 years for the 1st century aśvinī of the new cycle. This gives 1,900 years). The fixed period of 1,893 years must fall, according to the purāṇas, within this maghā-aśvinī limit of 1,900 years. There is no difficulty in accepting this. The first is less by (1900-1893 =) 7 years than the second. If we had accepted the Vāyu figure of 1,050 years instead of the Viṣṇu figure 1,015 as interval between Parikṣit and Nanda, our total would have been (42+1050+836 =) 1,928 years; this would have exceeded the maghā-aśvinī limit of 1,900 years by 28. Accepting Nanda's coronation at 401 b.C. the end of the Andhras is to be fixed at (836-401 =) 435 a.C., and since the aśvinī century ended in 442 a.C. the purāṇas are seen to be quite consistent in assigning aśvinī to the end of the Andhras. Further information about Saptarṣī Cycle and puranic chronology will be found in my book 'Purāṇapraveśa'.

108. *Concord of four different Counts in Puranic Chronology.* Although the saptarṣī count is a century scale and is not of much use in finer calculations it has turned out, in the present circumstances, to be a valuable means of checking the correctness of the puranic stated intervals. The intervals provide a corrective for the dynastic total periods which in their turn serve as control for the individual regnal years. The concord of puranic dates derived from four different and independent counts, *viz.*, (i) regnal years, (ii) total dynastic reigns, (iii) stated intervals, and (iv) saptarṣī indications, is an index of the internal consistency of the chronological record of the purāṇas and is a strong presumptive evidence of its authenticity. It will be noticed that no astronomical calculation is necessary to fix the different puranic chronological systems. All time readings can be derived from definite and direct statements.

109. *Generation Interval.* A few words may be said here

XXXI. Regnal Periods and Generation Interval regarding regnal periods about which many mistaken notions are common among historians. If in any family the date of a person is known, the date of any of his ancestors or successors whose position in the family tree is known can be guessed with some amount of reliability by means of a factor which I propose to call 'the generation interval'. To determine the generation interval between a father and a son it is necessary to know at what age of the father the son was born. The interval may also be calculated from a fixed age of the father to the same age of the son, *e.g.*, a certain person was 25 years old in 1914 and his son attains the same age in 1938; the generation interval is 24 years. In short, the generation interval is the difference in age between a father and his son. The generation interval thus naturally varies according to the age of the father at which a child is born. When there are several children the generation interval between father and son is greater in the case of the younger children than in that of the elder ones. In royal families it is generally the eldest son that succeeds to the throne: so if we could determine the age of the father at which the first male child is born we would get a generation interval that would enable us to fix with some degree of accuracy the dates of kings belonging to any particular dynasty in the absence of chronological records. Late marriage, birth of daughters before the son and death of the eldest son all cause variations in the generation interval for royal families. Then again if the succession to the throne does not pass from the father to the son, the generation interval becomes a false guide in settling chronologies.

110. '*Average Regnal Period*' is a False Guide. Since it is rare that a son is born before the father's 18th year, an average of regnal periods below 18 in any series is a certain evidence of repeated interference with direct succession from the father to the son with regard to the kings. Since the age of the father at which a son is born is determined by biological factors, it varies only within certain limits, say between 18 and 40. Regnal years, on the other hand, may show such wide variations, *e.g.*, between a single day and 70 years or more that it is worse than useless to fix 'an average regnal period'. One should distinguish between the factor of 'average regnal period' that may be proposed to be taken as a guide to chronological calculations where dates are unknown and 'the average of regnal periods' of a particular dynasty where the total period of dynastic reign as well as the numbers of kings have been recorded. The 'average regnal period' is a false guide while 'the average of regnal periods'

calculated from known data is an index that may give us valuable information.

111. *Determination of Generation Interval.* Unfortunately in many instances historians have calculated dates for ancient Indian kings by postulating, each scholar according to his individual fancy, a so-called 'average regnal period' when neither the relations of the successive kings to one another nor their total periods were known. When we know that successive kings stand in the relation of father and son 'the generation interval' may certainly be used for chronological calculation. Here again there is no field for individual choice. I give below a table showing the average ages of the father at which the first, the second and the third son respectively are born in Bengali brāhmaṇa and kāyastha families. The calculations were kindly undertaken on my behalf by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, I.E.S., Secretary of the Indian Statistical Institute and Editor of the statistical journal 'Sāṅkhya'. The data were obtained from the records of the Students Welfare Committee of the Calcutta University.

TABLE VII

Sons	Average Age of Father	Probable Error	Number of Data	Standard Deviation
1st son ..	27.16	± 0.19	403	5.7
2nd ..	30.36	± 0.18	401	5.47
3rd ..	33.79	± 0.22	359	6.41

112. *Generation Interval in the Purāṇas.* The Bengali kāyasthas have kept a count of their generations from the time of Ballāla Sena. At the present time the generation numbers of adult Bengali kāyasthas vary between 20 and 30; the most common generation number among young men of twenty is 28. Ballāla Sena's date is known to be about 1158 A.D. The interval between 1938 A.D. and 1158 A.D. is 780 years. If we divide this by $(28 - 1 =) 27$, the number of generation intervals for the most common generation number, (the number of generation intervals is one less than the generation number), we get the 'average generation interval' to be 28.9. This tallies with the figures in the table. It will be remembered that the purāṇas believe that 100 kings cover a period of 2,700 years (103); the 'generation interval', according to them, is therefore 27 years. This is remarkably in accordance with the actual state of affairs and the figure must have been found by long continued careful observation.

113. *British Figures.* The British figures for the age of the mother at which the first daughter is born are as follows:

TABLE VIII

A.D.	Mother's average age at which first daughter was born
1861-1870	28.9
1871-1880	29.0
1881-1890	29.3
1891-1900	29.6
1901-1910	29.9
1910-1912	30.0
1920-1922	29.8

These are British Registrar General's data taken from C. R. Rich—'The measurement of population growth', Journal of the Institute of Actuaries, Vol. LXV, Part No. 3111, 1934, Table 5, p. 52. The corresponding figures for males are not available to me.

114. *Average Generation Interval is 28 ± 6 Years.* The 'average generation interval' for historical purposes may thus be taken at about 28 years with a standard deviation of 6. It should be remembered that this figure serves as a reliable guide only in the case of a long series of kings where the succession from father to son has been uninterrupted. It must be admitted that opportunities of applying the 'generation interval factor' profitably must be very rare. The factor, however, serves as a control to check the averages of regnal periods of dynasties.

115. *Variation of Generation Interval.* The generation interval shows variations. For a small series the variations cover a wider range and the interval may go beyond 35 in the upward direction. In my own family, reckoned from known dates for the last 7 generations, it is just 35 years. The average of reigning periods, which must not be confused with the generation interval, for 5 kings from Humayun to Aurangzib is as high as 35.4 years. This is because the direct line was uninterrupted. In English history for 11 rulers, from Richard II to Mary, the average of the reigning periods is only 16.4 years, showing that the continuity of the family line was repeatedly broken; for 5 kings, from John to Edward III, the average is 36.6, showing that the direct line was intact in this series.

116. *Averages of Reigning Periods for the Puranic Dynasties.* The averages of the reigning periods of the puranic kings for the different dynasties are as follows:

TABLE IX

Dynasty	Number of Kings	Total Reign in Years	Average of Reigning Periods
Pradyota	5	148	29.6
Śiśunāka	10	332	33.2
Nanda	9	100	11.1
Maurya	10	137	13.7
Śunga	10	112	11.2
Kaṇva	4	45	11.2
Andhra	30	456	15.2

Of the above average figures none is inherently improbable. The averages of reigning periods for the Pradyotas and the Śiśunākas, when checked by the factor of generation interval, are seen to lie well within the normal limits of 28 ± 6 . The puranic averages of reigning periods give us the very valuable historical information that only in the Pradyota and the Śiśunāka dynasties the succession from father to son was likely to have been uninterrupted. In all the other dynasties repeated disturbances in family succession must have taken place.

117. *Vincent Smith's Doubts are untenable.* Vincent Smith writes 'Although the fact that the Śaisunāga dynasty consisted of ten kings may be admitted, neither the duration assigned by the Purāṇas to the dynasty as a whole, nor that allotted to certain reigns, can be accepted. Experience proves that in a long series an average of twenty-five years to a generation is rarely attained, and that this average is still more rarely exceeded in a series of reigns as distinguished from generations'. (Ehi. p. 47.) Wherever there is an uninterrupted succession from father to son the average reigning period, as I have already indicated, is likely to rise above 25 and it would not be wrong to say even above 30 years in a short series like that of the Śiśunākas. Vincent Smith also doubts the possibility of the successive high figures 42 and 43 for the regnal years of Nandivardhana and Mahānandi. (Ehi. p. 41.) There is, however, nothing inherently improbable in this. Let us suppose that Nandivardhana ascended the throne in his 23rd year and that Mahānandi, his son, was born at his 40th year. He may be supposed to have died at 65 years. This gives him a regnal period of 42 years. At the time of Mahānandi's death his son would be 25 years old; there is nothing to suppose that he could not have attained the age of 68 which would give him a 43 years' reign. Vincent Smith is utterly wrong in his suppositions regarding both dynastic and individual reigning periods as the previous discussions should prove.

118. *Discrepancies.* We find that the puranic accounts, as regards either recorded regnal years or XXXII. Preservation of Purāṇas dynamic total periods, may safely be relied upon. The chronology also is found to be strongly supported by various internal evidence. The discrepancies that have been noticed are just of the type that one would expect in authentic accounts recorded by different persons and transmitted in writing on frail material by scribes from generation to generation. When it is remembered that information more than 2,500 years old has been preserved in this manner one wonders that there have not been discrepancies of a more serious nature. The causes that prevented this mischief and served to preserve the purāṇas from total extinction lie in the religious attitude of the Indian public towards them, an attitude deliberately fostered by the purāṇakāras. It is said by the purāṇas that anybody, who makes a copy of a purāṇa and presents it to a learned brāhmaṇa, attains heaven; any one who hears, recites or preserves the dynastic lists is sure to be blessed with children, riches and so on. (Vip-b. IV. 3; Vap-a. 99. 462-463; Mtp-a. 53.) I have already said that the purāṇas have been considered to be as inviolable as the Vedas. Vans Kennedy wrote in 1840 'It is, at least, certain that the manuscripts of the Purāṇas which are, at this day, spread over India, from Cashmere to the extremity of the southern peninsula, and from Jagannatha to Dwaraka, contain precisely the same works; and it is, therefore, most probable that the Purāṇas have always been preserved in precisely the same state as that in which they were first committed to writing'. (Vip-w. Appendix, p. 293. n.)

119. *Successive Redactors of the Purāṇas.* From all this it is not to be supposed that the purāṇas were written down in some remote ancient time in their present form and have remained in that state ever since. The original accounts of the different purāṇas were regularly supplemented with fresh historical materials from age to age and were brought up to date by successive purāṇakāras. The names of 24 such successive editors of the Visnupurāṇa are to be found in that work in Bk. VI. Chap. 8. 42-. The names of the redactors of the Vāyu are mentioned in Vāyu. 103. 58-; they are 30 in number. The prophetic form of writing is a convention that serves to perpetuate the memory of some past illustrious purāṇakāra. It is not a deliberate device to dupe the credulous laity. We have parallel instances at the present time also. Gray's Anatomy still goes by that name although successive editors have changed the original beyond recognition. One may similarly hope that Wells's history will be called by that name 500 years hence although fresh materials might continue to be added from time to time to keep it up to date. In this connection it is interesting to note that an unknown redactor, following the old tradition, has sought to bring the Bhavisyapurāṇa up to date by inserting

historical accounts that come down to the time of Queen Victoria. A historical record in the purāṇas is not to be necessarily disbelieved simply because it happened to have been added to in later times.

8. THE PURANIC ERA

120. *Nanda's Coronation Date as Point of Reference.* I shall now take up the question whether the purāṇakāras have

XXXIII. The Era mentioned any era with reference to which the used in the Purāṇas regnal years, the total periods and the intervals recorded by them may be definitely located. It must be admitted at once that they have not specified by name any era of this sort, but that they actually did use one is to be inferred from certain passages in the purāṇas. When anybody writes that Alexander died 323 years before the birth of Christ and the great European War took place 1,914 years after Christ was born, one is justified in concluding that the birth of Christ coincided with the epoch of an era started in commemoration of the event. Now compare with this the ślokas 415, 416 and 417 of chapter 99 of the Vāyu. These ślokas may be translated as follows: 'From the coronation of Mahādeva (Mahāpadma Nanda) to the birth of Parikṣit an interval of 1,050 years is to be recognized. The measure of an interval that comes after Mahāpadma has also been stated; this interval is known to be one of 836 years; it is said that this period denotes the end of the Andhras. The time interval has been counted by future learned ṛṣis versed in the purāṇas.'

Similarly the Matsya states: 'From the coronation of Mahāpadma to the birth of Parikṣit 1,050 years have been known to have elapsed. Till Paulomā or till the Andhras after Mahāpadma again there is an interval of 836 years. These (two) intervals intervene between Parikṣit and the end of the Andhras. They have been counted by learned ṛṣis versed in the purāṇas in later times.' (Mtp-a. 273. 36-38.) The Viṣṇupurāṇa states: From the birth of Parikṣit to the coronation of Nanda [an interval is to be taken into account], this [interval] is to be recognized as [one of] fifteen [years] in addition to one thousand years. (Vip-b. IV. 24. 32; Vip-w. p. 230.) The Viṣṇupurāṇa mentions the interval between Nanda and Parikṣit only and puts it down at 1,015 years instead of 1,050 years as in the Vāyu and in the Matsya. [For transliteration of the Vap, Mtp and Vip ślokas, referred to in this paragraph, see ap.] These statements justify the assumption that the later purāṇakāras used Nanda's coronation as the central reference point of their time records, *i.e.*, they used the date of Mahāpadma Nanda's coronation as the epoch of an era for the purposes of chronology. We may call this era the Nanda era.

121. *The Nanda Era.* The Nanda era seems to have been in continuous use from the time of Nanda till the end of the Andhras at least. Nanda was a very powerful monarch who, as the purāṇas state, annihilated all independent kṣatriya kings and brought the whole country under his sway. If the purāṇas are to be believed, he was a greater emperor than even Yudhiṣṭhīra. It is perfectly natural that Nanda should have started an era of his own; much lesser kings have done the same. This consideration, when taken in conjunction with the puranic statements mentioned above, makes it almost certain that Nanda did start an era. Nanda's era must have acquired wide currency as he ruled over an extensive empire.

122. *Fate of the Nanda Era.* One is naturally curious to know what happened to this era. No absolutely certain information can be given on this point. No inscription or coin or any literary reference that mentions this era has yet been discovered; this is rather strange, as the fact that the purāṇakāras continued to count time in terms of this era for 800 years at least till as late as the end of the Andhras proves that the era must have been more widely prevalent and better known than either the Vikrama Samvat or the Śakabda. My contention is that the Nanda era has all along been in continuous use since the time of Nanda under a modified form and a different name and it is still being used at the present time. The Kali era that the Indian almanacs have been recording from year to year from a very remote past, and that has been used as a point of reference by all astronomers, is really a modified Nanda era. This supposition, as I shall presently show, gives a date for Nanda's coronation that fits in extremely well with the whole scheme of puranic chronology; taking this as the starting point of our calculations we can fix the dates of all the puranic dynasties and of all individual kings from the recorded total and regnal periods as has been done in Table IV. The dates thus obtained for Candragupta, Aśoka and others will be seen to be in perfect accord with those obtained from other sources. In fact these puranic dates serve to clear up many obscure points in ancient Indian history. They do not clash with any definite finding from any other reliable source. The supposition may therefore be considered to be of the nature of a theory in science. A theory is justifiable and is acceptable if it offers a satisfactory and adequate explanation of different facts.

123. *Social Order in the Kali Yuga.* In order to understand how the Nanda era was transformed into the Kali era of the present time we have to turn to the purāṇas again. I have already pointed out that the Kalpa Cycle of 5,000 years was divided into four unequal divisions in the ratio of 4 : 3 : 2 : 1. This gave a kali of 500 years. The motive behind this division was based on socio-religious conceptions

XXXIV. Transformation of Nanda Era.

of the purāṇakāras. 'Sūryasiddhānta' says that the division of a kalpa into kṛta, etc. is for the purpose of indicating 'dharma-pāda', i.e., the socio-religious state of the people. (1. 16.) During the kṛta period the dharma of the society is believed to be of the order of 'four quarters', i.e., it is at its best; in tretā it is three quarters, in dvāpara it is two quarters and in kali the dharma is merely one quarter. According to the purāṇakāras there was no conception of sin in the society in the early kṛta yuga; social order became fixed in tretā when kings laid down laws for the conduct of people; the idea of sin developed at this stage. The sinful propensities of men went on increasing progressively till in kali only one quarter dharma was left. After the end of kali the social order was supposed to begin anew from the kṛta stage. (Vap-a. 57, 58, 59.) The purāṇakāras believed in a regular cycle of social and moral development.

124. *Kalki and the new Kṛta Age.* The Vāyu says that in the kali age, the brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas gradually get extinct and most of the kings happen to be of the sūdra caste and they become patrons of the 'pāsanda faith'. It is commonly believed that the kali age is still going on and that when this age ends Kalki, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, will be born and will restore the social and religious order to its pristine glory ushering in a new kṛta age. Curiously enough the Kalkipurāṇa describes the exploits of Kalki not in the prophetic form but as events of the past. It says that Kalki was born long ago, that he married the daughter of king Bṛhadratha, took king Viśākhayūpa as his ally and killed king Suddhodana and all mleechas, yavanas and other heretics and restored dharma on this earth. (Klp. 1. 4. 30 ; 2. 1. 25 ; 2. 3. 76 ; 2. 7. 28.)

125. *Contemporaries of Kalki.* The tradition, on which the Kalkipurāṇa is based, gives us three important items of information, viz., (i) Kalki lived in the past, (ii) he was a contemporary of Viśākhayūpa, Bṛhadratha and Suddhodana, and (iii) he ushered in the kṛta yuga. I have already pointed out that the puranic kali yuga began in 1458 b.C. (on the assumption that Nanda's coronation was in 401 b.C.), and lasted for 500 years. The kali thus ended in 958 b.C. when a new kṛta began with a transition period of 2,000 months, i.e., of about 167 years after which the kṛta yuga proper was established. This would give us (958-167 =) 791 b.C. as the date of the setting in of kṛta yuga proper. A reference to Table IV will show that the Pradyota king Viśākhayūpa's reign lasted from 834 b.C. to 784 b.C. The starting point of the kṛta yuga proper falls within this period. This is a remarkable agreement. From puranic evidence it can be further proved that Suddhodana or Kruddhodana of the Ikṣvāku dynasty and Bṛhadratha of the Puru dynasty were both contemporaries of Viśākhayūpa of the Pradyota dynasty. (Ppv. Chap. 19.) Thus the Kalki tradition is fully supported by puranic chronology, but the peculiar fact emerges that in

current Hindu tradition the age of Kalki has been pushed forward to a remote future; it remains to be explained how this could happen.

126. *Extension of the old Kali Yuga.* According to the old puranic tradition the second *kṛta* which began after the end of kali in 958 b.C. must have ended in $(2000 - 958 =) 1042$ a.C., when the second *tretā* began; this *tretā* would last till $(1042 + 1500 =) 2542$ a.C. So if we are to calculate on the basis of the old puranic dharma scale, we should admit that the *tretā* age is still continuing. A reference to the Indian calendar will, however, show that we are living in the kali age. The calendar records further that this kali age started in 3101 b.C. and will continue for an incredibly long, long time yet. It is obvious that the puranic kali of 500 years has suffered an increase and has been extended both backwards and forwards. We find an interesting puranic reference to this modification of the kali period. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* writes

'They (the saptarśis) were in *maghā*, O the best of brāhmaṇas, at the time of Parikṣit, and it was then that the kali of 1,200 (divya) years began, when the incarnation, that was the part of Lord Viṣṇu himself, and that was born of the race of Vasudeva, left for heaven then came kali. So long as he (Kṛṣṇa) continued to tread on this earth with his lotus feet the kali did not succeed in making any impression on this world. When the part of the Eternal Viṣṇu returned to heaven, Yudhiṣṭhīra, the son of dharma, left the kingdom with his younger brothers, and seeing untoward portents at the passing away of Kṛṣṇa installed Parikṣit on the throne. When the great ṛsis (saptarśis) go over to the *pūrvāśāḍhā* then from Nanda onwards this kali will suffer an increase. When Kṛṣṇa left for heaven then and on that very day started the kali age the count of which, as you hear from me, will be 360,000 human years; when 1,200 divya years will have elapsed then *kṛta* will start again.' (Vip-b. IV. 24. 34-42.)

126 (1). *Divya Years and Kali Yuga.* 1,200 divya years are equivalent to $(1200 \times 360 =) 432,000$ human years. This is conceived to be the total period of the kali referred to in this quotation and mentioned in Indian almanacs; of this period, one-tenth, *i.e.*, 36,000 years, from the transition period at the beginning and the same number of years from the transition period at the end; the kali yuga proper has 360,000 years as stated in the text. We thus get $(36000 + 360000 + 36000 =) 432,000$ years for the complete kali. This big figure is really derived in a simple manner from an originally conceived yuga of 1,000 human years.

127. *Transition Periods.* For the purpose of indicating the transition periods of any yuga it is first converted into months. The transition periods have as many months each as the years of the complete yuga. Counted in years or in months each transition period is one-tenth the yuga proper. 1,000 years make 12,000 months for the complete yuga; of this, 1,200 months form the transition period at the beginning, 12,000 months the middle, the yuga proper, and 1,200 months the end. These figures are now multiplied each by 360, the factor for the divya scale, for the purpose of getting a magnified yuga. Divya measure is to human measure as a 'sāvana' year is to a day, *i.e.*, as 360 is to 1. Starting from a yuga of 1,000 years the purānakāras thus got an extended kali of $(432000 + 4320000 + 432000 =) 5,184,000$ months or 432,000 years. (For fuller details of the construction of the puranic yuga cycles see my book *Purānapraveśa*.) In the enumeration of the kali count in the text quoted from *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Nanda's name seems at first quite out of place. It has really been introduced just to indicate that the old kali of 500 years suffered an increase, and was replaced by the big kali with Nanda's time as the fixed point of reference and that Nanda's date has an important bearing in the determination of the epoch of the new kali yuga.

128. *The old Kali and the 28th Pitr Yuga.* In order to understand the part played by the date of XXXV. Nanda's Coronation and Nanda's coronation in the fixing of the beginning of this kali we shall have to go back on the old kali count that formed a part of the Kalpa Cycle of 5,000 years. Before the introduction of the saptarṣi century scale the purānakāras, for the purpose of historical reference, divided the 5,000 years of the kalpa into 30 yugas, each comprising 2,000 months. This yuga may conveniently be called the 'pitṛ yuga' because it was used to locate the times of the 'pitṛs' or ancestors, *i.e.*, people who were long dead. (Ppv. pp. 43-.) The first 12 pitṛ yugas, covering 2,000 years, constituted the kṛta, from the 13th to the 21st pitṛ yuga the period of 1,500 years was the tretā, from the 22nd to the end of the 27th was the dvāpara with a duration of 1,000 years, and from the 28th to the end of the 30th was the kali of 500 years. This old kali began in the 28th yuga, and Kṛṣṇa also was born in the same yuga. (Vap-a. 98. 97; Vip-b. V. 23. 25; Skp. Viṣṇu-khaṇḍa. 3. 13.) So we find that in the old scale 27 yugas had elapsed before kali commenced. According to the puranic conception kali yuga is characterized by loss of prestige of the brāhmaṇas and by increased sinfulness of the people; the śūdras become king at this period.

129. *Falsification of Puranic Conception in Nanda's Times.* Now when Nanda became the undisputed monarch the purānakāras found that although the age was second kṛta according to the old dharma scale, and although according to tradition

there should have been present 'four quarters dharma' among the people yet, as a matter of fact, a śūdra had come to the throne (Nanda was the son of a śūdra woman), and this śūdra had exterminated all the ksatriya kings belonging to ancient dynasties; Buddhism and Jainism which were both 'pāśānda faith' were rampant. The puranic conception was thus entirely falsified; the signs of the times all pointed to the kali age. The purānakāras, therefore, extended the period of kali. Since it was known that before kali set in 27 yugas had elapsed and since they were counting yugas in terms of the Saptarsi Cycle at the time, they added 27 saptarsi yugas to Nanda's date and pushed back the epoch of the Nanda era by 2,700 years; the extended Nanda era constituted the new kali yuga; this placed Nanda at the end of the 27th yuga and the beginning of the 28th which corresponded to the beginning of the kali in the old scale. The old tradition was thus sought to be maintained and Nanda's time was turned into kali. They called this new era Kalyabda or the Kali era, and it has been known by that name ever since.

130. *Nanda is described as an Incarnation of Kali.* Nanda has been called 'Kālikāṁśajah' by the Matsya (272. 18) and 'Kālasambṛtah' by Vāyu (99. 326). Both these epithets are extremely significant. The first means 'born of a part of kali', i.e., an incarnation of kali. (Kṛṣṇa has been similarly called 'viṣnorāṁśaja', i.e., an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Vip-b. IV. 24. 35.) 'Kālasambṛtah' means 'the chosen of the Time'. The kali age 'chose' Nanda for the purpose of fixing its epoch, and lent its own name to the Nanda era. Another possible meaning of 'kālasambṛtah' is 'hidden or covered by time'. Nanda's coronation date may be said to be hidden by the Kali era. In later times this era was also called the Yudhisthira era since Yudhiṣṭhira was known to have been the first king of the old kali age that got included within the new kali. Still later, instead of saying that the 28th yuga was the kali yuga it was asserted that the present kali of 432,000 years is the 28th kali of an immensely big cycle. This saved contradictions that would have been otherwise inevitable as a result of the confusion between the 28th pitṛ yuga of the old scale and the 28th yuga of the Kali era, counted according to the newer saptarsi century scale.

131. *Fixing Nanda's Coronation at 401 b.C.* In order to fix the date of Nanda's coronation we have thus to find out the epoch of the present Kali era and deduct from it 2,700 years. The Kali epoch, according to the Indian calendar, is 3101 b.C. Therefore the date of Nanda's coronation is (3101 - 2700 =) 401 b.C. I have already said that this date fits in extremely well with other known dates and is not contradicted by any definite and reliable finding from any other source. It clears up many obscure points in ancient Indian history.

9. CORRELATION OF DATA

132. *Inscriptional Dates for Gautamiputra and Pulumāvi.*

XXXVI. Correlation of Data, Gautamiputra and Pulumāvi

106 A.D.-150 A.D. Having obtained dates from the purānas for the Andhra kings it will now be possible to correlate the puranic data with the inscription and coin data of the Andhras. The only certain dates on the inscriptional side are those for the two successive kings Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarnī and his son Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Pulumāvi. They may be placed between 106 A.D. and 150 A.D. (19. 6a.) The dates ascribed to Simuka and the third king Śātakarnī by modern scholars rest on an extremely flimsy basis as I have already shown. (80-82.) The dates 106 A.D. and 150 A.D., therefore, should form the basis for identification.

133. *Puranic Dates for the sixth and the seventh Kings.*

74 a.C.-148 a.C. A reference to the puranic dates in Table IV will at once show that kings No. 6 and No. 7 reigned from 74 a.C. to 148 a.C. Their respective puranic names are Śātakarnī or Śrī Śātakarnī and Lambodara. The sixth king Śrī Śātakarnī can therefore be identified with almost complete certainty with Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarnī of the inscriptions, the Gautamiputra that was the contemporary of Usavadāta of the inscriptions and whose mother was Balaśrī and whose son was Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi. King No. 7, Lambodara, of the purānas is thus to be identified with Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi who was presumably a contemporary of Ptolemy and who is said to have been defeated twice by Rudradāman of the Junagadh Girnar inscription. In establishing these two identities it is to be noted that the gotra name Gautamiputra of king No. 6 has not been mentioned by the purānas nor the name Pulumāvi of king No. 7. We know from inscriptions that Yajñāśrī was also a Gautamiputra Śātakarnī; in his case too, the purānas do not record the gotra name. A reference to my previous discussion of the names of Andhra kings (30-37, 63, 75, 89) will show that this omission is no justification for rejecting the identification. On the other hand, if we admit the possibility that Śātakarnī might have been a personal name of some particular Andhra king, our choice will certainly fall on king No. 6 who has been uniformly called Śātakarnī by all the purānas. In line 9 of the Balaśrī inscription Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarnī has been called simply Śrī Śātakarnī. (150, 151.) King No. 3, who is also called Śātakarnī by the Viṣṇu, has a variant in Śrimallakarnī, in the Matsya. The arguments about names need not detain us any further, for their reliability as a basis for identification, even when there is concord in regard to two or more successive names, is, as I have shown, quite small. The only relevant fact that we should consider in proposing an identity, when there are two different

names, is whether the discrepancy between them is of such an order as to preclude it.

133 (1). *Identities of Śrī Śātakarṇi with Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi and of Lambodara with Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi.* The names Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi of the inscription and Śrī Śātakarṇi of the purāṇas are certainly not of this type; they are complementary to each other. The name Lambodara of the 7th king is obviously a sobriquet. There is nothing against the supposition that his personal name was Pulumāvi. It is true that this will add another Pulomā to the four already existing in the puranic list. The frequency of occurrence of this name among the Andhras is in favour of, rather than against, the supposition that Lambodara was Pulumāvi. The dates for Lambodara on the one hand and for Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi on the other do not leave any doubt about the identity of the two. The regnal periods of Lambodara (18 years) and Pulumāvi (latest regnal year = 24) do not tally; the same type of discrepancy between the puranic and inscriptional regnal years is also to be seen in the case of Yajñaśrī. Such differences can be satisfactorily explained, as I have already shown, by the supposition that a period of provincial rule preceded the accession to the throne. (40.) In the case of Pulumāvi there is some definite evidence in support of this argument. (151.)

134. *Date of Yajñaśrī from Chinese Records. 408 A.D.*

XXXVII. *Yajñaśrī* Inscriptions and coins do not offer any other certain date that might enable us to establish other points of contact between the puranic and the inscriptional series. Fortunately there are literary references that can help us in testing the dates of a few other Andhra kings. The following is a quotation from Wilson's *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Bk. IV. pp. 201-205:

'The dynasty (Andhra) is of considerable chronological interest, as it admits of some plausible verifications. That a powerful race of Andhra princes ruled in India in the beginning of the Christian era we learn from Pliny, who describes them as possessed of thirty fortified cities, with an army of 100,000 men and 2,000 elephants. The Andrae of this writer are, probably, the people of the upper part of the Peninsula; Andhra being the proper designation of Telingana. The Peutingerian tables, however, place the Andre-Indi on the banks of the Ganges; and the southern princes may have extended, or shifted, the site of their power. Towards the close of the dynasty, we find names that appear to agree with those of princes of middle India, of whom mention is made by the Chinese; as, Yue-gnai (Yajñaśrī), king of Kiapili, A.D. 408 (Des Guignes, I. 45), and Ho-lo-mien (Pulomān) king of Magadha in 621 (*ibid.*, I. 56). The Pauranik lists place these

two princes more nearly together; but we cannot rely implicitly upon their accuracy. Calculating from Chandragupta downwards, the Indian date of Yajñā and the Chinese Yue-gnai corresponds; for we have:

10 Mauryas	.....	137 years
10 Sungas	.....	112
4 Kaṇvāyanas	.....	45
27 Andhras	.....	437
		731
Deduct, for Chandragupta's date,		312 B.C.
		419 A.C.

a date remarkably near that derivable from the Chinese annals.'

135. *Yue-gnai and Yajñāśrī*. If we accept Wilson's identification of Yue-gnai with Yajñā we get the date 408 A.D. from the Chinese annals. The puranic regnal period for Yajñāśrī is 403 a.C.-412 a.C. The correspondence of dates is even more striking than Wilson thought. The Ho-lo-mien of the Chinese record, who has been identified with Pulomān by Wilson, cannot, however, be the 30th Andhra king Pulomā. Ho-lo-mien's date is 621 A.D. while the last Andhra king Pulomā reigned from 428 a.C. to 435 a.C. If Ho-lo-mien be an Andhra at all he may be one of the Śrī Pārvatiya Andhras who became rulers according to the purāṇas at a much later period. (Mtp-a. 273. 23.) In the absence of a dynastic list and puranic dates for those kings it is useless to try to identify Ho-lo-mien. The identity of Yue-gnai with Yajñā rests on a basis of dates, and is therefore reliable.

136. *Yue-ai and Candraśrī*. 428 A.D. Vincent Smith writing on Kumāragupta observes in a note XXXVIII. as follows: 'The only definitely dated Candraśrī political event of Kumāragupta's reign which I can specify is the arrival in China in the year A.D. 428, of an embassy sent by a Rāja named Yue-ai, "Moon-loved" (? Chandra-priya), who was lord of the Ka-pi-li country, which may be identified, as proposed by Lieut. Col. A. Wilson, with the Khasia Hills region to the west of the Kapili river in Assam. If this be correct, Yue-ai is to be interpreted as a phonetic transcript of the common Khasia name U-Ai, to which the Chinese author assigned a meaning in his own language'. (Ehi. p. 316. n. 2.) The identification of the Khasia name U-Ai with Yue-ai is a strained one as also that of Ka-pi-li country with a tract in Assam. It is not likely that an obscure Khasia prince should think of sending an embassy to China. There seems to be no doubt that this Ka-pi-li is identical with the Kia-pi-li, the seat of Yue-gnai referred to in the Chinese annals, quoted by Prof. H. Wilson

in his Viṣṇupurāṇa. Both Yue-ai and Yue-gnai (Yajñāśri), therefore, belong to the same place. The date A.D. 428 and the name Yue-ai, that means 'Moon-loved' according to V. Smith, agree with the date and name of the 29th Andhra king, Candraśri, who, according to the purāṇas, reigned from 418 a.C. to 428 a.C. The two may therefore be considered to be the same person.

137. *Story of Vikramāditya.* An Indian literary record will help us to test the puranic date of Śiśuka the XXXIX. Śiśuka first Andhra king. There is a well-known and Vikramāditya Sanskrit work named 'Dvātrimśat Puttalikā' the authorship of which is popularly ascribed to Kālidāsa. Neither the date of this work nor any correct information of its authorship is relevant to my purpose. I shall only consider a certain tradition recorded in this work. The story, in short, is as follows:

In the town of Ujjayini there ruled a rājā named Bhartṛhari. His younger brother was called Vikramāditya. Owing to the suspected infidelity of his beloved wife Bhartṛhari got disgusted with mundane affairs and, abdicating the throne in favour of his younger brother, left the kingdom in order to live the life of an ascetic. Vikramāditya who succeeded to the throne was a very learned prince himself and a great patron of learning. He was versed in all the fine arts of his time.

138. *Vikramāditya's Death at the Hand of Śalivāhana.* Vikramāditya was a daring and an ambitious prince. After he had succeeded his brother he went out on a military expedition, made extensive conquests and returned home with immense wealth. (16th anecdote.) He built himself a throne the steps of which were made of 32 statuettes. Vikramāditya's statuette throne enjoyed a reputation that was only rivalled in later times by the peacock throne of the Mughals. Vikramāditya styled himself 'rājādhīrāja, parameśvara, lord of the earth up to the seas'. (32nd anecdote.) After many years of Vikramāditya's reign had passed by it so happened that in a town called Pratiṣṭhānagara a girl, who was only two years and a half old, gave birth to a son called Śalivāhana. The father of the boy was Sesā the king of the Nāgas. At the birth of the boy evil portents made their appearance in Ujjayini. There were earthquakes, rising of comets and other unusual phenomena. The royal astrologers were consulted. They said the disturbances portended danger to the king. Vikramāditya remembered that as a reward for his religious austerities he had once earned a boon that he could only be killed by a person born of a girl two years and a half old. Vikrama thought that as this was an impossibility he was safe from everybody. The astrologers said that the ways of natural creation were 'unthinkable' so it would be wise to make enquiries. Vetāla, a courtier of Vikramāditya, was deputed for this purpose. He searched many countries for

such a prodigy and ultimately came to Pratisthānagara, and saw in the house of a potter an infant boy (mānavakam) and a golden girl (kānchan kanyākam) playing together. On being asked the girl informed him that the boy was her son; the girl pointed out a brāhmaṇa who, she said, was her father. The brāhmaṇa informed Vetalā that the boy, who was named Śālivāhana, was born as a result of his daughter's association with Sesā the king of the Nāgas. Vetalā returned to Ujjayini and told Vikramāditya of the fact. On hearing this Vikramāditya started for Pratisthānagara with a sword, and when he attempted to kill Śālivāhana the latter struck back with a rod with such force that Vikramāditya was hurled back to Ujjayini where he died of his injuries. (Vāhuśruta anecdote.)

139. *Vikramāditya's Defeat at the Hand of Śālivāhana.* There is a different version of the above story in the 24th anecdote which states that Vikramāditya sent an order by a letter to Śālivāhana asking him to attend his court, but Śālivāhana refused. Thereupon Vikramāditya started with an immense army to punish him. Śālivāhana, who was then living in a potter's house, created fighting units consisting of elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry out of potter's earth, gave them life by reciting mantras, and went to meet Vikramāditya. Śālivāhana was at first defeated but he soon got a reinforcement from the king of the Nāgas who sent a huge army of Nāgas to help him. Vikramāditya's battalions were completely routed; he went back to Ujjayini where he lived for nine years more in penance doing homage to Vāsuki (the lord of the serpents or Nāgas) before he died. He did not raise another army to attack Śālivāhana again because of a promise he had made to an agent of the latter. The first version has been inserted in the chapter named 'bahuśrutopākhyāna' which means 'oft-heard story'.

140. *Śiśuka the conqueror of Vikramāditya.* It is quite easy to get at the truth that has been preserved in the interesting traditional accounts of the Dvātrimśat Puttalikā. The potter's earth, out of which armies could be raised, is the State. It is quite common in Sanskrit literature to denote 'kingdom' by the term 'earth'. (cf. ksitipati = lord of the earth.) The golden girl represents the deity of the State that was full of riches. She is only two years and a half old in the story showing that the State was a newly acquired one. She was born of a brāhmaṇa; the Kānya king, whom the first Śālivāhana displaced, was a brāhmaṇa. The new king was born as a result of an association of the State with the Nāgas who also helped the king in overthrowing Vikramāditya. The most interesting portion of the whole account is the fact that Śālivāhana is represented as an infant, as a 'mānavaka', an expression that is an exact equivalent of the name of the first Śālivāhana Andhra king 'Śiśuka'. 'Śiśuka' means a little infant. No doubt is left as to which Śālivāhana is referred to in the story, especially when we

remember that this 'mānavaka' lived in Pratiṣṭhānagara which is certainly identical with Pratisthana or Paithan, an important seat of the Andhras.

141. *Contemporaneity of the first Andhra King and Vikramāditya.* Śiṣuka the first Śālivāhana Andhra king may, therefore, be safely regarded as a contemporary of the famous Vikramāditya of Ujjayini. Vikramāditya is certainly not an imaginary figure as many have supposed. In Indian tradition the first Śālivāhana king has often been confused with the sixth Śālivāhana king, as I shall show later on, but the story in the Dvātrīṁśat Puttalikā shows no such admixture. The account refers to the first Śālivāhana king solely. An effort may now be made to construct a historical account of the first Śālivāhana king Śiṣuka from traditional materials referred to here. I see no valid reason for disbelieving this tradition.

142. *Vikram Samvat.* 57 B.C. It is well known that Vikramāditya of Ujjayini was the founder of the Samvat era the epoch of which is 57 B.C. At this period, according to the purāṇas, the Kaṇvas were the paramount power in India, and Bhūmimitra, the second Kaṇva king, was on the imperial throne. (See Table IV.) It seems that Bhartṛhari, the elder brother of Vikramāditya, was a vassal of the Kaṇvas as, according to tradition, he was merely a 'rājā'. Vikramāditya who succeeded him was an ambitious person. He broke away from the suzerainty of the Kaṇvas, conquered surrounding territories and proclaimed himself an independent 'rājādhirājā'. According to other traditions he turned out the Śakas and waged an unrelenting campaign against them, and earned for himself the sobriquet 'Śakāri' or the 'enemy of the Śakas'. He started an era apparently in commemoration of his independence. As Vikrama was a great patron of learning he attracted many learned men to his court among whom were astronomers. It was through the help of the astronomers of Vikrama's court that the Samvat era obtained wide currency. The Kaṇvas were apparently too weak to interrupt the victorious career of such a daring person as Vikramāditya and he continued to reign unmolested by them.

143. *Andhras and the Nāgas.* About 21 b.C., taking advantage of the weakness of the last Kaṇva Suśarman, another powerful vassal, who was ruling in the provinces round about Paithan, Śiṣuka by name, usurped the throne. Śiṣuka the Andhra, it appears from the tradition, belonged to the Nāga tribe and he was helped in his military activities by the Nāgas. In this connection Rapson's remarks are interesting. Referring to the Andhra rulers Cutukadānanda and Mudānanda, Rapson says 'If Amgiya-kula-vadhana and Mudānanda are correctly explained as referring to the Angas and Mundas of Eastern India, it must be supposed that the Andhras were associated with other Dravidian peoples in the conquest of the West'.

(Cca. p. xxiii. n.) The word Nāga is also associated with some of the Andhra princes, *e.g.*, Khamda-Nāga-Sātaka, Śiva-Khamda-Nāga-Śrī. (Cca. p. liii.) The Nāga symbol is to be found in some coins associated with the Andhras. (Cca. p. 53.) The elephant symbol, so common in Andhra coins, is very likely a Nāga symbol as one of the meanings of the word Nāga is elephant. In the Balaśri inscription the comparison of Gautamiputra to both a serpent and an elephant is significant. (36.)

144. Śiśuka's Accession in 21 b.C. When Śiśuka usurped the imperial throne in 21 b.C. Vikramāditya naturally got restive and his ambition blazed up. He thought he could easily oust the śūdra usurper who was not yet firmly settled on the throne and become the monarch himself. He took two years and a half in preparation, and led an expedition against Śiśuka who was then in Paithan. The enemy, however, proved too strong for him. Unexpected hordes of Nāgas came to the help of Śiśuka, and Vikramāditya's army was totally routed. He became a tributary to Śiśuka and had to pay him homages. Vikramāditya is likely to have been thus vanquished about $(21 - 2\frac{1}{2}) \approx$ 18 b.C. He died 9 years later, about 9 b.C., according to tradition. Vikramāditya must have succeeded his brother, who was himself young at the time of abdication, at a very early age. Supposing he was 24 years old when he proclaimed himself an independent king and started the Samvat era, he is likely to have been born about (24 years + 57 B.C., the epoch of Vikrama era =) 81 B.C. He would thus have been $(81 - 9 =)$ 72 years old at the time of his death. There is thus nothing improbable in the traditional account that would go against the supposition that Śiśuka and Vikramāditya were contemporaries. On the other hand, the coincidence of dates is almost a certain proof of the contemporaneity of these two kings. The province of Mālava annexed by Śiśuka seems to have been lost to the Andhras some time afterwards. It was reconquered by Gautamiputra. Gautamiputra, as will be seen later (168), appointed Caśtana to its governorship.

145. *External support for the Puranic dates of the Andhras.*

XL. Four-point Contact There is thus a four-point contact, between the puranic data for the series of 30 Andhra kings on the one hand and inscriptional and literary evidence on the other, showing simultaneous concord of names and dates at each point. Table X shows the agreement of dates and names at a glance.

TABLE X. FOUR-POINT CONTACT

PURĀNAS			OTHER SOURCES	
No.	Name of King	Dates	Dates	Names and Reference
1	Śiśuka . . .	21 b.C. 2 a.C.	Later than 57 B.C. by 'many years of Vikrama's reign'.	'Mānavaka' or Infant Śālivāhana. (Dvā- trīṁśat Puttalikā.)
6	Śri Śātakarṇi	74 a.C. 130 a.C.	106 A.D. 130 A.D.	Gautamīputra Śri Śātakarṇi. (Inscrip- tion. Cca. p. xxx.)
27	Yajñaśrī . .	403 a.C. 412 a.C.	408 A.D.	Yue-gnai (Chinese annals. Vip-w. IV. pp. 201-205.)
29	Candraśrī . .	418 a.C. 428 a.C.	428 A.D.	Yue-ai (Moon-loved). (Chinese record. Ehi. p. 313.)

146. *Andhra Empire lasted from 21 b.C. to 435 a.C.* The puranic series of dates for the Andhras extending from 21 b.C. to 435 a.C. thus finds support from external evidence at four points, one located at the beginning, one nearly at the middle and two almost at the end of the period. The distribution of the points of agreement is almost ideal from the statistical point of view. The reliability of the dates for the entire puranic series is thus seen to be very great, particularly when we take into consideration the strength of the internal puranic chronological evidence. (108.) We may therefore safely accept the proposition that the Andhra empire lasted from 21 b.C. to 435 a.C. We may with equal confidence reject the statement of modern scholars that the Andhras ruled from 230 B.C. to about 225 A.D. In accepting the date of Śiśuka to be 21 b.C. we would not be doing any greater violence to epigraphy than what has already been done by Rapson, Vincent Smith and others in their rejection of Bühler's estimate of the date for Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. (60.)

147. *Rapson's argument is not tenable.* The argument advanced by Rapson that 'the establishment of the Traikūtaka era in A.D. 294 may reasonably be supposed to mark the date at which the Ābhiras succeeded the Andhras in the government of this province (Mahārāṣṭra)' (Cca. p. xliv) rests on misconceptions. The mere starting of an era by somebody does not necessarily mean the end of the paramount power ruling at the time. Rapson contradicts himself when he writes 'There can

be no doubt that the political conditions which admitted of the growth of a strong power in this part of India were due to the decline and fall of the Andhra empire; but the foundation of an era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power rather than its first beginnings or the downfall of the Andhras'. (p. clxii.) 'It must therefore remain for the present doubtful whether the Traikūṭaka kings founded an era of their own, or whether they continued to use a chronological system established by their predecessors'. (p. clxi.) It is to be noticed that Rapson did not take into account the possibility of the Ābhiras' or the early Traikūṭakas' acting as satraps of the paramount Andhra power.

148. *Traikūṭaka date supports Puranic account.* It is not at all necessary to assume the fall of the Andhras in any province at any period merely because of the existence of a kṣatrapa or of a mahāksatrapa in that locality at the time. Provincial governorships frequently changed hands without in any way affecting the paramount power. The presence of the title 'mahārājā' or something similar is of course a strong presumptive evidence of the independence of the person using the title. It is quite likely that the Ābhiras and Traikūṭakas used an independent era; that they also used the title 'rājā' is also evident, but neither Īśvardatta (Cca. pp. 124, 125) nor Īśvarsena the Ābhira king (Is. 1137), both of whom dated their records in regnal years, has the honorific 'śri' attached to their names. They have not been called mahārājās anywhere. On the other hand, the inscription and the coins of the Traikūṭaka kings show that Indradatta, his son Dahrasena and Dahrasena's son Vyāghrasena all three bore the title 'mahārājā' and the last two who were living at the time of the records have in addition the honorific 'śri' attached to their names. These three kings were certainly independent. The date Traikūṭaka era 207 = A.D. 456, recorded by the second king, would seem to imply that the first ruled about 430 A.D. This date fits in extremely well with the date of the fall of the Andhra empire. The available dates for the Traikūṭaka kings thus give an additional support to the puranic account. I shall have to say something more about the Ābhira kings later on. (183.)

149. *No dark period following the Andhras.* The fact that the Andhra empire lasted from 21 b.C. to 435 a.C. is a proof of the non-existence of the dark period in Indian history. The 'dark period' is certainly an artifact. There is a continuous historical account, although not very rich in details, available from the time of the Andhras to the rise of the Guptas. According to the purāṇas the Guptas did not enjoy so extensive an empire as the Andhras did. No rival dynasties reigning simultaneously with the Andhras have been mentioned, while it is specifically said that the Guptas ruled over the country along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha only, and that the Manidhānya

kings, the Devaraksita kings, the Guha kings and the Kanaka kings reigned over different territories (the names of which have been mentioned) contemporaneously with the Guptas. (Vap-a. 99. 383-387.) It appears from the available Gupta accounts that they did not depend so much on provincial governors for controlling their territories as the Andhras did. The direct rule of the Guptas would account for the extensive minting of coins by them, many of which still survive. If the Gupta chronology as accepted today be correct, it must be admitted that the later Andhras and the early Guptas were contemporaries. The Andhra empire on this supposition began to break up from about the time the Andhrabhrtyas came to the throne. The puranic evidence, however, is that the Guptas rose to power after 435 a.C. In view of the trustworthiness of the puranic statements, so amply demonstrated in the case of the Andhras, the chronology of the Guptas requires a careful re-examination before it is taken to be final.

150. *An important document.* Before I make an attempt to locate, in the puranic list, the positions of other Andhra kings mentioned in inscriptions, some of the palaeographic records will have to be considered to determine the limits of deductions that can be drawn from them. The inscription of queen Gautamī Balaśrī is perhaps the most important document for the elucidation of Andhra history. Balaśrī's inscription is No. 1123 in the Lüders List. I quote below the translation of this inscription from the report of Bhagvanlal Indraji in the Bombay Gazetteer (1883, Vol. XVI, pp. 550-. Inscription 2). This inscription 'is in eleven long lines of large and distinct letters. Except two holes for a hold-fast made in the last two lines, and a crack in the rock which runs from top to bottom, the inscription is well preserved'. It has not been possible in Bhagvanlal Indraji's translation to maintain the sequence of the original lines. Portions of lines 9 and 10 have been incorporated in line 1 in the translation. The translation is not literal in all places either. I have attempted to indicate roughly the numbers of the original lines of the inscription in the translation for ease of reference.

*Nasik, Pandu-Lena Caves, Inscription 2. Translation
by Bhagvanlal Indraji. (For transliteration of the
inscription, see ap)*

1. On the thirteenth (13) day of the second (2) fortnight of the summer months in the nineteenth (19) year of the illustrious King Pulumayi, son of Vāsithi (Sk. Vāsishthī),
- 9, 10. a dwelling-cave, a meritorious gift, in its great perfection equal to the best of celestial chariots, was caused to be made on the summit of Trirāshmi hill (a summit) like the top of mountain,

by the Great Queen Gautamī Balaśrī, a lover of truth, charity, forbearance, and respect for life; eagerly engaged in penance, self-control, mortification, and fasts; fully bearing out the title 'Wife of the Royal Sage'; mother of the illustrious Sātakarṇi

1. Gautamiputra (son of Gautamī), King of Kings, equal in greatness to the Himavat, Meru,
2. and Mandara mountains; King of Asika, Susaka, Mulaka (or Mundaka), Surath (Sk. Surāshtra), Kukura (Sk. Kukkura), Aparāta (Sk. Aparānta), Anupa (Sk. Anūpa), Vidabha (Sk. Vidarbha), Ākara and Avanti; lord of the Vijha (Sk. Vindhya), Richhavat (Sk. Rikshavat), Pārichāta (Sk. Pāriyātra), Sahya, Kanṭhagiri (Sk. Krishṇagiri), Mancha, Siritana (Sk. Srīsthāna), Malaya, Mahinda (Sk. Mahendra),
3. Setagiri (Sk. Shadgiri), and Chakora mountains; whose commands are obeyed by the circles of all kings; whose face is like the pure lotus opened by the rays of the sun; whose (army) animals have drunk the water of three oceans; whose appearance is as beautiful and lovely as the disc of the full moon;
4. whose gait is as stately as that of a great elephant; whose arms are as muscular, rounded, broad, long, and beautiful as the body of the lord of serpents; whose hand is fearless and wet by the water held in granting freedom from fear; who is prompt in the service of his mother (even when she is) free from illness; who has well arranged the place and the time for the three pursuits of life (trivarga);
5. who is a companion of all the townsmen (his subjects) equal in happiness and in misery; who has humbled the conceit and vanity of Kshatriyas; who is the destroyer of Śakas, Yavanas, and Palhavas; who makes use of (nothing but) the taxes levied according to justice; who never desires to kill an enemy though at fault; who has increased (the prosperity of) the families of Brāhmaṇas and others;
6. who has rooted out the dynasty of Khakharāta (Sk. Kshaharāta); who has established the glory of the Sātavāhana family; at whose feet all (royal) circles have bowed; who has stopped the fusion of the four castes; who has conquered multitudes of enemies in numerous battles; whose banner of victory is unconquered; whose excellent capital is unassailable to (his) enemies;
7. whose great title of King descended from a succession of ancestors; the depositary of the Sāstras; the

asylum of good men; the abode of wealth; the fountain of good manners; the only controller; the only archer; the only hero; the only holy man; equal in valour to Rāma,

8. Kesava, Arjuna, Bhimsena; who invites assemblies on the festive occasion (which take place) on the declining ayana; equal in majesty to Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma, and Ambarisha; who has immeasurably, without loss, without being confounded, and in a way (the like of) which never happened, conquered the host of enemies in the front of the battle, witnessed by Pavana, Garuda, Siddhas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Vidyādharas, Bhūtas, Gandharvas, Charanas,
9. the moon, the sun, the constellations, and the planets; who has pierced the surface of the sky like the summit of mighty mountain; (and) who has raised the family to great wealth.
10. This great queen, the mother of the great King and the grandmother of the great King, dedicates this dwelling-cave to the congregation of the mendicant assembly of the Bhadrāyani school.
11. For painting the cave,.....the hereditary lord of Dakshināpatha (?), desirous to serve and desirous to please the venerable lady, has given to Dharmasetu the village of Piśāchipadraka, with all its rights, to the south-west of the Triraśmi hill.

151. *Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as Overlord and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi as Provincial Governor.* It will be noticed that the titles 'king of kings' (rājarano) and 'mahārājā' have been used in connection with the name of Gautamīputra while Vāsiṣṭhiputra has been called 'rājā' and 'mahārājā' (lines 1 and 10). In line 9 Gautamīputra has been called simply Śri Śātakarṇi which is the name ascribed to him by the purānas. Vāsiṣṭhiputra has neither the title 'king of kings (rājarano)' nor the designations 'savarājalokamandalapati' (line 3), nor 'savamandalābhivāditaracarana' (line 6) meaning 'the lord of all the circles of kings' and 'at whose feet bow circles of all sorts' respectively. The epithets and titles leave no room for doubt that Gautamīputra was the paramount lord and Vāsiṣṭhiputra had a subordinate position. Under these circumstances one would naturally expect the inscription to be dated in regnal years of the paramount king, but it is not so; the most plausible explanation is that Balaśri had been living with her grandson who was a provincial ruler under his father. In view of the importance of the woman in matriarchal families it is also probable that Balaśri was the regent who governed the province in the name of her grandson.

Vāsiṣṭhiputra must have enjoyed a position similar to that of the mahākṣatrapas; he had other provincial rulers with the title 'rājā' under him. This is why Gautamī Balaśrī calls herself the 'grandmother of a mahārājā' (line 10) in the inscription. There is no means of ascertaining exactly which regnal year of Gautamiputra would correspond to the year 19 of his son which is the date of the inscription. I shall presently show that an approximate estimate is possible.

152. *Gautamiputra's Territory.* The extent of Gautamiputra's territory, as defined in the inscription, has been described by many scholars and I need not go into it again. (Cca. pp. xxx--.)

153. *Puranic Tradition in Gautamiputra's Times.* Lines 5 and 6 demand special attention. The epithet 'khatiyadapamānamadanasa', which means 'one who has humbled the pride and honour of the kṣatriyas', suggests that the king himself was not of the kṣatriya caste. Had he been a kṣatriya the inscription would have said 'who has humbled the pride of other kṣatriyas'. This epithet lends support to the puranic statement that the Andhras belonged to the śūdra caste. (Bgp-b. 12. 1. 20.) The writer of the inscription, it seems, had the intention of conveying the idea that although the king was not a kṣatriya he had all the qualifications of the best kṣatriya king that ever ruled this earth. The king was keenly alive to the welfare of his subjects, was great in military prowess, exacted only legitimate dues, would not kill his enemies even when they had committed some offence against him, he protected the purity of the castes, his valour and munificence were as great as those of the illustrious puranic kings of the past (lines 6-9.) This description of Gautamiputra is not to be considered as a mere panegyric. It is a fair description of the king's true character as will appear presently. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the reference in the inscription to Keśava, Arjuna, Bhimasena, Nābhāga, Nahusa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma and Ambarīsa, as also to Pavana, Garuda, Siddhas, Yakshas, Rākṣasas, Vidyādharas, Bhūtas, Gandharvas, Cāranas, the moon, the sun, the constellations and the planets, clearly prove that the puranic tradition was in the first century A.D. as strong as, or even stronger than, it is today. Those who believe that the purāṇas were written down for the first time in the third century A.D. might, with advantage, consider this inscriptional record.

154. *Gautamiputra and his conquered enemies.* In line 5 the expression 'sakayavanapalhavanisūdanasa' and in line 6 'khakharātavāṁsa nira basesakarasa' do not necessarily mean that Gautamiputra had exterminated all Sakas, Yavanas, Palhavas and Khakharātas. The word 'niśudana' may mean 'one who removes' (MMW. Sed.) and the word 'vāṁsa' has usually been used in the purāṇas with reference to the genealogy of kings that were independent. We may therefore, with perfect justification, take

the two expressions referred to above to mean respectively 'one who has taken away the independence of the Śakas, Yavanas, Palhavas', and 'one who has completely put an end to the independence of the *Khakharāta* dynasty'. This interpretation is supported by the sentence intervening between the two expressions. This sentence means that 'the king imposed only such tribute as could be earned fairly and lawfully, he *never killed* his enemies even when they had committed some offence against him, he furthered the prosperity of brāhmaṇas, of people of other castes (avara) and of his own relations (kutumba)'. It will be remembered that Gautamiputra gave his son Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṇumāvi in marriage to the daughter of Rudradāman who was the grandson of Caṣṭana, a relation of Kaniska (Jayaswal and B. Bhattacharya. *jbors.* V. p. 511 and VI. pp. 51-53.) Rapsom is of opinion that Caṣṭana was probably a Saka. (Cca. p. civ.) Vincent Smith describes Rudradāman as a 'Saka Satrap'. (Ehi. p. 139.) The marriage of Puṇumāvi must have taken place some time after the Balaśrī inscription was incised. (176, 177, 178, Table XI.) Very likely Gautamiputra had contracted other Saka connections as well. The reference to 'kutumba' in the inscription, occurring in the place it does, is significant. There is no need therefore to assume that Gautamiputra killed Nahāpāna and rooted out his family.

155. *Gautamiputra's ancestors.* Gautamiputra was never defeated in any of the numerous battles that he fought with his enemies (line 6); this was something unusual even for great kings; hence the sentence 'in a way the like of which never happened conquered the host of enemies' in line 8. He was the 'only archer, the only hero, the only wise man (eka bamhāpasa)' (line 7). The same line states that Gautamiputra's great title of king descended from a succession of ancestors. Gautamiputra, as I have already shown, was the sixth Andhra king. It is stated in the purāṇas that the first Andhra king Śiśuka was a servant (governor) of the Kāṇvas. It is likely that Śiśuka's ancestors were in the same post and enjoyed the title of *rājā*; hence the reference to a long succession of ancestors.

10. THE ORIGIN OF THE ŚAKA ERA

156. *Śakas were no new-comers.* The Balaśrī inscription, when considered along with the puranic account and the Śālivāhana traditions, throws unexpected light on the origin of the Śaka era. It is usually assumed that the Śakas, who ruled as satraps during the Andhra period, came as invaders from outside India and having conquered the territory settled down as rulers. There is no justification for the assumption that the general body of the Śakas, Palhavas and Yavanas were new-comers. Originally, it is true, these people came from outside India but this

invasion or the invasions or the immigration must have occurred several centuries earlier than the Andhras. Mention of the Śakas is to be found in Indian literature as having existed in very ancient times.

157. *King Sugara and the Śakas.* It is recorded in the purāṇas that king Vāhu, who belonged to the Iksvāku dynasty, was deprived of his kingdom by the Haihayas. The Haihayas were helped in this military adventure by various tribes such as the Tāljanghas, the Śakas, the Palhavas, the Pāradas, the Kambojas and the Yavanas. Vāhu's son Sagara (the same Sagara as mentioned in the Balaśrī inscription) succeeded in reconquering his father's territory. He took a terrible revenge on his father's enemies. He killed the majority of the Haihayas he could get hold of and punished their allies in various ways. It appears from the puranic description that even at that remote time these foreign tribes were already Hinduized. They had given up their original culture and were practising Hindu rites. Sagara prevented brāhmaṇas from helping these foreigners in their religious activities. He issued an edict ordering compulsory shaving of head of all Yavanas, shaving of half the head of the Śakas, wearing of long hairs by the Pāradas and of beards by the Palhavas, as visible distinctive marks of adult persons of these different races. Apparently the Indians used to shave their beards in Sagara's age. (Vip.-b. IV. 3. 18-21.) In our own times also we have ordinances that compel a Jew to set up distinctive marks of recognition before his business concern or a Hindu youth to carry a distinctive coloured card. The Śakas, Pāradas and other foreigners, punished by Sagara, have been classed with ksatriyas. There were in ancient times Śaka brāhmaṇas also who took to astronomy and astrology as their chief pursuit. Even at the present day descendants of these brāhmaṇas exist in Hindu society. The Śakadvipi brāhmaṇas, as they are called, are looked down upon by other brāhmaṇas.

158. *Indianization of Foreigners.* The names of the Śakas of the Andhra period, their religious endowments as recorded in inscriptions, their matrimonial relations, all point to a complete Indianization which must have taken a long time to permeate the general Śaka populace. At the time of the Andhras, the Śakas and Palhavas professed any one or a mixture of the three Indian systems of religion, viz., Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism, just like persons of true Indian descent at the time. Besides the inscriptional records of the Khakharāṭas and of the western satraps of the Caṣṭana family, all of which are well known, we have inscriptions recording religious endowments of other Śakas as well, and also of Palhavas and of Yavanas belonging to the various strata of the society. A reference to Lüders List will show the frequency of such endowments. Lüders No. 1137 records the gift of Viṣṇudāṭa the Sakanikā, daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman, made at the time of Mādhariputra Iśvarasena the

Ābhira, the son of Śivadatta the Ābhira. The gift is intended for all classes of monks residing on Mount Trirāsmī. Both the husband and the son of Viṣṇudāta were 'ganapakas' or heads of guilds or corporations. Lüders Nos. 1148 and 1149 record gifts of the Saka Dāmachik who describes himself as a 'leghaka' or a scribe. Lüders No. 965 records that Rudradāman had a Palhava, named Suviśākha, as a governor under him. The name Suviśākha indicates Indianization. Lüders No. 1140 refers to a gift for Buddhist monks made by Indrāgnidatta, son of Dharmadeva a Yavana. No. 1154 records the gift of Yavana Irla, No. 1156 that of Yavana Chaīnda, No. 1182 that of Yavana Chita, No. 1096 that of Damma-Yavana, No. 1093 that of Yavana Sihādhaya and No. 669 that of the Yavana Heliodora of Garudastambha fame who was a devotee of Vāsudeva. I am sure a careful search will reveal other records. No inscription or record referring to the original Śaka or Palhava culture has been discovered in India as far as I know.

159. *Indian names and racial traits of the Śakas.* An occasional Persian or a Scythian name does not prove that the general body of the Śakas maintained their original culture. There is a similarity, sometimes an identity, between ancient Persian and Sanskrit names, *e.g.*, Sarvilaka, Zarathustra, etc. Names ending in 'pāna' as in 'Nahapāna' also occur in the purāṇas. There was a king of the Āṅga dynasty named 'Anapāna' (Vap-a. 99. 100), variants of which are 'Khanapāna' and 'Khalapāna'. (Bgp-b. 9. 23. 6.) The name Ghsamotika (Caṣṭana's father) is probably a misreading for Yasomotika an Indian name. The name of Śisupāla's father Damaghosh in the Mahābhārata reminds one of Damaghśada the satrap. Dāmodara, Dāmośnisha (Mbh. Sabhā. 4) are Hindu names having the component 'Dāma' that occurs so frequently in the names of the western satraps. Although the Śakas and Palhavas were thoroughly Indianized they maintained their racial traits and were adepts in acquirement and management of territory. A parallel instance is to be found in the Rajput settlers who immigrated into Bengal about three or four centuries back. Before the advent of the British many of them were independent rulers and at the present time most of the Rajput Sinha Rays, who cannot be distinguished in appearance and culture from the average Bengali, are occupying the position of landlords and show special aptitude for the control and management of property.

160. *Śakāditya and Vikramāditya.* The Śakas and Palhavas of ancient India, like the Jews of the modern world, were sometimes put in responsible positions of State and sometimes persecuted by the reigning powers. The Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas ruled as independent princes also. Mention of a Yavana king Kāla by name is to be found in the Mahābhārata; he was a terror to the Yādavas; he was killed by the machinations

XLIV. Origin of the Śaka Era

of Kr̥ṣṇa. Vikramāditya was a relentless enemy of the Śakas while tradition ascribes the title of 'Śakāditya' or the 'Śaka Sun' to Śālivāhana. (MMW. Sed. Śaka.) Śālivāhana has been also called 'Śakendra' and even simply 'Śaka'. The following quotations from the Sanskrit-English Dictionary of Monier-Williams and from Śavdakalpadrumah will serve to bring out all the traditions with respect to Śālivāhana. Under 'Śālivāhana' Monier-Williams says 'Name of a celebrated sovereign of India (said to be so called either from having ridden on a Yaksha called Śāli, or from Śāli or Śāla, the Śāl tree, Śālivāhana being represented as borne on a cross made of that or other wood; he was the enemy of Vikramāditya and institutor of the era now called Śaka, q.v.; his capital was Pratisthāna on the Godavari)'. The Śavdakalpadrumah writes under the same heading: 'rājāviśeṣah. sa tu śakakartā vikramāditya śatruśca', i.e., 'name of king. He is the maker of the Śaka era and enemy of Vikramāditya'.

161. *The Śaka Era.* It will be apparent from my previous discussions on Vikramāditya that Śālivāhana the founder of the Śaka era, with its epoch at 78 A.D., cannot possibly be the Śālivāhana that was the enemy of Vikramāditya who flourished about 57 B.C. Tradition has confused the first and sixth Śālivāhana kings. Śiśuka, the first Śālivāhana Andhra king, was the enemy of Vikramāditya; so Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarni, the sixth Śālivāhana Andhra king, must have been the originator of the Śaka era if we are to believe the puranic dates and the tradition. Under 'Śaka' Śavdakalpadrumah writes: 'sa ca nrpah śakāditya iti śālivāhana iti ca nāmnā khyātah. tasya maraṇadīnāvadhi vatsara gaṇanāṅkah śakāvdeți nāmnā pañjikā-yām likhyate', i.e., 'he is the king Śakāditya also called Śālivāhana and renowned as such. From the date of his death starts an era that is recorded in the pañjikās (calendars) as śakāvda'. Under 'Śaka' Monier-Williams writes '..... described by Kulluka as degraded tribes of Kṣatriyas..... they are sometimes regarded as the followers of Śaka or Śālivāhana.....'. Under 'Śaka-kāla' is written 'the Śaka-era (beginning A.D. 78 and founded by king Śālivāhana). Under 'Śakāditya' is given 'Name of king Śālivāhana'. On the other hand, 'Sakāntaka' is 'destroyer of Śakas, Name of king Vikramāditya'. 'Śakāri' is 'enemy of the Śakas, Name of king Vikramāditya'. The synonyms for 'Śakāvda' are 'Śakakāla', 'Śaka-nṛpati-samvatsara', 'Śakabhūpa-kāla', 'Śaka-vatsara' and 'Śakendra-kāla'. The above quotations will make it abundantly clear that according to tradition 'Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarni' bore the sobriquets 'The Śaka', 'Śakendra' and 'Śakāditya', and that it was he that originated the Śaka era. According to certain traditions he was himself the founder of the era while according to other accounts the era was established in commemoration of his death.

162. *Khakharāta and Śakarāt*. The Gautamī Balaśrī inscription mentions that Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarnī, who was a great fighter, took away the independence of the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas and of the Khakharātas. The Khakharātas have received a separate and specific mention in the inscription, and in their case only the term 'vāṁsa' meaning a 'reigning dynasty' has been used. This shows that a special importance was attached to them (line 6). It may be assumed that the Khakharāta family was a distinguished reigning dynasty. The origin of the name Khakharāta has not been satisfactorily explained. I venture to suggest that the name in its Sanskrit form is 'Śakarāt' which means 'Saka emperor'. The title of 'Ekarāt' or 'the sole monarch' as applied to Mahāpadma Nanda may be cited as a parallel. (Vap-a. 99. 327.) Being a compound word it was subjected to Prākṛita modifications of the type from which the simple word 'śaka', when used alone, was immune. According to this supposition 'Śakarāt' became 'Śakarāta' then 'Khakarāta', 'Khakharāta', 'Khaharāta' and 'Chaharāda', the last form occurring in Kharosthi characters only. Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta, in spite of his Persian sounding name, was according to this supposition a Saka. His son-in-law Uṣabhadāta was certainly a Saka. (bg. Vol. XVI. p. 577. line 2 of Inscription 14.)

163. *Prestige of the Andhra Dynasty was re-established by Gautamiputra*. If I have made a correct guess it may be assumed that a powerful Saka dynasty existed at the time of Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarnī, and that the kings of this dynasty used the title 'Śakarāt' meaning 'Saka Emperor'. The Śakarāts, it may be further assumed, usurped some of the territory that belonged to the Andhras. This may be supposed to have happened some time after the death of Siśuka the first king. It is impossible to guess, in the present state of our knowledge, who must have been the first Śakarāt. Gautamiputra vanquished the Śakarāt emperor of his time and won back the ancestral dominion. We find in line 6 of the inscription, immediately following the expression 'khakharāta va[m]sanirabasesakarasa' (one who has completely ousted the Khakharāta dynasty), the words 'sātavāhanakulayasa patithapanakarasa' which mean 'one who has established the prestige and glory (yasa) of the Śātavāhana family'.

164. *Gautamiputra's efforts at popularity*. The name and fame of Vikramāditya and his romantic career must have been prominent in the public mind at the time of Gautamiputra. The Andhras, on the other hand, being śūdras and being usurpers of the throne belonging to a brāhmaṇa dynasty by the crime of murder were naturally looked upon with a certain amount of irreverence and disrespect by the people. An expression of this public attitude is to be found in the nicknames of the early Andhra kings as found in the purāṇas. Gautamiputra, after

his great victory over the Khakharātas, must have thought of retrieving the position of his family. To win popularity he became generous towards his enemies (line 5), he celebrated religious functions and organized feasts and public festivities in lavish style imitating the munificence of past renowned puranic kings (line 8). He declared himself a patron of the Śakas he had conquered, assumed the title of Śakāditya after having ousted the Śakarāts or Khakharātas, perhaps as a counterblast to the memory of Vikramāditya. While Vikramāditya was an avowed enemy of the Śakas and was known by the sobriquet 'Sakāri', Gautamiputra declared himself a friend and patron of the Śakas. In later years he married his son to the daughter of Rudradāman who was certainly of non-Indian descent and probably a Śaka. (154.) Gautamiputra was also known as 'Sakendra' or 'lord of the Śakas'.

165. *Conciliatory Policy of Gautamiputra.* A parallel to Gautamiputra's conciliatory policy towards the Śakas is to be found in English history. When the Anglo-Saxons began to settle in different parts of England the surviving Britons were gradually driven westward and came to be known as the Welsh or 'strangers'. A Welsh prince, Llewellyn by name, rose in rebellion against Edward I but was killed in battle about 1281 A.D. The other Welsh chieftains submitted to Edward, and Wales was joined to England. Edward was desirous of securing the willing loyalty of the newly acquired province. He promised to the chieftains to give them a ruler who was 'born in their own land, could not speak a word of English, and never did wrong to man, woman or child'. When he was asked to carry out his promise, he showed his infant son, Edward, who was born in Carnarvon in 1284. The chieftains accepted little Edward as their prince. From that time the eldest son of the English sovereign has always received the title of Prince of Wales. It was exactly by a similar process that Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, the conqueror of the Śakas, came to be regarded as 'Śakāditya', 'Sakendra' and even 'the Śaka' by the general populace of his time.

166. *The Starting of the Śaka Era.* To commemorate his victory Gautamiputra started an era which came to be known both as the Śālivāhana era and the Śaka era. This served to act as a second counterblast to Vikramāditya's reputation. Just as Vikramāditya's era got popular through the astronomers and astrologers of his court who prepared almanacs fixing the times and dates of different Hindu festivals and religious functions in terms of Vikrama Samvat, so in the case of the Śaka era also State astronomers helped to popularize its use by incorporating it in the almanacs. Both the Vikrama Samvat and the Śālivāhana Śākavda are mentioned side by side in Indian calendars even at the present time. Although Śālivāhana Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarṇi could not oust the Vikrama era, he succeeded

in establishing his own era on a permanent footing. The Kali era, which I have already shown to be a modified form of the Nanda era, the Vikrama Samvat and the Śālivāhana Śākāvda are the only three Hindu eras that have acquired an all-India currency. They have survived in calendars to this day. J. F. Fleet is also of opinion that the Śaka era was popularized by the astronomers. (The Śaka Era. *jras.* 1910. p. 822.) The tradition that says that the Śaka era was started to commemorate the death of a great Śaka king is also true in the sense that Gautamiputra became Śākāditya after having conquered the reigning Khakharāta or the Śaka emperor. It is likely the Khakharāta king died in the fight. The death of this king would thus naturally coincide with the victory of Gautamiputra. In connection with the question of the origin of the Śaka era the following quotation from 'Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum'. Vol. II. Part I. 'Kharosthi Inscriptions' by Sten Konow, Introduction, p. xxvii is interesting: 'After some time (*Kālāntarena kenai*) Vikramāditya, king of Mālava, ousted this Śaka dynasty (*uppādittā sagāna tam varṇśaṇ*) and established his own era (*payādāvio niyao saṃvachchharo*). But also his dynasty was uprooted (*tassa vi vāṁśam uppādiūna*), by another Śaka King (*Sagarāyā*), who established an era of his own when 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed (*paratise vāsasae Vikramasamvachchharassa voline parivattiūna ṣhavio jenam saṃvachchharo niyao*). It is then added that this incident has been narrated (*eyam pāsamgiyam samakkhāyam*) in order to give information about the (origin of the) Śaka era (*Sagakālajanap-atham*)'. (*Kālākāchāryakathānaka*, a work of unknown date.)

167. *Western Satraps were Tributaries to the Andhras.* The regnal dates of Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarnī ranging from 74 A.D. to 130 A.D., within which period the epoch of the Śaka era falls, as also the traditional and the inscriptional evidence go to support the assumption that the Śaka era was started by the sixth Andhra king Śri Śātakarnī. Once this is admitted it will be seen that there is no alternative but to recognize that the western satraps, who dated in Śaka era, were tributaries to the Andhras. In this connection the title 'Śakendra' (Lord of the Śakas) that tradition ascribes to Śālivāhana appears to be significant. (161.) Rapson writes 'That the dates of the Western Kṣatrapas are actually recorded in years of the Śaka era, beginning in 78 A.D., there can be no possible doubt (v. R.I.C., §83; J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 365). The question of the origin of this era has, therefore, an important bearing on the history of this dynasty. The titles 'kṣatrapa' and 'mahākṣatrapa' certainly show that the Western Kṣatrapas were originally feudatories; and the era used by them is presumably, as is regularly the case in similar instances, the era of the dynasty to which they paid allegiance'. (Cca. p. cv.)

168. *Appointments of Bhūmaka, Caṣṭana and Pulumāvi as Provincial Governors.*

XLV. Gautamiputra and Western Satraps

The evidence in favour of the Andhra origin of the Śaka era is fairly conclusive. We may now safely attempt a little historical reconstruction to elucidate the position of the western satraps during the time of Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarṇi. Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarṇi ascended the throne in 74 a.C. After having established himself firmly he led an expedition sometime before A.D. 78 against the Khakharāta king, one of whose ancestors had wrested a part of the Andhra dominion. Gautamiputra succeeded in completely ousting the Khakharāta monarch from all his possessions and also in subjugating various other tribes of Śakas, Palhavas and Yavanas. He acquired immense wealth by his military victories (line 9, Balaśrī inscription.) He started an era in commemoration of the victory in A.D. 78. In pursuance of the conciliatory policy that he adopted towards his vanquished enemies he appointed Bhūmaka, a scion of the Khakharāta family, to the governorship of the province of Mahārāṣṭra and Caṣṭana, probably a member of some other family (Kardamaka ?) conquered by him, to the satrapy of the Mālavas. These appointments seem likely to have been made shortly after 78 A.D. About this period he also placed his mother Gautamī Balaśrī as the regent in the Dakṣināpatha in charge of his minor son Pulumāvi. Sometime between 100 and 130 A.D. his son was married to the daughter of Rudradāman the grandson of Caṣṭana. All the satraps under Gautamiputra including Uṣabhadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, dated their records in terms of the Śaka era. Gautamiputra neither killed Nahapāna nor did he restrike Nahapāna's coins in commemoration of his victory over him. Nahapāna, Caṣṭana, Uṣabhadāta and Rudradāman were all satraps under the protection of the suzerain Gautamiputra. None of the western satraps were independent kings although they used the title of 'rājā' and minted coins in their own names.

11. QUEEN BALAŚRĪ, QUEEN JIVASŪTĀ AND GAUTAMIPUTRA ŚRI ŚĀTAKARΝI

169. *Gautamiputra's Inscription.* I shall now consider the inscriptions in which Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarṇi figures.

XLVI. Gautamiputra and Uṣabhadāta. Jivasūtā Inscription

bg. Vol. XVI. ls. 1125). Translation by Bhagvanlal Indraji. (For transliteration of the inscription, see ap):

(1) To the Perfect one. From Benākata of Govardhana, which is the camp of victory of the Vaijayanti army, the illustrious lord Śātakarṇi, son of Gautamī,

- (2) commands the minister Vishnupālita in Govardhana, that (whereas) there is at the present day a field in the village of Aparakakhadi (Aparakakshāti ?) owned by Rishabhadatta,
- (3) and (measuring) 200 nivartanas, this our field (measuring) 200 nivartanas, we give to the Tekirasi ascetics of this (mountain). We grant rights (immunity ?) in connection with this field.
- (4) It is not to be entered, not to be injured, not to be worked for salt (?), to be freed from all ordinary local dues (?). These are the immunities granted to this field.
- (5) This document has been written here by Suviya (Suvirya); it has been commanded by the minister Sivaguta (Sivagupta); touched by the great lord.
- (6) The plate (which was) kept (was) given on the first day of the second fortnight of the rainy season in the year 18 for the use of recluses.

170. *Jivasūtā's Inscription*. Inscription 5. (Is. 1126.) (Line 6 of Inscription 4 continued.) (For transliteration of the inscription, see ap):

- (6) To the Perfect one. The gift by the minister Sāmaka from the Queen.
- (7) Health to be inquired of Sāmaka, the minister at Govardhana, at the command of Jivasūtā, the queen Dowager, the great queen of King Gautamiputra Sātakarnī,
- (8, 9) and he to be told 'Here we had given a field in the east in the village of Kakhadi to the recluse mendicants living in the cave, charitably given by us in mount Triraśmi. That field is being cultivated (but) the village is uninhabited.
- (10) Such being the case we now give a hundred (100) nivartanas of the royal field in our possession on the confines of the city to the recluse mendicants of Triraśmi.
- (11) We grant parihāra (immunity ?) to this field. It is not to be entered, not to be injured, not to be dug for salt, and to be free from the ordinary dues of the country, with all kinds of immunities. Such being the immunities let none take the field. 'Do you record here the parihāra (immunity ?) of this field', is the command of Suviya (Suvirya). In the year 24
- (12) on the fifth (5) day of the fourth fortnight of the monsoon months, the writing on the plate has been engraved here at the command of the Queen. The documents for the ascetics (had been) prepared

in the year 24 on the tenth day of the second fortnight of the summer months.

171. *Jivasūtā* the name of *Gautamīputra*'s Queen. With reference to the inscription No. 1126 Rapson writes 'This is an order of the king to be communicated to Syāmaka, the minister in Govardhana, "in the name of the king Gautamiputra and of the king's queen-mother whose son is living". The name of this queen, Bala-Śrī, is known from her inscription dated in the 19th year of her grandson Puṇumāvi'. (Cca. p. xlvi.) According to Bhagvanlal Indraji there is no reference to Balaśrī in this inscription; the queen who makes the gift is named 'Jivasūtā'; she is the great queen of king Gautamiputra Śātakarni and not his mother. The word 'jivasūtā' in line 7 of the inscription has been supposed by Rapson and some other scholars to mean 'whose son is living'. The original passage is 'raño gotamiputasa satakanisa mahādeviya ca jivasutāya rājamātuya vacanena, etc.' The meaning is quite clear. Indraji's rendering of 'jivasutā' as the name of Gautamiputra's queen is certainly the correct one. The translation of 'jivasutā' by the words 'whose son is living' leads to an absurd expression, *viz.*, 'in the name of the king Gautamiputra and of the king's queen-mother whose son is living'. As, according to this interpretation, the inscription distinctly states that the order is in the name of king Gautamiputra there is no sense in saying that the queen-mother's son, who must be the same king, is alive. I propose the following translation: [Line 6] Siddham (Perfection). The minister Śāmaka at Govardhana to make the [following] gift from the Queen. [Line 7] According to the directions of King Gautamiputra Śātakarni's Queen Consort [who is] also the Queen-mother Jivasūtā, Śāmaka at Govardhana is to be enquired of [his] good health and then [line 8] he is to be told, etc.

172. *Gautamīputra* did not act as a Provincial Governor. We may, therefore, safely assume that while inscription ls. 1125 records the gift of king Gautamiputra, inscription ls. 1126, which is a continuation of No. 1125, records that of his queen. The expression 'rājamatuya' refers to the fact that Jivasūtā was the mother of Puṇumāvi. Jivasūtā must have belonged to the Vāsiṣṭhi gotra. The time interval between the dates of the two inscriptions Nos. 1125 and 1126 is six years. Gautamiputra Śrī Śātakarni enjoyed a reign of 54 years from 74 a.C. to 130 a.C. It may be assumed that he did not act in the capacity of a provincial governor any time previous to his accession. The long reign of 54 years is not an impossibility. Inscription No. 1125, which is dated in the 18th year of the king, was therefore executed some time about (74+18 =) 92 a.C., and the inscription of the queen Jivasūtā about 98 a.C.

173. *Camp of Victory*. It is not necessary to assume that the word 'vijayakhadhbhāvāra' occurring in line 1 of No. 1125, the

literal meaning of which is 'the camp of victory' implies that the king had just returned from an actual victorious campaign. The word 'jayaskandhāvāra' is a common one occurring in many inscriptions and copper-plate grants. (cf. Dahrasena's copper-plate record. Cca. p. lxiii.) It merely indicates 'the place of residence' of the king at the time. The royal camp is likely to have been called 'the camp of victory' irrespective of the state of peace or war, particularly in the case of a king who never suffered defeat (line 6. ls. 1123). The visits to Govardhana were certainly made in the course of pilgrimage, and the queen accompanied the king on the first occasion also; in line 8 of inscription No. 1126 the expression 'amhehi..... puvakhetam datam', which means 'we gave a field as a gift', refers to the previous joint visit of the king and the queen although in the inscription (ls. 1125) only the king's name is to be found.

174. *Significance of gift of Uṣabhadāta's lands made by Gautamīputra.* The land that the king made a gift of previously belonged to one Uṣabhadāta (line 2, ls. 1125). This Uṣabhadāta may or may not be the Uṣabhadāta the son-in-law of Nahapāna. There is nothing in the inscription to suggest that Uṣabhadāta's lands were taken possession of by Gautamīputra after the former had been defeated in battle. Had such been the case there would have been found some reference to victory in the passage. It was customary for kings to make gifts of lands belonging to persons who might be his subjects by paying the proper price to the owner and acquiring them. Uṣabhadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, records in inscription ls. 1131, line 4, that he paid 4,000 karsapānas to a brāhmaṇa as price for the field that he donated. It is likely, therefore, that Gautamīputra similarly paid the price of the land to Uṣabhadāta when he took it from him. Even when any land happened to be in the king's direct possession the king was expected to pay its price to the State treasury from his personal funds before he could make a gift of it.

175. *Renewal of privileges was not necessary.* If we compare the Karle inscriptions of Gautamīputra (ls. 1105) and Uṣabhadāta (ls. 1099), we shall find that a village named Karajika or Karajaka, that had been given as gift to the monks of Vāluraka cave by Uṣabhadāta, was also donated by Gautamīputra probably in the year 18 of his reign. This fact has been interpreted to mean that the edict in inscription No. 1105 'was issued by Gautamīputra Sri Sātakarni as a result of his victory over Nahapāna' for the 'renewal of privileges previously granted by Rṣabhadatta'. (Cca. p. xlvi.) During the Andhra period it was customary to invest all gifts for the purpose of administration in guilds of various classes of artisans. Thus there would be no occasion for the 'renewal of privileges' even when there was a change of the ruling dynasty. It is to be noted

that Uṣabhadāta's inscription is undated, and that in Gautamīputra's inscription no mention is to be found that the village of Karajaka previously belonged to Uṣabhadāta. Since both the inscriptions are to be found close to each other they can both be read by a person visiting the place. It is and was not possible for visitors to find out who was the earlier donor and to whom the merit of the gift should belong. Had the change of donor taken place as a result of victory of one over the other the inscription of the victor would have recorded the fact. The only plausible explanation is that the village must have been donated by Uṣabhadāta originally and that it was paid for by Gautamīputra when he made a second gift of it. It was not possible for anybody, who knew that Gautamīputra was the king, to make any mistake regarding the final donor, because Gautamīputra and Uṣabhadāta stood in the relation of overlord and satrap; they were not two independent kings.

176. *Uṣabhadāta's Overlord.* In the inscription, Lüders No. 1131, Uṣabhadāta says that in obedience to the order of 'bhāttāraka' (postscript 1) he led an expedition against the Mālayas. It has been supposed that the word 'bhāttāraka' refers to Uṣabhadāta's overlord who was his father-in-law Nahapāna. It must be remembered that Nahapāna did not use the honorific 'śri' with his name, he called himself a kṣatrapa and could never claim the epithet 'bhāttāraka' which means 'the great lord' (Sed) and which was used only by independent kings. In his inscription Uṣabhadāta apparently referred to Gautamīputra at whose order he set out against the Mālayas. We do not find in any inscription anything that might go against the supposition that the western satraps were tributaries to the Andhras. I have already discussed the significance of Rudradāman's claims, in the Girnar inscription, Lüders No. 965, of having defeated the lord of the Deccan twice in battle. (50.) Rudradāman's victory as well as his daughter's marriage must be dated sometime before 130 A.D.

177. *Pulumāvi's Regnal Years. Date of Balaśri's death.*

XLVII. Gautamīputra, Pulumāvi and Balaśri An attempt may now be made to determine the correspondence of dates between the regnal years of Gautamīputra Śri Śātakarni and those of his son Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi. Unfortunately the available data are not adequate for a definite conclusion. We find Pulumāvi's date 19 in the Balaśri inscription. If it is assumed that Balaśri was the regent in charge of Pulumāvi and that she was placed in Dakṣināpatha immediately after the great victory of Gautamīputra, the accession of Pulumāvi, who must have been a minor at the time, to the provincial throne would be dated about the year 78 A.D. There would thus be a difference of 4 years only between the regnal dates of the father and the son, Gautamīputra having become king in 74 A.C. In the Jīvasūtā inscription, Lüders 1126,

the names of Gautamiputra and his consort Jivasūtā occur together while in the Balaśrī inscription the name of Gautamiputra is mentioned along with that of his mother. According to Indian custom so long as the mother-in-law is living the daughter-in-law would not find any prominent mention anywhere. It may be pointed out that in inscription No. 1125, of which the Jivasūtā inscription is a continuation, so to say, there is no mention of the queen although, as I have already pointed out, the queen accompanied the king on the pilgrimage. (173.) Six years intervened between the two inscriptions. It may therefore be surmised that Balaśrī died in the interval, and Jivasūtā allowed her name to be recorded after her mother-in-law's death. The date of Balaśrī's death on this supposition would fall between (74+18 =) 92 a.C. and 98 a.C. The 19th year of Pulumāvi's reign at which date Balaśrī was alive would be (78+19 =) 97 a.C. There is therefore no discrepancy between the two assumptions. The death of Balaśrī may be fixed at 98 a.C. Again, supposing Gautamiputra was 20 years old at the time of his accession, and supposing he was born at his mother's 20th year, Balaśrī's birth date would be (74-20-20 =) 34 a.C. Balaśrī would thus be about (98-34 =) 64 years old at the time of her death. In inscription, Lüders No. 1124, Vāsiṣṭhiputra has been called 'navanarasvāmī'. The word has been taken to mean 'the new lord' by Indraji. If we accept this interpretation we might say that Pulumāvi took over independent charge of the province after the death of his grandmother, that is why he was called 'the new lord'. The inscription is dated in his 22nd year. Therefore Balaśrī died between the years 19 and 22 of Pulumāvi's reign, *i.e.*, between 97 a.C. and 100 a.C. This tallies with the other suppositions.

178. 78 A.D. as Key-date of Gautamiputra's Times. The assumption that Pulumāvi's regnal years began in 78 A.D. may therefore be accepted. The dates for Gautamiputra (74 a.C.-130 a.C.), Pulumāvi (78 A.D.-148 a.C.), Bhūmaka, Nahapāna, Uśabhadāta and Āyāma (78 A.D.-124 a.C.) Ysamotika, Caṣṭana, Jayadāman and Rudradāman (78 A.D.-150 a.C.) and the fact that the western satraps were feudatory to the Andhras will explain the shuffling of territory that is supposed to have taken place by Rapson and others. (Cca. pp. cxx, cxxi.) The epoch of the Śaka era 78 A.D. is the key-date of Andhra chronology of Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarṇi's times. See Table XI.

TABLE XI. CHRONOLOGY OF GAUTAMIPUTRA ŚRĪ ŚĀTAKARÑI'S TIMES

34 a.C. Gautami Balaśrī's birth (approximate date.)
 54 a.C. Gautamiputra's birth (approximate date.)
 73 a.C. Pułumāvi's birth (approximate date.)
 74 a.C. Gautamiputra's accession.
 78 A.D. Gautamiputra starts Śaka era.
 78 A.D. Pułumāvi as provincial governor of the Dakṣinā-patha under Balaśrī.
 78 A.D. Balaśrī as regent in charge of Pułumāvi.
 78 A.D. Bhūmaka or his son Nahapāna is appointed Satrap of Mahārāṣṭra.
 78 A.D. Ysamotika or his son Caṣṭana is appointed Satrap of Mālava.
 92 a.C. Gautamiputra makes a gift of Uṣabhadāta's lands.
 97 a.C. Balaśrī inscription.
 98 a.C. Balaśrī's death.
 98 a.C. Jīvasūtā inscription.
 119 A.D. } Uṣabhadāta's inscriptions
 123 A.D. }
 124 A.D. Āyāma inscription
 130 a.C. Gautamiputra's death
 130 a.C. Pułumāvi's accession
 148 a.C. Pułumāvi's death
 150 A.D. Rudradāman's coin.

Caṣṭana's date lies between 78 a.C. and 124 a.C. Rudradāman's daughter's marriage with Pułumāvi took place some time between, say, 100 a.C. and 130 a.C.; Rudradāman defeated his son-in-law also some time between these dates.

12. QUEEN NĀYANIKĀ AND GAUTAMIPUTRA YAJÑAŚRĪ ŚĀTAKARÑI

179. *Nanaghat Inscriptions and Epigraphic Evidence.* I shall now consider the Nanaghat inscriptions of queen Nāyanikā or Nāganikā. These inscriptions are numbered 1112 to 1118 in the Lüders List. There is difference of opinion among scholars as regards the relation the different individuals, mentioned in the inscriptions, bear to one another. The incubus of epigraphic oracle has prevented historians from arriving at unbiased opinions in their discussions of these famous inscriptions. I have already shown that we can safely brush aside epigraphic verdict if it clashes with other evidence (51-61), and this remark is particularly applicable to the present case.

180. *The Images and Names.* These inscriptions are found on the walls of a large cave at the top of the Nanaghat pass that leads from the Konkan to Junar in West Poona. The cave was very likely a rest-chamber for ascetics. On the two side-walls are long lines of inscriptions recording various gifts made in connection with Vedic sacrifices by the queen Nāyanikā, mother of prince Vedisiri. On the left wall there are 10 lines of inscriptions and on the right wall also 10. On the back wall there were originally 9 relieveo figures now entirely destroyed. Above the

XLIX. Nana-
ghat Inscriptions.
Queen Nāyanikā

heads of the figures are inscriptions, apparently showing the names of the personages represented by the figures. The inscriptions over the respective positions of the 9 figures are given below:

- (1) Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhano srimata
- (2) Devi Nāyanikāya rano cha
- (3) Siri Sātakanino
- (4) Kumāro Bhāya
- (5) (Inscription lost)
- (6) (")
- (7) Mahārathi Trānakayiro (Bühler) or
Maharathagrianka Yiro (Indraji)
- (8) Kumāro Hakuśiri
- (9) Kumāro Sātavāhana

181. *The Date of Nanaghat Inscriptions.* The inscriptions on the side-walls mention (i) Kumāra Vedisiri and another person apparently (ii) a king whose name ended in 'siri' and (iii) whose wife was the mother of Vedisiri and Sati Sirimata and lastly (iv) a mahārathi. The names over the heads of the figures and in the inscriptions on the side-walls have been supposed to correspond. Vedisiri is perhaps referred to as 'kumaro sātavāhana' the name over figure 9, Sati Sirimata as 'Kumaro Hakuśiri' the name over figure 8, and the mother of Vedisiri and Sati Sirimata as 'Devi Nāyanikā' the name over figure 2. Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhana has been supposed by most scholars to have been the father of the king whose name ends in 'sri' in the inscription. This is an entirely gratuitous assumption. I am inclined to place the inscriptions and Devi Nāyanikā and others some time between 412 a.C. and 418 a.C. for reasons mentioned below. The conservatism of State engravers as also the presence of other inscriptions near at hand, which served as epigraphic models to them, would explain the old form of the Nanaghat script.

182. *Seven Andhrabhrtyas and twenty-three Andhras.* The purānas state that there were 19 Andhra kings (Mtp-a. 273. 16) followed by 7 Andhrabhrtyas who were also of the Andhra race. (Mtp-a. 273. 17, 18; Vap-a. 99. 358, 359.) This gives us $(19 + 7 =)$ 26 successive kings. The purānas do not say anything specifically about the last 4 kings. Since all the 30 kings were Andhras and since only 7 have been definitely stated to be Andhrabhrtyas the remaining 23 must have been Andhras other than Andhrabhrtyas. Of these 23 the first 19 ruled before the 7 Andhrabhrtyas. The reign of the Andhrabhrtyas began with the 20th king and ended with the 26th. The last 4 kings must therefore be Andhras of the old stock. This puranic account may fit the inscriptive records if we assume that the Viśvāyakuras and Sivalakuras were Andhrabhrtyas. King No. 23, who has been called Gautamīputra and who has been wrongly identified with the Gautamīputra Śri Sātakarnī of the inscriptions, could then be

taken to be Gautamiputra Vilivāyakura. His predecessor king No. 22, called Śivasvāti or Śivasvāmi, would be identified with Māthariputra Svāmi Sakasena or Sakasada, and kings No. 20 and No. 21 with Vāsisthiputra Vilivāyakura and Māthariputra Śivalakura respectively. The Baleokouros of Hippokouras of Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.) cannot be any of these Vilivāyakuras as the dates for kings No. 20, No. 21 and No. 23 range from 307 a.C. to 361 a.C. It is probable that the Vilivāyakuras had been ruling as hereditary provincial governors from an early time before they came to occupy the imperial throne. However nice the fit may be, it should be kept in mind that in the absence of dates in inscriptions and coins of these kings their respective identities with the puranic kings remain always a proposition of doubtful value even when similarity of names can be found. We may tentatively accept these identifications so long as any conflicting evidence is not forthcoming.

183. *Andhra sub-clans and the meaning of the word Vilivāyakura.* According to Vāyu 99. 358 the

L. Andhra Sub-Andhras were divided into five sub-clans
Clans which were all contemporaneous. The sub-clans may be surmised to have been as follows: (1) the Śātarāhānas, (2) the Cūṭus, (3) the Mudās, (4) the Vilivāyas and (5) the Ābhīras. Regarding the name Vilivāyakura it may be pointed out that the word 'vāya' means 'leader'. (Sed.) 'Vilivāya' means 'leader or lord of vili'. 'Kura' is the same as 'kula' or 'kuda' or 'kada' (as in Cūṭukadānanda) and means 'sub-clan' or 'family'. There is an author named Vilinātha Kavi who wrote a drama called 'Madanmafijari Nātaka'. (Burnell, 170a. A classified index to the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore. London 1880.) The name 'Vilinātha' is identical in meaning with 'Vilivāya'. Vilinātha might have been very well the name of a local Śiva image. The ancient town of Vellore (North Arcot) used to be known as Vella (MMW. Sed), and Vilinātha was probably the deity of the place. If this guess be correct Śivalakura and Vilivāyakura would refer to the same sub-clan; the sub-clan derived its name from the presiding deity of the place. According to the purāṇas there were 10 Ābhīra kings who were also Andhrabhrītyas. Their rule, like that of the other 7 Andhrabhrītyas mentioned in the same śloka, was contemporaneous with the rule of the Andhras and was included in the total period of Andhra reign. (Vap-a. 99. 358, 359; Mtp-a. 273. 17, 18.) The Ābhīras were thus Andhras and belonged to one of the royal sub-clans. Isvarsena, Isvardatta and the other Ābhīras were not interlopers as has been supposed by some scholars. That the Ābhīras belonged to a royal sub-clan of the Andhras explains the fact that Isvardatta, although he was a mere mahākṣatrapa, dated his records in regnal years. It is probable that there were 10 Ābhīra kings of the Traikūtaka family counting backwards from Dahrasena.

184. *The last 4 Śātavāhanas.* We may therefore assume that the reign of the Śātavāhana sub-clan ended with the death of the 19th king. After this the imperial Andhra throne passed into the hands of other Andhra sub-clans whose rule ended with the 26th king. The Śātavāhanas were re-established on the throne from the time of Yajñāśri the 27th king till the end of the dynasty in 435 a.C. Pulomā was the 30th and the last Śātavāhana king.

185. *Hindu Religious Revival.* It is likely that although the early Andhra kings of the Śātavāhana sub-clan followed Hindu ideals and traditions, as can be seen from the Balaśri inscription, the later Andhrabṛhyas were more inclined towards Buddhism and Jainism. The large number of gifts made to monks of these faiths may be taken as an index of their popularity. When the Śātavāhanas re-established themselves as paramount lords they tried to revive Hindu religious practices. The name Yajñāśri the first of the later Śātavāhanas is itself an indication of Hindu religious revival. It may be surmised that the Nanaghat inscriptions were executed at the order of Nāyanikā, the queen of Yajñāśri Śātakarni, after the death of her husband at the time when Vijaya the 28th king was on the throne, *i.e.*, between 412 and 418 a.C. Vijaya might have been a brother of Yajñāśri. Nāyanikā was perhaps the regent in charge of her minor son Vedisiri who was the provincial governor of the Dakṣināpatha (line 2, left wall). She appears to have acted in the same capacity for her son as Balaśri had done for Pułumāvi.

186. *Meaning of the name Hakusiri.* Nāyanikā celebrated vedic sacrifices on a lavish scale. Her son was named Vedisiri the Sanskrit equivalent of which would be Vedaśri. Her other son was named Hakusiri which is very likely the Prākṛita form of Sūktaśri meaning 'the grace of vedic sūkta or mantra'. Sūktaśri would be converted into Śaktuśri and then into Hakusiri in Prākṛita. Bühler writes: 'Hakusiri, which, according to the method of spelling used in ancient inscriptions, may stand for Hakkusiri, would correspond exactly to Sanskrit Śaktuśri, "he whose glory is the (sacrificial) barley-flour"'. (aswi. V. p. 64. n.) The occurrence of the name 'Sati Sirimata' in line 4, left wall, has led Bühler and others to identify him with Kumāro Hakusiri of the reliefo figure. Bühler writes: 'Now if Śakti is the Sanskrit etymon of Sati, it is quite possible that Haku, which, according to the method of spelling adopted in the old inscriptions, may stand for Hakku, is another stronger prakrit corruption of Śakti'. (*ibid.*, p. 68.) In my opinion the original name of the prince was Sūktaśri which suffered change in two directions, one as already stated and the other as follows: Sūktaśri—Śaktiśri—Śatiśri—Satisiri. Bühler is perhaps right in guessing that Hakusiri, who was the elder brother of Vedisiri,

'was dead at the time when the inscription was incised'. (*ibid.*, p. 69.)

187. *Vedaśrī, Vadaśrī and Cadasāti*. It is quite in the fitness of things that the two sons of Yajñaśrī should have been named Sūktaśrī and Vedaśrī. In the purāṇas the name of the 29th king shows several variant forms, e.g., Candraśrī (Visnu), Candaśrī (Mtp-a.), Dandaśrī (Vap-a.) and Vadaśrī (Radcliffe Mtp.; Vip-w. IV. p. 201). The last name Vadaśrī may be taken to be a corrupt form of Vedaśrī. In coins we find the name 'Vāsithiputa Śiri Cada Sāti'. Referring to the coins of this king Rapson remarks that his name is spelt in two ways, *viz.*, either with a dental or with a lingual d. (Cca. p. 30 n.) The name of the king has been called Vada Śātakarnī by Vincent Smith. (*ibid.*) Support is thus found from coins for almost all the variant names recorded by the purāṇas. Chinese records describe this king as Yue-ai, i.e., Candraśrī.

188. *Vāsiṣṭhiputra Vedaśrī*. Yajñaśrī has been called Gautamiputra in inscriptions and coins. Gautamiputra's wife cannot belong to Gautama gotra. She may be a Vāsiṣṭhi. The queen of the sixth Andhra king the great Gautamiputra was a Vāsiṣṭhi. It appears that Nāyanikā, the queen of Yajñaśrī Gautamiputra, was also a Vāsiṣṭhi; her son Vedisiri may be taken to be the Vadasiri of the coins who was a Vāsiṣṭhiputra.

189. *Śiśuka is probably the correct name of the first Andhra King*. Now coming to the name Simuka that LII. Simuka and appears over the first relieve figure Bhagvanlal Indraji writes 'Dr. Bühler has suggested that Simuka the first statue in the Nanaghat chamber is Śiśuka, the first name which occurs in the Matsya Purāṇ list. This suggestion seems probable and is supported by the consideration that the Śipraka of the Vishnu, the Sindhuka of the Vayu, and the Śiśuka of the Matsya Purāṇs appear to be all corruptions of the Nanaghat name Simuka, arising from a misreading of the letter *mu*, a mistake which seems to have been made about the fourth or fifth century. At that time *mu* might be read either as *pra*, *shu* or *dhu*, and each Purāṇ writer adopted the reading he thought to be the best. And as Sishuka and Sidhuka seemed meaningless names they were changed into Śiśuka and Sindhuka'. (bg. XVI. p. 612.) Chances are against the assumption that the first Andhra king had a name without a meaning. During the Andhra period even Sakas, Yavanas and Palhavas sported Sanskritic names. If in the fifth century A.D. it was possible to read *mu* as *shu* the reverse was also true. As the Nanaghat inscription was executed some time after 412 a.C. it might be that the original name Śiśuka in the copy was read as Simuka by the engraver. Then again there is another possibility. The letter 'śa' occurs rarely in Prākṛita words and it is likely that many variants of this letter existed one of which resembled 'ma'. To my eye the letter supposed to be 'ma'

in the word read as 'Simuka' appears to be somewhat different from the other ma's, *e.g.*, in the word 'kumara' occurring in the Nanaghat inscription. The upper part of the middle letter in the word read as 'Simuka' resembles more a V than the half circle of other ma's. There is just the possibility that the letter is 'śa' and not 'ma'. The resemblance would be explained by the supposition that the inscription was executed at a time when the two letters could be confused. The occurrence of sporadic forms of letters in inscriptions is not a rarity. Vincent Smith writes 'Many alphabetical forms specially characteristic of Gupta inscriptions are found sporadically in Kuśāna records (see No. 46 of List of Inscriptions) while on the other hand, Gupta documents often exhibit archaic forms specially characteristic of the Kuśāna age'. (The Kuśāna Period of Indian History, *jas.* 1913, p. 35.)

190. *Nanaghat Inscriptions were very likely executed by the Queen of Yajñaśrī.* The assumption that the Nanaghat inscriptions were executed by the queen of Yajñaśrī is thus seen to be supported by the following arguments: (i) the names Sūktaśrī and Vedaśrī of the princes are in conformity with the name Yajñaśrī of the father. The worn out name of the king in the inscription ends with a 'sri'; (ii) vedic rites in place of Buddhistic ceremonies were likely to have been inaugurated by royal personages on the re-establishment to the throne of the Śātavāhana sub-clan. This occurred at the time of Yajñaśrī, *i.e.*, about 403 a.C.; (iii) the placing of reliefo figure of Śiśuka the first Śātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty, along with those of the other members of Yajñaśrī's family to emphasize the fact that the Śātavāhana sub-clan was re-established; (iv) the identification of Vedisiri with the 29th king; and (v) lastly the probable occurrence of a sporadic form of the letter 'śa' peculiar to the fifth century A.D. in the inscription. In spite of the plausibility of the above arguments it must be kept in mind that since the Nanaghat inscriptions bear no date the identifications cannot be considered as certain. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Yajñaśrī's queen Nāyanikā, the Sanskritic form of whose name is Nāganikā, belonged to a Nāga family. Śiśuka the first Andhra king was also connected with the Nāgas.

191. *Peculiarities of the Joghatembhi Hoard.* Gautamiputra

Sri Yajña Śātakarnī like his illustrious LIII. Yajñaśrī ancestor and namesake Gautamiputra Śri and Restruck Coins Śātakarnī, the sixth Andhra king, was a powerful monarch. The variety of his coins and the extent of their provenance clearly show his superior position among the Andhra kings. For some reason which cannot be definitely specified restruck and double-struck Andhra coins begin to make their appearance at the time of the Vilivāyakuras downwards. The restruck coins of Nahapāna, however, are

generally ascribed to Gautamiputra Śātakarnī, the sixth king, wrongly supposed to be the 23rd king. I have an impression that these coins, all of which, without any exception, are to be traced to a single hoard, *viz.*, the Joghala-tembhi find, were restruck at the time of Yajñāśri. About 300 years had elapsed at the time of Yajñāśri since Nahapāna issued his coins. Somebody found the hoard and had a portion of them restruck in order to be able to use the coins. That there was no original coin of Gautamiputra or of anybody else in the hoard is a strong proof of the fact that the restamping was done after the hoard had been found. Nahapāna's coins seem to have been restruck with different dies. It is likely that in order to avoid the confiscation of any part of the hoard by the State under the treasure trove act of the times (29) the discoverer was getting the coins restamped in small quantities in different places representing them to be his heirloom. This must have been a slow process. The discoverer died leaving the hoard hidden, and a part of it unstamped. Scott writes 'The great variety of dies used in making the counter-impression is as noticeable as the variety in the case of Nahapāna's coins to which I have drawn attention. The work was evidently done by many different workmen, of very different abilities, and probably at many different places'. (The Nasik-Joghala-tembhi-Hoard of Nahapāna's Coins, Rev. H. R. Scott, *jbbras.* XXII. p. 241.) Rapson writes 'The latter class, (restruck coins of Nahapāna) which comprises more than two-thirds of the total number of coins found, has, struck over the ordinary types of Nahapāna, the Andhra types, obv. "Caitya with inscr." : rev. "Ujjain symbol", which appear together on lead coins of Pulumāvi, Siva Sri, Canda Śāti and Sri Yajña, but which had not previously been found associated on coins of Gautamiputra Śātakarnī. So far as is known at present, these types were not used for any independent silver coinage, but were simply employed for the purpose of re-issuing the existing currency'. (Cca. p. lxxxix.)

192. *Coins bearing the Legend 'Gautamiputra Śātakarnī'.* The facts noted above will be best explained by the supposition that Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarnī did not issue any coin having ascended the imperial throne without a probationary period of provincial governorship. On the other hand, Yajñāśri had a long period of provincial reign, *viz.*, 18 years or more, and it is he that is responsible for all the coins bearing the legend 'Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarnī'. The conchshell symbol, if it has been correctly deciphered, that exists in the coin ascribed to Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarnī (Cca. p. 17), is peculiar to Gautamiputra Yajñāśri Śātakarnī; this is another argument in favour of the assertion that Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarnī, the sixth king, the so-called conqueror of Nahapāna, did not mint any coin at all.

13. SOME TENTATIVE IDENTIFICATIONS

193. *Difficulties in identifying the 'Pulumāvi' of the Coins.*

LIV. Kṛṣṇa and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Siva-śri Pulumāvi

The inscriptions and coins of other Andhra kings or of their satraps need not be considered for the present as they do not throw any fresh light on Andhra chronology; neither do they help us in establishing the identities of puranic Andhra kings. I should like to point out that king Kṛṣṇa of the Nasik inscription, Lüders No. 1144, and of the coin (Cca. p. 48) may not after all be the second puranic king of the same name. There is another Kṛṣṇa, apparently also of the Sātavāhana sub-clan, in the puranic list, *viz.*, No. 16 who has been called Nemikṛṣṇa (Vap) or Goraksakṛṣṇa (Vip-w.) He may very well be the person mentioned in the inscription and the coin. Martin has described two coins of Pulumāvi with the legends 'Sivasiri Pulumavisa' and 'Vāsiṣthiputra Sivasiri Pulumavisa' respectively. (Numismatic Supplement for 1934, Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 318, p. 61 N.) These coins raise grave doubts about the hitherto accepted identifications of the several Pulumāvis appearing in the puranic list; in view of this find, ascribing a particular coin to a particular Pulumāvi becomes a very difficult if not an impossible task. There is nothing to show in the coins themselves whether all of them that have the legend Pulumāvi belong to the same king or to different kings bearing the same name. The name, found in Martin's coins, 'Sivasri' suggests the later Andhras. According to the Ānandaśram Matsya the name of the 25th king is Sivaśri Pulomā; Viṣṇu calls him Śātakarni Sivaśri, the Radcliffe manuscript calls him simply Sivaśri. Very likely the coins with the legend 'Vāsiṣṭhiputra Sivaśri Pulumavi' are to be ascribed to this king. K. N. Dikshit has lately described a copper coin with the legend 'Raño Sivasiris Āpilakasa'. (Jrasb. Numis. Supplement. XLVII. pp. 93, 94 N.) This coin may be ascribed to the eighth king tentatively.

194. *Filling up the gaps.* I have already established four

LV. Some Tentative Identifications

points of contact between the puranic and the inscriptional series of Andhra kings on the basis of independent dates on both sides and of similarity of names. An attempt may now be made to indicate the inscriptional and coin names of some of the remaining 26 kings. The identifications of these kings are bound to be tentative as no dates other than puranic are available. Neither is there any other indication that might definitely fix their individual positions in the puranic list. A reference to Table XII will show the proposed identifications.

TABLE XII. IDENTIFICATIONS

No.	Date	Purāna	Inscription and Coin	REMARKS
1	21 b.C.	Śīsuka	Śīsuka	Contemporary of Viśrāmañya. Is.
2	2 a.C.	Kṛṣṇa	Kanha	1113. Identification certain. (Is. 346, 1144; Cca. p. 48?). See king No. 16.
3	20	Śri Mallakarni	....	Puranic variants—Śri Kāntakarni, Śri Śitakarni.
4	38	Pīnottasanga Strandhastambhi	Gautamīputra. Śri Sātakarni.	Is. 1123, 1125, 1126 (Cca. pp. 17, 68?). Identification certain.
5	56	Śri Śatakarni	Vāsishthīputra. Śri Pulūmāvī.	Son of No. 6, Is. 1123 (Cca. pp. 20-24?). Identification certain.
6	74	Lambodara	Śīsvari Āpīlaka	(rasb. Numis. Supplmt. XLVII. p. 93. N.?).
7	130	Āpīlaka	....	....
8	148	Meghasvāti	....	....
9	160	Svāti	....	....
10	178	Skandhasvāti	....	....
11	196	Mrigendra. Svātikarna	....	....
12	203	Kuntala. Svātikarna	....	....
13	206	Svātikarna	....	....
14	214	Pulomāvī	....	....
15	215	Gorakṣakṛṣṇa	....	Puranic variant—Pātumān. See kings Nos. 7, 24, 25, 30.
16	251	Hāla	....	Puranic variants—Nemikṛṣṇa, Viśrāmañya. See king No. 2.
17	276	Pattalaka	....	Associated with Hāla—Saptasatāka.
18	281	Purindrasena	....	....
19	286	Sundara. Sāntikarna	Vāsishthīputra. Viśvavākura.	Śātavahāna rule ends. Mtp-a. 273, 16. First of the Andhraāhṛityas. (Cca. p. 5?)
20	307			

21	312	Cakora Svātikarna	Mātharīputra Śivalakura	Cca. p. 7. Restruck coins of previous king.
22	312	Śivavāti	Mātharīputra. Svāmi	Puranic variant—Śivasvāni (Is. 1001, 1002?).
23	340	Gautamīputra	Sakasona.	Cca. p. 13. Restruck coins of kings Nos. 20, 21.
24	361	Pulomā	(tautamīputra) Vijivākura.	See kings Nos. 7, 15, 25, 30.
25	389	Śivāśrī Śāntikarna	Vāsishthīputra	Mtp-a. 273, 13. Martin's coins.
26	396	Śivaskandha Śitakarni	Pulūmāvī.	(Is. 1279?) The last of the Andhraāhṛityas. Mtp-a. 273, 17, 18.
27	403	Yajñāśrī Śitakarni	Srī Sivamaka Sata	Is. 987, 1024, 1146, 1340. Cca. pp. 34-45. Vip-w. IV pp. 201-205. Identification certain.
28	412	Vijaya	Gautamīputra. Srī Yajñā Śitakarni.	....
29	418	Candraśrī Śitakarni	Vāsishthīputra. Srī Candra Sati.	Is. 1341, R, p. 30. Elhi. p. 316 n.
30	428		Pulomā	Puranic variant—Vadāśrī. Is. 1112. Identification certain.
	435			See kings Nos. 7, 15, 24 and 25. End of the Andhra Empire.

14. RECONSTRUCTED ANDHRA CHRONOLOGY

195. *Chronological History.* The chronological history of the Andhra period may now be summarized.

LVI. Reconstructed Andhra Chronology For further details and for information of the social and the economic condition of the people during this period reference may be made to the writings of other workers on Andhra history.

196. *Reconstructed Andhra History.* About 66 b.C. Devabhūti, the last of the Suṅga kings, was murdered by his brāhmaṇa minister Vasudeva who usurped the throne. Vasudeva belonged to the Kaṇva family. The Kaṇvas traced their descent to the ancient Puru dynasty. The Kaṇvas were originally ksatriyas and became brāhmaṇas later on. (Vip.-b. IV. 19. 2, 10.) In spite of their ksatriya blood the Kaṇvas were weak rulers. Towards the end of Vasudeva's reign a provincial governor, with his capital at Ujjayini, Vikramāditya by name, broke free from the Kaṇva yoke, annexed adjoining territories and declared himself an independent king. In 21 b.C. another provincial governor of the Kaṇvas, named Śiśuka, killed the last Kaṇva king Suśarman and captured the imperial throne. The short reign of the Kaṇva dynasty came to an end in 21 b.C. Śiśuka was an Andhra and a śūdra by caste. His capital was at Pratiṣṭhāna, the modern Paithan. Very likely he was a Nāga originally belonging to Andhradeśa. He came of a clan called Sātakarni, and the sub-clan or family to which he belonged was named Śātavāhana or Sālivāhana. The Sātakarnis followed the matriarchal social system prevalent in the Deccan. Śiśuka's ancestors were hereditary provincial governors from the time of the Suṅgas. The long association of the Sātakarnis with the people of the west was responsible for their giving up the matriarchal form of inheritance although in other matters they observed matriarchal custom. Amongst the Sātakarnis the succession often devolved upon brothers in preference to the son. This compromise between the patriarchal and the matriarchal system of inheritance was probably one of the most important factors that led to the appointment of princes of the royal blood as provincial governors and the appointment of dowager queens as regents when the princes happened to be minors.

197. *Bid for Sovereignty.* When Śiśuka ascended the imperial throne in 21 b.C. he found a formidable rival in Vikramāditya. A bid for sovereignty ensued between these two powerful and ambitious princes. Vikramāditya was overthrown in about 18 b.C. after a great fight and had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Śiśuka during the rest of his life. It appears that the province of Mālava, conquered at so much cost, was lost to the Andhras some time after the death of Śiśuka probably as a result of the rise of the Kuṣāna power. After Śiśuka's death in 2 a.C. his brother Kṛṣṇa became the king. Nothing definite is

known about the princes who came after Śiśuka till we come to the sixth king who was called Gautamiputra Śri Sātakarni.

198. *The Great Gautamiputra.* Gautamiputra was a great king. He ascended the throne in 74 a.C. He succeeded in reconquering all his ancestral dominions, in subjugating the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas that had formed small independent principalities, and in conquering other ksatriya kings of his time who had defied Andhra supremacy. His greatest military exploit was the conquest of the Khakharātas, a family of powerful Saka emperors. Gautamiputra re-established the prestige of his family. He was generous towards his defeated enemies, and he appointed them as provincial governors under him. He had several Saka governors as satraps. He appointed Caṣṭana the Saka to the governorship of the reconquered province of Mālava and Bhūmaka, another Saka, to the rulership of Mahārāṣṭra. Gautamiputra came to be known as the friend of the Sakas and was called Śākāditya. He founded an era to commemorate his victories in 78 A.D. The era was known as Śākāvda and also as the Sālivāhana era.

199. *Provincial Governors under Gautamiputra.* All provincial governors and satraps under Gautamiputra, unless they belonged to the royal family, had to record State events in terms of his era. The provincial governors, however, were allowed great latitude in all matters. They waged wars on their own account, and minted coins. The imperial authority did not interfere in these affairs. It remained satisfied so long as it regularly got its dues. This arrangement lent strength to the imperial Andhras and was perhaps one of the reasons that contributed to the long reign of the Andhra dynasty.

200. *The Andhras and the Kuṣānas.* The relation of the Andhras to the Kuṣānas is not at all clear. That two powerful empires should exist side by side without coming into conflict with each other is rather strange. It is stranger still that no record of their mutual relationship should be left in coins and inscriptions. If it is proved that the Kuṣānas used the Saka era then that would be a strong presumptive evidence in favour of the assumption that the Kuṣānas were feudatories to the Andhras for a part of their empire at least. Gautamiputra's mother records in an inscription that her son conquered the Khakharātas who, as there are reasons to believe, were a very powerful dynasty of kings. If the use of the Saka era by the Kuṣānas is substantiated it would be possible to identify either Kadphises I or Kadphises II, whoever of these two died in 78 A.D., with the Khakharāta mentioned in the inscription. It is interesting to note in this connection that although Kaniṣka has been described as 'rājātirāja' in inscriptions in pursuance of his family custom, he does not use this title in any of his coins. No separate Indian name for the Kuṣānas exists; they were grouped together with the Śakas, a name familiar to Indians for

many centuries past, having come through the same route, one in the wake of the other. According to Laufer, the Yue-chi, the people to which the Kuṣānas belonged, were Scythic Iranians. (Ehi. p. 264. n.) The Kuṣānas could thus be known as Śakas. The Kuṣāna kings appear to have been called Śakarāts or Śaka emperors; Khakharāta is probably the Prākrita form of Śakarāt. All this however is mere conjecture at the present state of our knowledge, and we must wait for further information before any definite opinion can be pronounced in this matter.

201. *The End of the Andhra Empire.* The Śātavāhana sub-clan enjoyed uninterrupted reign from 21 b.C. to 307 a.C. when the Andhrabṛtyas, who were provincial governors under the Śātavāhanas and very probably related to them, came into power. The old Andhra stock of Śātavāhanas occupied the imperial throne again in 403 a.C. when Yajñāśri became king. Yajñāśri was a great prince and he tried to revive the glory of the Śātavāhana family. He, it seems, was a supporter of Hindu religion as distinguished from Buddhism and Jainism. The Hindu revival that attained its acme about the time of the Guptas started in Andhra times. The Andhra empire which began in 21 b.C. came to an end in 435 a.C. having lasted for four centuries and a half. Minor Andhra princes continued to reign in isolated provinces either as independent kings or as provincial governors under other kings for a long time afterwards. If the date of the Gupta era has been correctly fixed the great Andhra empire must have shown signs of disintegration with the rise of the Guptas from about 320 A.D.

202. *Andhras as Patrons of Learning.* The Andhras appear to have been enlightened rulers under whom arts and commerce flourished. They were patrons of learning. The names of two Andhra kings, *viz.*, Śiśuka and Hāla, are connected with literary works. The science of astronomy received great encouragement at Vikramāditya's court and it was at his time that Ujjayini became the zero point from which longitudes are calculated in Indian astronomical works. This was a great achievement of Vikramāditya. Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarṇi, who founded the Śaka era, must have followed the scientific traditions of Vikramāditya's times. The use of the Śaka era in later astronomical works shows that the Andhras had a share also in the revival of Hindu astronomy that began in the first century before the Christian era.

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APPENDIX

BALAŚRĪ INSCRIPTION. PANDU-LENA CAVES. NASIK

Lüders No. 1123. Transliteration according to
 BLI. bg. XVI. 1883. pp. 550, 551. Inscription 2.
 [For translation see (150)]

Line 1. siddha[m] rañō vāsithiputasa siripuñumāyisa savachare
 ekunavise 19 gimhāna pakhe bitiye 2 divase terase
 13 rajarañō gotamiputasa himavatmeru—

Line 2. ma[n]darapavatasamsārasa asikasusakamuñakasura-
 thakukurāparātaanupavidabha ākarāba[n]tirājasa
 vi[n]jha[r]chavatapāricāta sahyakanhagirima[n]-
 casiritanamalayamahi[n]da—

Line 3. setagiricakorapavatapatisa savarājalokama[n]dalā-
 patigahitāsānasasa divasakarakaravibodhitakamala-
 bimala sadisasa tisamudatoyapitavāhanasa
 patipunacadama[n]dalasasirika—

Line 4. piyadasanasa varavārañavikamacāruvikamasa bhujā-
 gapatibhoga pīnabātavipuladīghasu[n]darabhuja
 abhyodakadānakilinanibhaya karasa avipanamātu-
 sususāka[ra]sa suvibhatativagadesakālasa—

Line 5. porajananivisesasamasukhadukhaha khatiyadapamā-
 namadanasa sakayavanapalhavanisūdanasa dha-
 mopajitakaraviniyogakarasa kitāparadhepi satujane
 apānāhi[m]sārucisa dijāvarakuṭubavivadha—

Line 6. nasa khakharātava[m]saniravasesakarasa sātavāhana-
 kulayasapatīthāpanakarasa savama[n]dalābhivā-
 ditaca[r]janasa vinivatitacātuvañasa[n]karasa aneka-
 samarāvajitasusaghosa aparājitatvijayapatāka-
 sa[sa]tujanadu padhasaniya—

Line 7. puravarasa kulapurisapara[m]parāgatavipularāja-
 sadasa āgamānam nilayasa sapurisāna asayasa siriya
 adhīthānasa upacārānam pābhavasa eka[n]kusasa
 ekadhanudharasa ekasūrasa ekabamhañasa rāma—

Line 8. kesavājuna bhimasenatulaparakamasa chanayanusava-
 samājakārakasa nābhāganahusajanamejayasakara-
 yayātīrāmā[m]barsasamatejasa aparimitamakha-
 yamacitamabhutām pavanagarudasidhayakha-
 rakhasavijādharabhuṭaga[n]dhavacāraṇa—

Line 9. ca[n]dadivākaranakhatagahaviciñamasarirasī jitari-
 pusa[n]ghasanagavarakhadhāgaganatalamabhiwigā-
 dhasa kulavipulasirikarasa sīrisātakanīsa mātuya
 mahādeviya gotamiya balasiriya sacavacanadāna-
 khamāhiṁsāniratāya tapadamani—

Line 10. mōpavāsataparāya rajarisivadvadhusadamakhilamanu-
 vidhiyamānāyakārīta[m] deyadham
 sikhara sadise tirāñhupavatasikhare vimānavarani-

visesamahidhikalena eta ca lena mahādevi mahā-
rājamātā mahārājap(pi)tāmahi dadāti nikāyasa
bhadāvaniyāna bhikhusamghasa

Line 11. etasa ca leñasa citanānimita[m] mahādeviya ayakāya
sevākāmo piyakāmo ca nā..... [dakhiṇā] pathe-
saro pitupatiyo dhamasetusa dadāti gama[m]
tirānupavatasa aparadakhinapase pisājipadakam
savajātabhoganirathi.

GAUTAMIPUTRA ŚĀTAKARΝI AND JIVASŪTĀ INSCRIPTIONS
PANDU-LEÑA CAVES. NASIK

Lüders No. 1125 and No. 1126. Transliteration
according to BLI. bg. XVI. 1883. pp. 558-560.

Inscriptions No. 4 and No. 5.
[For translation see (169, 170, 171)]

Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi Inscription.

Line 1. sidham senāye vejayamītiye vijayakhadhāvārā govo-
dhanasa benākaṭakāsvāmi gotamiputo sirisadakāpi
Line 2. ānapayati govodhane amaca[m] vīnhupālitam gāme
aparakakhadiyam yam khetam ajakālakiyam usa-
bhadātena bhūtam nivatana
Line 3. satāni be 200 eta amhaketa[m] nivatañasatāni be 200
imesa pavajitāna tekirasina vitarāma etasa casa
katasa parihāra[m]
Line 4. vitarāma apāvesa anomasa alonakhādaka arathasa-
vinayika savajātapharihārika ca etahi na parihārehi
pariharahi
Line 5. ete casa ketaparihareca etha nibadho lihi suviyena
āñatām amacena sivagutena chato mahāsāmiyehi
uparakhitā
Line 6. datā paṭikā savachare 18 vasāpakhe 2 divase 1 tāpa-
sa(sā)na kaṭā.

Jivasūtā Inscription. "There is a holy cross or svastika mark at
the end of inscription 4 (Gautamiputra inscription given
above) in the middle of line six. Inscription 5 (Jivasūtā
inscription as given below) begins just after with 'siddham'."
(BLI. bg. Vol. XVI. 1883. p. 558.)

Line 6 (of previous inscription continued).

Siddha govadhane amacasa
sa(sā)makasadeyo rājanito

Line 7. rañō gotamiputasa satakanisa mahādeviya ca jiva-
sutāya rājamātuya vacanena govadhana [ama]co
sāmako ārogavatavo tato eva(m)
Line 8. vatavo etha amhehi pavate tirānhumhi amhadham-
dāne lene pativasatāna pavajitāna bhikhūna gāme
kakhadisu puvakhetam data(m) ta ca kheta

Line 9. va(vi)kasate so ca gāmo na vasati evam sati yadāni
etha nagarasime rājakam khetam amhasatakam
tato etasa pavajitāna bhikhūna teraṇhukānam
dadama

Line 10. khetasa nivataṇa satam 100 tasa ca khetasa pariḥāram
vitarāma apāvesa anomasa alonakhādaka aratḥa-
savinyayika savajātapāriḥārīka ca

Line 11. etehi na pariḥārehi pariḥaratha eta casa khetapari-
hāra[m] ca etha nibadhāpetha subiyena āṇata
paṭihārakiya[m] lāja[ni]yamatā lekhe savachare 24.

Line 12. vāsāna pakhe 4 divase paīcāme 5 pu[vā]jitiṇā katā
nibadhā nibadho savachare 24 gimhāṇapakhe 2
divase 10

PURANIC ŚLOKAS RELATING TO ANDHRA SUB-CLANS

Vap-a. 99. 357, 358 and 359

pulovāpi samāh sapta anyeṣām* ca bhaviṣyati
ityete vai nrpāśtrimśadandhrā bhokṣyanti ye mahim
samāh śatānicatvāri pañca sadvai tathaiva ca
andhrāṇām saṁsthitāḥ pañca teṣām vāṁśāḥ samāh punaḥ
saptaiva tu bhaviṣyanti daśābhīrāstato nrpāḥ
sapta gardabhīnaścāpi tatatha daśa vai śakāḥ

Prose order or anvaya :

pulovā api sapta samāh [bhaviṣyati]/ anyeṣām* [andhrā-
nām] ca [rājyam] bhaviṣyati/ iti ete vai ye trimśat andhrāḥ
nrpāḥ catvāri śatāni tathā vai pañca ṣaṭ samāh eva ca mahim
bhokṣyanti/ teṣām pañca vāṁśāḥ punaḥ samāh (samakālināḥ)
saṁsthitāḥ/ [mūlavāṁśat anyasmin vāṁśe] andhrāḥ sapta
eva bhaviṣyanti tataḥ daśa ābhīrāḥ nrpāḥ [bhaviṣyanti]/
gardabhīnaḥ ca api sapta atha tataḥ śakāḥ daśa vai/ (continued
in the next sloka).

Translation :

Pulovā [will reign] for seven years. There will be [kingdom] for other [Andhras] also/. Thus for these thirty Andhra kings that will enjoy this earth for four hundred years and also five six years in addition/ there will be five families (vāṁśāḥ), further they will reign contemporaneously/ [In the dynasty other than the main one] there will be seven Andhras and also ten Ābhira kings/. Also seven Gardabhīna and then ten Śakas (continued in the next sloka).

Translation for the variant reading 'anyasteṣām':

And Pulovā [will reign] for seven years. Another [dynasty besides the main one] of those [Andhras] will reign.

* Variant reading—anyasteṣām.

Mtp-a. 273. 16, 17 and 18

pulomā sapta varṣāni anyastesām bhaviṣyati
 ekonavimśatirhyete āndhrā bhokṣyanti vai mahīm
 teṣām varṣaśatāni syuścatvāri ṣaṣṭireva ca
 āndhrāṇām saṁsthitā rājye teṣām bhṛtyānvaye nr̄pāḥ
 saptaivāndhrā bhaviṣyanti daśābhīrāstathā nr̄pāḥ
 sapta gardabhilāścāpi śakāścāṣṭādaśaiva ca

Prose order or anvaya :

pulomā sapta varṣāni [bhaviṣyati] teṣām [āndhrāṇām]
 [mūlavimśat] anyah [vamśah] bhaviṣyati/ ete vai ekonavim-
 śatih hi āndhrāḥ mahīm bhokṣyanti/ teṣām [ekonavimśati-
 sahitānām sarveṣām āndhrāṇām] catvāri varṣaśatāni ṣaṣṭih
 eva ca syuh/ teṣām āndhrāṇām bhṛtyānvaye rājye saṁ-
 sthitāḥ nr̄pāḥ sapta āndhrāḥ eva bhaviṣyanti tathā daśa
 ābhīrāḥ nr̄pāḥ [bhaviṣyanti]/ api ca gardabhilāḥ sapta
 aṣṭādaśa eva tu śakāḥ ca/ (continued in the next śloka).

Translation:

Pulomā will reign for seven years. Another [dynasty] [besides the main one] of these [Āndhras] will reign./ These nineteen Āndhras will enjoy the earth/. For these [Āndhras, including the nineteen] there will be four hundred years and in addition sixty years [of reign]/. In the dynasty of the servants of these Āndhras, the kings that will be placed in charge of kingdoms will be seven Āndhras and likewise ten Ābhīra kings/. Then seven Gardabhilas and also eighteen Śakas/ (continued in the next śloka).

PURANIC ŚLOKAS RELATING TO PARĪKṢIT-NANDA AND NANDA-PULOMA TIME INTERVALS

Vap-a. 99. 415, 416, 417 and 418

mahādevābhīṣekāttu janma yāvatparīkṣitāḥ
 etadvarṣasahasraṁ tu jñeyāṁ pañcaśaduttaram
 pramāṇām bai tathā coktam mahāpadmāntaram ca yat
 antaram tacchatānyāṣṭau ṣaṭtrimśacca samāḥ smṛtāḥ
 etatkālāntaram bhāvyā andhrāntā ye prakīrtitāḥ
 bhaviṣyāstatra saṁkhyātāḥ purāṇajñaiḥ śutarśibhiḥ
 saptarṣayastadā prāhuḥ pratipe rājñi bai śatam
 saptavimśaiḥ śatairbhāvyā andhrāṇām te tvayā punaḥ

For translation of ślokas 415, 416 and 417 see (120), and for translation of sloka 418 see (104).

Mtp-a. 273. 36, 37, 38 and 39

mahāpadmābhisekāttu yāvajjanma parikṣitah
 evam varṣasahasram tu jñeyam pancāśaduttaram
 paulomastu tathāndhrāstu mahāpadmāntare punah
 anantaram sātānyaṣṭau ṣaṭtriṁśattu samāstathā
 tāvat kālāntaram bhāvyamāndhrāntādāparikṣitah
 bhaviṣye te prasamīkhyātāh purāṇajñaih śrutarśibhih
 saptarṣayastadā prāṁśupradīptenāgninā samāh
 saptavimśati bhāvyānāmāndhrāṇām tu yadā punah

For translation of ślokas 36, 37 and 38 see (120), and for
 translation of śloka 39 see (104).

Vip-w. p. 230 or Vip-b. IV. 24-32

yāvatparikṣito janma yāvannandābhisecanam
 etadvarṣasahasraṁ tu jñeyam pañcadaśottaram

For translation of this śloka see (120).

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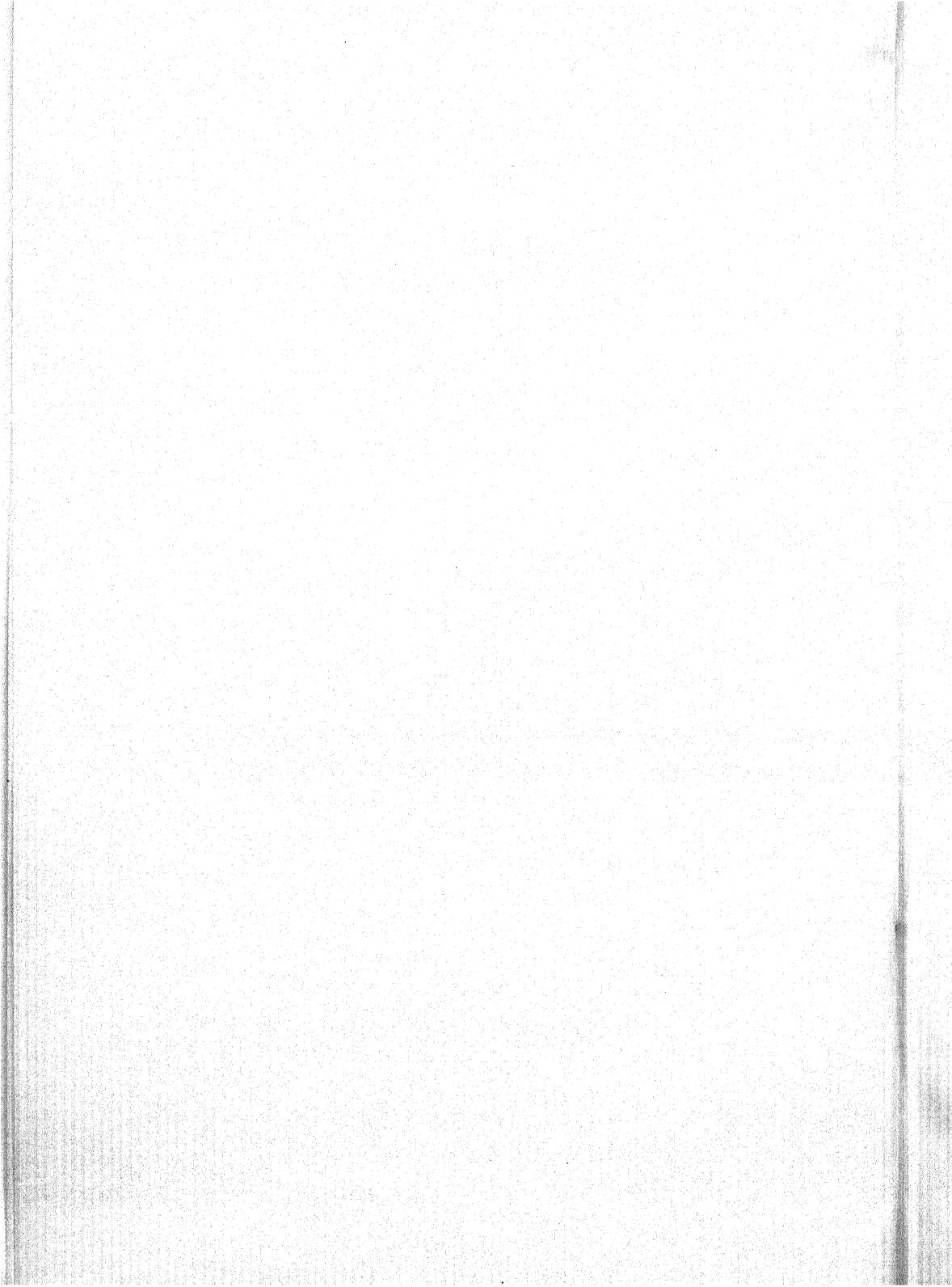
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Conquest of Sholāpūr by Burhān Niẓām Shāh I.
(914-961 A.H., 1508-1553 A.D.) as described
by Shāh Tāhir.

By M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN.

Sholāpūr is a part of the Bombay Presidency adjacent to Ahmadnagar on one side, the Niẓām's dominions on another, and to a number of States like Aundh, Satara, etc. on the third. Originally a strong centre for the Marathas, the place continues to be so to the present day. The place has a long history behind it. It formed part of the Andhra dominions during the rule of the Sātavāhanas in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The Chālukyas who succeeded the Sātavāhanas held possession of the country till their downfall in the 8th century, having been over-powered by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who in turn passed the territory over to the Yādavas in the 12th century. A century and half later, i.e., in the beginning of the 14th century the Emperor of Delhi reduced the country to submission and the territory was ruled by Governors appointed from Delhi. As a result of misrule by the Governors of the Emperor, the nobles revolted and the Bahamāni dynasty came into existence with Hasan Gangū (748-759 A.H., 1347-1358 A.D.). The Bahamānids' sway extended over nearly the whole of the Deccan, but when Mahmūd Shāh Bahamāni II., became weak, the governors of different provinces of the Deccan declared themselves independent and five new dynasties came into existence, viz. 'Imād Shāhs (890-980 A.H., 1484-1572 A.D.) of Birār, Niẓām Shāhs (896-1004 A.H., 1490-1595 A.D.) of Ahmadnagar, Barid Shāhs (897-1018 A.H., 1492-1609 A.D.) of Bidar, 'Ādil Shāhs (895-1097 A.H., 1489-1686 A.D.) of Bijāpūr, and Qutb Shāhs (918-1098 A.H., 1512-1687 A.D.) of Golkonda. They divided the whole kingdom of the Bahamānids amongst themselves. The quarrels between the Niẓām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar and 'Ādil Shāhs of Bijāpūr are very well known to students of history and alternately the territory around Sholāpūr passed from one Sultān to the other. From the Manuscript under notice, it is gathered that the territory of Sholāpūr went to Burhān Niẓām Shāh I. (914-961 A.H., 1508-1553 A.D.) before it passed to Aurangzib. Burhān Niẓām Shāh launched attacks on Sholāpūr four times, and only succeeded in taking possession of the country at the fourth attempt.

First Attack.

Through the efforts of Shāh Tāhir, Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh (916-941 A.H., 1511-1534 A.D.) and Burhān Nizām Shāh I. met together, in a friendly spirit, near the fort of Sholāpūr in 930 A.H., 1523 A.D., and the bond of friendship between the two Kings was further cemented by Maryam Bibī the daughter of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh (895-916 A.H., 1489-1511 A.D.) and sister of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh being united in wedlock to Burhān Nizām Shāh I. It was given out to Burhān Nizām Shāh by the nobles of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh that after marriage the fort of Sholāpūr would be given to him as the dowry of Maryam Bibī and so naturally, he, after the marriage, demanded the fort from Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh. The latter, however, expressed surprise and ignorance about the matter, and set aside the demand by putting forward the plea that the proposal was not made by him but only by his nobles, and that he was, therefore, not bound by it. Burhān Nizām Shāh, on the advice of Shāh Tāhir,¹ therefore, kept silent for the time being and returned to Ahmadnagar. The rebuke however, which Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh administered to the ambassador of Burhān Nizām Shāh on hearing of the ill-treatment of Maryam Bibī at the hands of Bibī Āmina, the first wife of Burhān Nizām Shāh and the mother of Husain Nizām Shāh, infuriated him. He sent Shāh Tāhir to Amir Barid I. (910-945 A.H., 1504-1538 A.D.), and Mullā Haidar Astrābādī to 'Alā' ad-Dīn 'Imād al-Mulk (910-936 A.H., 1504-1529 A.D.) requesting their help, and with 30,000 soldiers and sufficient cannons led an expedition against the fort of Sholāpūr in 931 A.H., 1524 A.D. Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh faced the army with only 9,000 archers who exhibited great skill and prowess in the fierce encounter that took place on the borders of Sholāpūr. 'Alā' ad-Dīn 'Imād al-Mulk, unable to withstand the attacks of Asad Khān Balkawānī, a noble of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, fled to Kāwil. Burhān Nizām Shāh fell down senseless due to an attack of sun-stroke and at

¹ Shāh Tāhir bin Shāh Radī ad-Dīn was a descendant of Khwāndī Sayyids who traced their origin from the Fātīmid Caliphs of Egypt. Tāhir lived as a teacher in Kāshān, but his great influence with the Shī'as aroused the suspicion of Shāh Ismā'īl I. (907-930 A.H., 1502-1524 A.D.), and so he lived in great fear. Tāhir, finding his life insecure, fled from Kāshān and came to India in 926 A.H., 1520 A.D. After landing at Goa, and staying some time in Pirindah, he was sent for by Burhān Nizām Shāh (914-961 A.H., 1508-1553 A.D.), King of Ahmadnagar in 928 A.H., 1522 A.D. He came to the Court of Ahmadnagar, and soon became the trusted friend and adviser of the king. It is recorded that the king sent him on various political missions to the Courts of Gujarāt, Khāndish, Bijāpūr, and Golkonda. He died in 952 A.H., 1545 A.D. or according to *Burhān al-Mā'āthir*, p. 325, in 953 A.H., 1546 A.D., or in 956 A.H., 1549 A.D. as correctly stated by Firishta, Bombay edition, Vol. II, p. 229. For details of his life see my article in Sir E. Denison Ross's *Festschrift* and also Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS., British Museum*, Vol. I, p. 395.

the instance of Shāh Tāhir was carried away from the battle-field in a palanquin by Khurshid, one of the slaves of Burhān Niżām Shāh. Sholāpūr therefore remained unconquered.

Second Attack.

As long as Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh lived (916-941 A.H., 1511-1534), Burhān Niżām Shāh did not even dream of conquering Sholāpūr. But after his death and Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh's (941-965 A.H., 1535-1557 A.D.) accession to the throne, he gathered together his army and with Amīr Barid (910-945 A.H., 1504-1538 A.D.) as his faithful ally advanced towards Bijāpūr in 945 A.H., 1538 A.D. To achieve this purpose, he had already set the rumour afloat that Asad Khān Balkawānī, a Shī'a noble in the Court of Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh, being his co-religionist, had invited him to take possession of Fort Balkawān. Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh strongly fortified himself within the fort of Bijāpūr and did not give battle. Burhān Niżām Shāh advanced unopposed towards Sholāpūr and attacked Panjtappa which fell an easy prey to him. He handed over the place to Khwāja Jahān and was advancing for further aggrandisements when the sudden death of Amīr Barid cast a gloom over all his projects. On the advice of Shāh Tāhir, he concluded a treaty with Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh, returned to him the conquered place and retraced his steps homewards.

Third Attack.

In 950 A.H., 1543 A.D. Burhān Niżām Shāh formed an alliance with Rāmrāj Rāo of Bijānagar and Qutb Shāh with a view to attacking Sholāpūr. Accompanied by Shāh Tāhir, they advanced towards Sholāpūr with a very strong contingent. Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh, who was fully conscious of the perils of being thus besieged on all sides, immediately negotiated with Burhān Niżām Shāh and ceded Panjtappa as the price of peace. He befriended the other kings by making rich presents to them.

Fourth Attack.

In 955 A.H., 1548 A.D. Burhān Niżām Shāh renewed and further strengthened the bonds of alliance with Rāmrāj Rāo of Bijānagar. He sent many valuable presents to him and met him on the border of Rāichūr, where it was decided that Rāmrāj should attack the forts of Rāichūr and Madkal, while he himself would proceed against the forts of Sholāpūr and Gulbarga. Reinforced by a detachment of troops of Rāmrāj, Burhān Niżām Shāh advanced towards the fort of Sholāpūr and surrounded it. He secured the services of Chilpī Rūmī Khān, the gunner of Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt, who bombarded the fort continuously

for three months and at last reduced it. Burhān Nizām Shāh did not think it advisable to proceed to Gulbarga and returned to Ahmednagar.

The treatise, now published for the first time, describes the fourth attack on Sholāpūr. It appears from the text that it was written by Shāh Tāhir on the order of Burhān Nizām Shāh and copies of the same were sent to other kings for information. It is in Persian language and only one copy of this treatise is preserved in the Bankipore Library. (See the Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, Vol. II, p. 94, No. 2119.) So far as I know, no second copy is available in any known library of either Europe or India.

It may not be out of place to mention here that the territory passed into the hands of Aurangzib in 1688 but when the Marathas became powerful in the 18th century, the country round Sholāpūr passed into the hands of the Peshwās. Subsequently the English conquest of the territory took place about the beginning of the 19th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—*Tārikh Firishta* (Bombay Ed.), Vol. II, pp. 201-202, 226-227, 233-234; *Burhān al-Ma'āthir*, pp. 304-306, 312, 379; *Bilgirāmī*, *Tārikh Dacan*, Vol. I, Part 3, pp. 315-316, 378-379; and *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Vol. XXII, pp. 296-297.

صورتِ فتح نامه که شاه طاهر دکنی بجهت

فتح سلاپور نوشته

چون بمقتضای خوای اَذَا آرَادَ اللَّهُ شَيْئاً هِيَّاً أَسْبَابَهُ ارادة
 الْهِي بتهیه اسباب شاهی - و ترتیب مقدمات پادشاهی تعلق گرفته
 بود - روز بروز آثار آن از مسکن غیب در منصه ظهور جلوه
 می نمود - و حصول آن مقصود - و وصول آن مقام محمود موقوف
 وقت بود - تا درین وقت بموجب و لِلَّامُورِ موَاقِيتٍ مُقدَّرة دست
 تقدیر تخت فیروز بخت دولت و اقبال - و سریر آسمان توفیر عظمت
 و اجلال را بزیور جلوس - سعادت مانوس ما زیب و زینت داد -
 و تاج و هاج سلطنت و کامگاری - و افسر ابتهاج خلافت و شهریاری
 را بر تارک اعتلا و فرق فرقدسای همایون ما نهاد - نظم
 آنکه ما را سوی دولت ره نمود تاج شاهی را ز ما زینت فزود
 آنکه آئین جهانی نهاد بر سر ما تاج سلطانی نهاد
 و منشی دیوان کتب رَبُّکُمْ عَلَى نَفْسِهِ الرَّحْمَةَ در دارالخلافة
 اَنَا جَعَلْنَاكَ خَلِيفَةً فِي الْأَرْضِ پروانچه یختص برحمته من یشائ
 منشور شاهنشاهی و فرمان روائی و فرماندهی و کشورکشائی
 بنام نای و اسم سامعی ما مرقوم گردانید - و بتوقيع وقع ثم آور نشان

الكتابَ الَّذِينَ أَصْطَفَيْنَا مِنْ عِبَادَنَا رَسَانِيدَ - لَهُنَا اسْبَابٌ اسْتَعْلَمُ
وَ اسْتَقْلَالٌ دُولَتٌ وَ اقْبَالٌ تَا غَایَتِ بُنْوَعِی از عَالَمِ غَیْبٍ روی نَمُودَه -
وَ شَاهِدٌ این مُدَعَا - از پُرَدَه خَفَافٍ بِرَوْجَهی چَهْرَه کَشْوَدَه کَه دَیدَه
بَصِيرَتِ عَقْلٍ درَانِ حِيرَانَ - وَ اندِيشَه عَقْلَی عَالَمَ درَ فَهْمِ حَكْمَتِ
آن سَرْگُرْدَانَ اَسْتَ - * نَظَمْ

بَسِيَّ رَه بَانِدِيشَه کَرْدَنَدِ طَهِ وَ لِيَكَنْ بُكْنَهِش نَبَرْدَنَدِ پَيِّ
وَ چُونْ زَلَالِ شَوَّكَتِ وَ اقْتَدَارِ مَا دَرِينِ جَوِيَّبَارِ - از چَشْمِ سَارِ عَنَایَتِ
کَرْدَگَارِ جَارِی شَدَه شَكِ نِيَسَتِ کَه بَقَائِي جَرِيَاشِ از شَوَّاَيِّبِ اَنْفَصالِ
وَ اَنْفَصالِ وَ عَوَارِضِ اَنْقَطَاعِ مَصْوَنَ وَ مَأْمُونَ بُودَه بِلَجَّهِ ظَهُورِ
مَوْعِدِ مَتَصِلِ خَوَاهَدَ گَرَدِيدَ - وَ هَرَگَزِ بُنْوَهَارِ بَخْتَ بَلَندَ - وَ شَاخِسَارِ

طَالِعِ اَرْجَمَنَدَ مَا کَه درَ مَهَبِ نَسِيمِ فَرَخَنَدِ شَمِيمِ اَنَّا مَكَنَّا لَهُ فِي الْأَرْضِ
نَضَارَتِ گَرَفَتَه - وَ از مَهَبِ تَسْنِيمِ سَعَادَتِ صَمِيمِ وَ آتَيْنَاهُ مِنْ كُلِّ شَيِّءِ
سَبَبَا طَرَاوِتَ پَذِيرَفَتَه - آسِيَّبِ خَزَانِ فَتُورَ - وَ آفَتِ تَنْبِيَادَ قَصُورَ
خَوَاهَدَ رَسِيدَ - * مَصْرَعْ

چو باعِ جَنَانَ فَارَغَ از آسِيَّبِ خَرَانَسَتْ

وَ بَنَابِرِ طَبِقِ مَنْطَوْقِ * نَظَمْ
عَلَى اللَّهِ فِي كُلِّ الْأُمُورِ تَوَكِّلْيُ - وَ بِالْخَمْسِ أَصْحَابِ الْعِبَاءِ تَوْسُلِي
دَسْتِ اَعْتَصَامِ بِحَبْلِ الْمُتَّيْنِ تَوْكِلْ اسْتَوَارَ سَاختَه - وَ مَتَاعِ تَوْسِلَ

در سفینه پر فتوح مُشَلْ آهِ بَيْتِيْ كَمَشِلِ سَفِينَةِ نُوحَ انداخته
 توجه بهر جهت که کرده ایم و روی همت بهر طرف که آورده ایم
 هر لحظه از شاخصارِ فتح - غنچه مراد دیگر کشوده - و بهر دم از
 جویبارِ ظفر - نهال مقصود دیگر سرسبزی نموده - نظم
 روی برسوی که آورده ایم یافته ایم آنچه طلب کرده ایم
 بر دل ما که خرد آگاه بود نقش تَوَكْلُتْ عَلَى اللَّهِ بود
 بهر همین لطف خدای جلیل داده بما مژده نعمَ الْوَكِيلِ
 میلِ دلِ ما سوی کاری که دید ساخت بدان گونه که خواهی شنید
 از غرایبِ تائیداتِ الٰهی و عجایبِ معجزاتِ پادشاهی آنست که
 درین وقت بمسامعِ جلال - و مدارکِ عزَ و اقبال رسید که عادلخان

بودایی مضمون آواز یرون آنهم یفتنتون فی کلِ عامِ مرآة او مرآتین

ثُمَّ لَا يَتُوبُونَ وَ لَا هُمْ يَذَّكُرُونَ خیال باطل - و اندیشه
 عاطل بخاطر آورده بپای جسارت بادیه شرارت پیموده - و دست
 بتحریکِ سلسله فتنه و فساد کشوده - و از وفور غرور و وسوس

وَ اذْرَيْنَ لَهُمُ الشَّيْطَانُ أَعْمَالَهُمْ وَ قَالَ لَا غَالِبَ لَكُمُ الْيَوْمَ مِنَ النَّاسِ

شیطانش اغوا نموده - و از حوادثی که سابقاً از عساکر نصرت

مظاهر والدِ جلیل المأثر ما آنارَ اللَّهُ بُرْهَانَهُ وَ جَعَلَ فِي فَرَادِیسِ

الْجَنَانِ مَكَانَهُ بحال او راه یافته بود متبه نشده - بلکه

بالکلیه ازان فراموش کرده رجوع بوادی شرور و شروع در محاصره

قلعه سلاپور نموده - ندانست که بمحبب **آل ولد الرشید یقتندی**

بوالله الحمید ما نین ازان وقت که پا در گلستان زندگانی - و قدم

در بوستان کامرانی نهاده ایم از تماشای ریاحین - نظر هوس برداشته

بجای سرو چمن - نهال نیزه مرد افگن - و عوض برگ سوسن -

دوده تیغ دشمن شکن را بآب حیّت پرورش داده ایم - و سوسن آسا

با تیغ زمرد فام بوده ایم - و چون غنچه و گل با خود و جوشن

عادت نموده ایم - بید وش از غرّه ایام صبا - خنجر گذاری کرده ایم -

و نیلوفر صفت از عنفوان نشو و نما با سپر سر برآورده ایم -

* نظم *

دل را ز اندشه کارزار

نبشد تماشای باغ و بهار

صف کین مرا طرف گلشن بس است

گل و غنچه ام خود و جوشن بس است

بود سوسن باغ ما تیغ کین

سپرهای گل گون گل آتشین

خدنگم نهال بود دلپذیر

نهال مرا غنچه پیکان تیر

دل از صحن گلزارم آید به تنگ

مرا دل کشاید بیهان جنگ

زمانه متعجب بود که مکر در بلادش سپاه نصرت افواج لوای نهپ

و تاراج افراخته - و بمقتضای و جَعْلَنَا عَالِيهَا سَافَلَهَا فراز و نشیب
 اماکن و مساکن او را با هفت زمین برابر ساخته اند - و هنوز
 در اراضی دیارش پشته کشته - بر سر هم ریخته - بر بستر مخاصلت
 در بکامی آراده - و میاه انهاش الی الان آب از بکامی آشامد -
 اگرچه در آئینه ضمیر سعادت تأثیر ما که محل نقوش الہامات
 غیبی - و مظہر عکوس کرامات لاربی است - صورت این معنی
 پرتو یقین انداخته بود که چون نیز بخت بلند ما در برج شرف
 بر ذروه سعادت و اقبال مستقیم است - و ستاره اعدا در خانه
 ویال و حضیض نقصان راجع بلکه مقیم - محقق است که آفتاب
 اوج نصرت که همواره بماهچه لوای سپه اعلای ما مقارن است
 بر منظر مراد اعداء پرتو ظهور نخواهد انداخت - و ماه افق دولت
 که پیوسته با شمسه ایوان زرنگار و حشمت گردون اقتدار ما سمت
 اجتماع دارد شبستان امتداد دشمنان را روشن نخواهد ساخت - اما چون
 خاطر خبرت پیشه صواب اندیش میخواست که تنبیه مشارالیه نماید
 و بوجب جَزَاءُ سَيِّئَةٍ سَيِّئَةٌ مُثُلَّهَا فی الجمله در صدد مكافات
 آمد - استفتح این معامله را رجوع بعقل متین دوربین نمود - و بخت
 کامگار را از برای این کار نصب فرمود - آخر عقل پیر و بخت
 جوان هر دو باهم یکدل و یک زبان شده بر لوح محفوظ ضمیر
 بخانه فک اصابت تأثیر طرح تصویر انداختند - و صورت حال را

بر مرأت رای عالم آرا منطبع و مرسم ساختند - که چون سند عزیمت پادشاهی را قاید توفیق راهنمون - و وفور عنایت الهی مؤید عساکر نصرت مقرون است - عنان عظیمت را بدست تفویض و توکل تسلیم نموده و بامداد اسعاد طیبین و طاھرین

و استعانت و استمداد ایه مخصوصین صَلَواتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِمْ أَجْمَعِينَ مستظر و مستوثق بوده روی بدفع واقع او آوردن بصواب انسب و بصلاح اقرب می نماید - ارکان دولت سکندر توفیق - و اعیان حضرت ارسسطو تدبیر که ظفر کردار ملازم رکاب نصرت شعار بودند - و در تدبیر امور دولت قاهره - و تعظیم مهام سلطنت باهره بمحض حکمت عمل مینمودند - و چون میدانستند که خدگ اراده نواب همایون ما را روش جز موافق خواهش شست کشای تقدیر نیست - در موقف عرض بادای مَا هُوَ الْغَرَض زبان کشودند -

و بسرعت شروع درین امر دلالت نمودند - و چون شمع این اندیشه از مشکوک ظفر و فیروزی روشن - و برق این فکر از وادی این خیزد و صواب پرتو افگن بود - اشارت نواب گردون اقتدار بتیه اسباب عساکر نصرت شعار نافذ گشت - و فرمان واجب الاذعان به تنسيق امور لشکر منصور سمت جريان یافت - بنا بر حکم مطاع و آعدوا لَهُم مَا أَسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ لشکر نصرت اجتماع - جهد مستطاع بظهور آوردن - شیران بیشه ظفر - و پلگان قله مردی

و هنر - آمادهٔ پیکار و مستعد کارزار شده - بحکم فاعلُوا مَا وَمَوْرُون
با آنچه مامور بودند عمل کردند - و چون شریان شرارت عادل خان
در حرکت آمده بود بنا بر آن قوت طبیعتِ غیرت - سبب بُحران قلع آن ماده
فاسد - و شدتِ ضربان عرقِ حیات - باعثِ فصد و اثیق آن معاندان گشت -

تمهید آلاسعاُف وَ لَكَ السَّوَال و تاکید آلانجاُح هَاتِيكَ المَسْئُول
پایی صدق نیت مرحلهٔ خلوص طویت را پیموده - و بدستِ
اخلاص سلسلهٔ عنایت ایزدی را تحریک نموده - و لبِ خضوع بدعای

و اجعلْ لِيْ مِنْ لَدُنْكَ سُلْطَانَا نَصِيرَا کشوده - همایی همتِ عالی
نهمت را در هوای این عزیمت سایه گستر ساخت - و رایتِ عزم

بقوت بازوی وَ كَفَ آيْدِيَ النَّاسِ عَنْكُمْ وَ لَتَكُونَ آيَةً لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ
افراحت - و تومنِ دیونزاد - قوی نهاد را مسخر قدمِ همایون
ساخته برکوبِ عالی سرافرازی بخشید - نظم *

خدیو زمان شاه گردون شکوه بگرمی چو برق و به تمکین چو کوه
در آورد پا در رکاب سطور چو موسی برآمد ببالای طور
سیندش چو دیوی بجولانگری برو جلوه گر پادشاه پری
گرفته بکف تیغ زهر آب دار چو در دست شیر خدا ذوقه
و چون سلطان گل که از تُنق غنچه بدر آید - یا چون گوهر معنی
که از صدیف سینه چهره کشاید - محفوف دولت و فیروزی -
و مالوی نصرت و بهروزی از دار السلطنت احمدنگر بیرون آمده

مانند باز تیزپرواز که مخلبِ تهور بقصد تذرو کشاید - یا عقاب عنقا
 شکار که در طلبِ صید طیران نماید - طایرِ همت اجنحة قضا کدار
 کشاد - و سروش غیب مژده و عَدْلُكُمُ اللَّهُ مَعَانِمَ كَثِيرَةَ تَأْخُذُونَهَا
 فَعَجَلَ لَكُمْ هَذِهِ در داد - بنابر استیلای این عزیمت - و اشتداد
 شوقِ حصول این غنیمت - با شیرانی که بیشه جز نیستان رماح
 ندانند - و نهنگانی که در دریای هیجا جز موج خون بخاطر
 نگذرانند - از کالِ تهور - طمع در کمر شمشیر جوزا نمایند - و از
 غایت جلاadt - تاجِ اکلیل از فرقِ مریخ خون آشام ربايند - و چون
 تیغ رو نگرداند - و سر در سر اعدا نهاده سراندازی بتقدیم
 رسانند -

* نظم *

همه شرطِ مردی بجا آورند سرِ دشمنان زیر پا آورند
 ربايند از بزمِ جم جام را ستانند اکلیل بهرام را
 کنند آنچه با که کند کهربا بدشمن که چون کوه افسرده پا
 خروشند زانگونه روزِ مصاف کران پیچد آواز در کوه قاف
 برند آبِ گیتی چنان در نبرد که از قعرِ دریا برآورند گرد
 بسعادت و اقبال و اُبَهْت و اجلال بجانب سلاپور مرحله پیمایی
 گشت - در هر منزل از جانبِ عنایتِ الهی منشورِ سعادت نامتناهی
 میرسید - و در هر مرحله از سرحدِ کشورِ فتح و اقبال - نامه امانی
 و آمال بوصول موصول میگردید - و هر لحظه مُلِهم توفیق ندای

أَن تَسْتَفْتُحُوا فَقَدْ جَاءَكُمُ الْفَتْحُ بِسَامِعٍ عَلَيْهِ مِيرَسَانِي -

و هر لحظه مبشر تائید مژده آلا ات نَصَرَ اللَّهُ قَرِيبٌ مسموع میگردانید - تا ماهچه لوای خورشید ارتفاع - شعشه اشرافات فتح و ظفر بران حدود انداخت - عادل خان چون خبر عطف عنان عزیمت موکب همایون شنید - و از ورود این واقعه مستشعر گردید - بنای ثبات و قرارش متزلزل - و اساس تمکن و استقرارش متخلخل گشت - جنود مجند پادشاهی چون نظر بر لشکر مخالف انداختند - و از جمعیت آن جمع - مستحق القمع خبر یافتند - چون باز شکاری که از اجتماع کبک کوهساری خبر یابد - یا آتش تیز که بتحریک نسیم بسوختن خس و خاشاک شتابد - بعزم رزم شتافته - صفو آراستند که در استحکام چون بنای اسلام - و براستی چون صراط مستقیم سید امام بود - نه صف بلکه چون سد سکندری آهی بنا دیواری - یا بالوان آلوبه و آعلام جویبار فتح را گلزاری - قلبش چون قلوب اولیا قوی حال - و میمنه و میسره اش را اصحاب یمین مبشر اقبال و آمال - و مخالفان بدیده تخمین و قیاس چون صنوف صفوی عساکر فرخنده مآثر را مشاهده نمودند متحیر مانده دل از دست دادند - و بوجب فَمَا أَسْتَطَاعُوا مُضِّا

وَ لَا يَرْجِعُونَ - چون باز گشتن متصوّر نبود بر مرگ دل نهاده

بمحاربه ایستادند - و بمضمون عَسَى أَن يَكُونَ قد اقتربَ أَجْلُهُمْ

غافل گشته در مهلكه کانما یساقون الى الموت جمع شدند - توب آندازان
 سنگ تفرقه در سلک جمعیت مخالفان انداخته آتش مجادله و محاربه
 برافروختند - و از صدای وحشت افزای آن چون زلزله روز
 رستخیز - غلغله در خیل اعدا افگنده خرم من حیو ایشان را بنایر
 سطوت سلطانی و صاعقه قهر قهرمانی سوختند - و بمقتضای
 لا یکفون عن وجوههم النار و لا عن ظهورهم و لا هم ینتصرون توادر
 سنگ رعد آثار بیحد - و توافر صاعقه آتشبار متجاوز الحصر و العد
 دفعه بنوی صدور و بر وجی ظهور نمود که بر طبق موادی
 بل تائیهم بعثتة قبتهیم فلا یستطیعون ردهما و لا هم ینظرون
 از غایت حیرت معاندان را قدرت دفع و استطاعت رد آن نبود -

* نظم *

رفت آتشی از یمین و یسار زمین از غبار آسمان از شرار
 ازان خیل اعدا مشوش همه چو اهل جهنم در آتش همه
 ز دود و شرار تفنگهای جنگ کانها چو قوس قرح رنگ رنگ
 آتش جدال بالا گرفت بمرتبه که بمرکز خود پیوست - و گرد
 رزمگاه چنان متصاعد شد که بر دامن سپه نیل گون نشست -

* نظم *

ز گرد و غباری که شد بر سپه ره خویش بر چرخ گم کرد مهر
 شیران بیشه جلادت و مرد افگنی - و دلیران معركة شجاعت و لشکر

شکنی - کمر بخون اعدا بستند - و از غایتِ خونریزی تا کمر در خون نشستند - سنان چون غمزه خوبان فتنه انگیز - و تیغ چون دیده عاشقان خون ریز شد - *نظم*

ز ابروی خوبان کان یاد کرد	ز هر گوشة فتنه بنیاد کرد
روان ناوک فتنه از هر کنار	باتراج جانها چو مژگان یار
سپهراها لبال بخون متصل	چو دامان عشاق پر خون دل
یلان تا کمر غرق دریای خون	کمرهای زرین بخون لاله گون
چو باران که ریزد ز ابر بهار	ز خون چشمها زره قطره بار
ز گرد ستوران برق (۱) شتاب	فلک زیر خاک آدمی غرق آب

و چون دست قضا دیده دولت اعدا را بخشاؤه ادبیار و حسیوا آن

لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةً فَعَمُوا وَ صَمُوا ثُمَّ تَابَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ پوشانیده -

و بسمار تقدیر ابوباب تدبیر ایشان را مسدود گردانیده بود - راه نجات و نجاح ندیدند - و اکثر طمعه شمشیر آبدار - اژدها کدار گردیدند -

و بقیه السیف که مانده بودند بموادی فَلَمَّا أَحْسَوا بَأْسَنَا إِذَا هُمْ

مِنْهَا يَرْكَضُونَ از برق و باد - سرعت و سیر استعاره کرده

کانهم حمر مستنفرة فرت مِنْ قَسْوَةِ بجانب گلبرگه و ساغر

گریزان گشتند - فَلُبِّوْا هُنَالِكَ وَ انْقَلَبُوا صَاغِرِينَ جانی بهزار

(۱) در اصل نسخه «هسپی شتاب»

حیله بیرون بردن - و موازنۀ هشتصد نهصد نفر دستگیر - و از جمله سرداران او خورشید خان اسیر گشت - و مانند صبح کاذب از طلوع صبح صادق رو در حجاب خفا و نقاب اختفا کرده خرائی درم و دینار را چون نقود کواکب بتاراج صبح دولت خورشید انتصار ما رها کردند - و چون سپاه شاه عالم پناه رخ بجانب اعدا آورده در عرصه معرکه تاختند - حریفان از اسپ استیلا و فیل استعلا پیاده گشتند - و آن مقدار فیل و اسپ که داشتند باختند - و بی تکلف عبارت پردازی - دو هزار و پانصد راس اسپ تازی - و دویست و پنجاه سلسله فیل بی مثل بدست آمد - و ازان جمله دو فیل بی نظیر که یکی بشاهرخ صغیر و دیگری به کبیر شهرت یافته که هر یک ازان را در دکن با هزار فیل برابر میدانند - دیگر ماهی مراتب و دمامه و آفتتابگیر با پانزده عدد توب بزر کشانه کرده و ششصد ضربه زن و سیصد عربه از جمله دار الحرب بدست عساکر منصوره درآمد - و چون عادل خان بحکایات واهی - و هذیانات غیر متناهی عین الملک از راه رفته - باغوا و اضلال او بین امر خطیر اقدام نموده - و با قدم جهالت بادیه ضلالت پیموده بود و مشارالیه را مقدمه الجيش عسکر خود ساخته - و باقی لشکر را همراه او کرده بهاربه فرستاد - و معدودی از مبارزان سپاه ظفرپناه دست شجاعت از آستین جلادت برآورده دستبردی به مشارالیه نمودند که

* نظم *

گر آن جنگ رستم بدیدی بخواب
شدی از نهیب دلش زهره آب

عادل خان چون صورت حال بر طبق مقال لا یستطیعون حیله

و لا یهتدون سبیلا دید - بر حسب و یوم بعض الظالم علی یدیه

از غرامت^(۱) پشت دست ندامت بندان گردید - و زبان حال تاسف

ماش بکلام یا ویلتی لیستی کم اتخاذ فلانا خلیلا متکلم گردید -

و چون عین الملک از خدمت این آستانه سرافراز و دولت

ملازمت این دولتخانه میان امثال و اقران ممتاز گشته بود -

و براس المال تربیت خسروانه که دولت جاوید بدست می توان

آورد متعاق غرور خرید - و بفقد تقویت شاهانه که سعادت ابدی

حاصل میتوان کرد بضاعت شقاوت متصدی ابیاع گردید -

فَمَا رَبِحَتْ تِجَارَتَهُمْ وَ مَا كَانُوا مُهْتَدِينَ وَ از عادل خان

دو لک هون گرفته قدم در وادی فساد نهاد - لاجرم بشومی

حرص و طمع بهلکه آلیوم تُجزون عذاب الهون افتاد -

و چون عادل خان بی مشورت عقل ضواب کیش و بی رخصت

رای صلاح اندیش - تیغ عداوت و عناد را از نیام فته و فساد

(۱) در نسخه خطی لفظ «مت»، پس از کرم خوردن باق مانده و گمان می برم
که لفظ «غرامت» است .

کشید - آخر بمقتضای و لایحیق المکر السیئ الاباهی نتایج قیح
اعمال و سوء افعال او هم باو راجع گردید - نظم

هرکه همچون استره تیغی بروی ما کشید
باز گشت آن تیغ و هم در سینه او کرد جای
و هبوب ریاح نصرت نامتناهی - از مهیب عنایت الهی - غبار ب اعتبار
دشنان را از چهره فتح و ظفر سرتد - و بازوی اسلام - به نیروی
تقویت ایمه کرام علیهم السلام آعلام شریعت مصطفوی - و رایات
ملت مرتضوی را به پیشگاه تمکن و خلود برد - صبح ظفر از مطلع
اقبال دمید - و نسیم فیروزی بر رایت نصرت شعار خسرو
گردون اقتدار وزید - نظم

محتاج بود مُلک بفتحی چنین مبین

آخر مراد مُلک برآورد روزگار

عادل خان را معلوم شد که ببازوی تدبیر - سرینجه تقدیر نمیتوان
تافت - و بی مساعدت تائید آسمانی - اسباب حشمت و کامرانی نمیتوان
یافت - اگرچه از غرور سر بفته و شور برآورد - اما عاقبت
کشف وار - سر در گریبان انکسار کشید - و بوم کدار - در پس
دیوار ادبیار متواری گردید - نخست چون شمع - شعله سنان آتشبار
کشید - اما به باد حمله دلیران لشکر ظفر اثر منطقی گشت - و چون
زبانه آش - زبان دراز کرد اما به تیرباران سپاه نصرت انتباه

فرونشست - هرچند باطراف و جوانب شتافت - از میمنه میمنتی و از میسره مسرت نیافت - و از ترتیب مقدمه جز هزیمت نتیجه و از قلب جز دل شکسته حاصل نگردید - و از چپ و راست آیت عذاب شنید - آخر صرصر قضا اثر آل العبد ید برو و اللہ یقدیر دام مکايد و حیل اعدا را که بقا و ثبوت حکم ان آوهن البیوت لبیت

العنکبوت داشت - از همه گسته ساخت - و سرینجه تقدیر کند دولت و طناب سعادت ارجمند ما را که از رشتهای خلود برهم تافته بود - ببازوی اعانت بر کنگره مراد انداخت - و شاعر تیغ آتشبار از ظلمات غبار کارزار - خورشید نصرت ما را چنان شارق گردانید که موکب کواکب را حیرت دست داد - و غواص شمشیر آبدار از دریای معركه - لای فتح و ظفر را چنان برآورد که گوهر شب چراغ بحر فلک اخضر در تعجب افتاد - و هاتف غیب بعد از ادای مراسم تحسین - زبان بشکرانه این فتح مبین کشود - و باین ترانه ترجم نمود - * نظم *

شکر خدا که گوهر اقبال و در فتح
در پای دولت تو سعادت نثار کرد
دولت عنان ملک بدست تو باز داد
اقبال بر سمند مرادت سوار کرد
اولیای دولت فاهره ازین معنی بغايت آسودند - و در ریاضت مسرت -
استنشاق نسم شادمانی نمودند - برید شمال چون این مژده بگلزار

رسانید - فراشانِ بهارِ آئینِ بستنِ مالکِ ساتینِ برخواستند - و اورنگِ فیروزه فامِ گلن را بفیروزی بیاراستند - سبزه خوش برآمد - و چهار بدست زدن درآمد - سرو از شادی سر بر فلک افراخت - و بادِ صبا خزاینِ بوستان را که از زرِ گل و سیم شگوفه آراسته بود - در اقطارِ گلزار برسمِ نثار منتشر ساخت - نرگس همواره در انتظارِ این بشارتِ چشمِ امید کشوده بود طبقِ زر باو بخشدید - و غنچه که پیوسته از برایِ حصولِ این امیت لب بداعا باز کرده بود خردۀ که داشت در راه او بطریقِ نثار پاشید -

* نظم *

باز این چه جوانی و جمال است جهان را

این حال که نوگشت زمین را و زمان را

فَقُطَعَ دَابِرُ الْقَوْمِ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

ازای^(۱) ایامِ بکام و مهامِ بر نهنج انتظام -

اسپِ دولت زیر ران چترِ ظفر بالای سر

فتح و نصرت پیش و پس عونِ الہی را بین

از چمنِ خار نمای گل آرای عَسَى أَنْ تَكْرُهُوا شَيْئًا وَ هُوَ

خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ نَسِيمٌ بِشَارَتْ بِشَامِ جَانِ شَكْسَتَگَانِ مَعْرَكَهِ مَکَارَهِ وَ احْزَانِ

(۱) بمعنی گردش ببینید اریک انگلش لیکسیلن مصنفہ لین مطبوعہ سنہ ۱۸۶۳ ع

میرسد - حکمت قاهره الی تواند بود که عرایسِ مطالب و مقاصد
بکسوتِ مکاره و شداید جلوه دهد - و لطایفِ نعمت و عطا را در
مایده نعمت و عنا پیش آورد - * نظم *

عاشقی کاگاه گشت از لطف پنهانی دوست

هرچه پیش راهش آید خار یا گل خیر اوست

بسیار دولت که سبب ظهور او آثار نکبت باشد - و بسی جمعیت
و کامرانی که موجب آن نامرادی و پریشانی بود - بسا رخنه که اصل
محکمیهاست - بسا اندوه که در وی خرمیهاست *

بسا قفلان که بندش ناپدید است

چو وا بینی نه قفل است آن کلید است

و از اشیاه و نظایر این احکام - چمن دولت و روضه علکت باین
نهال بیهمال - و غنچه گلشن جاه و جلال آراسته شد - و ریاحین
آمال - از نکبت آن گلدسته شرف و اقبال شگفتگی گشت -

* نظم *

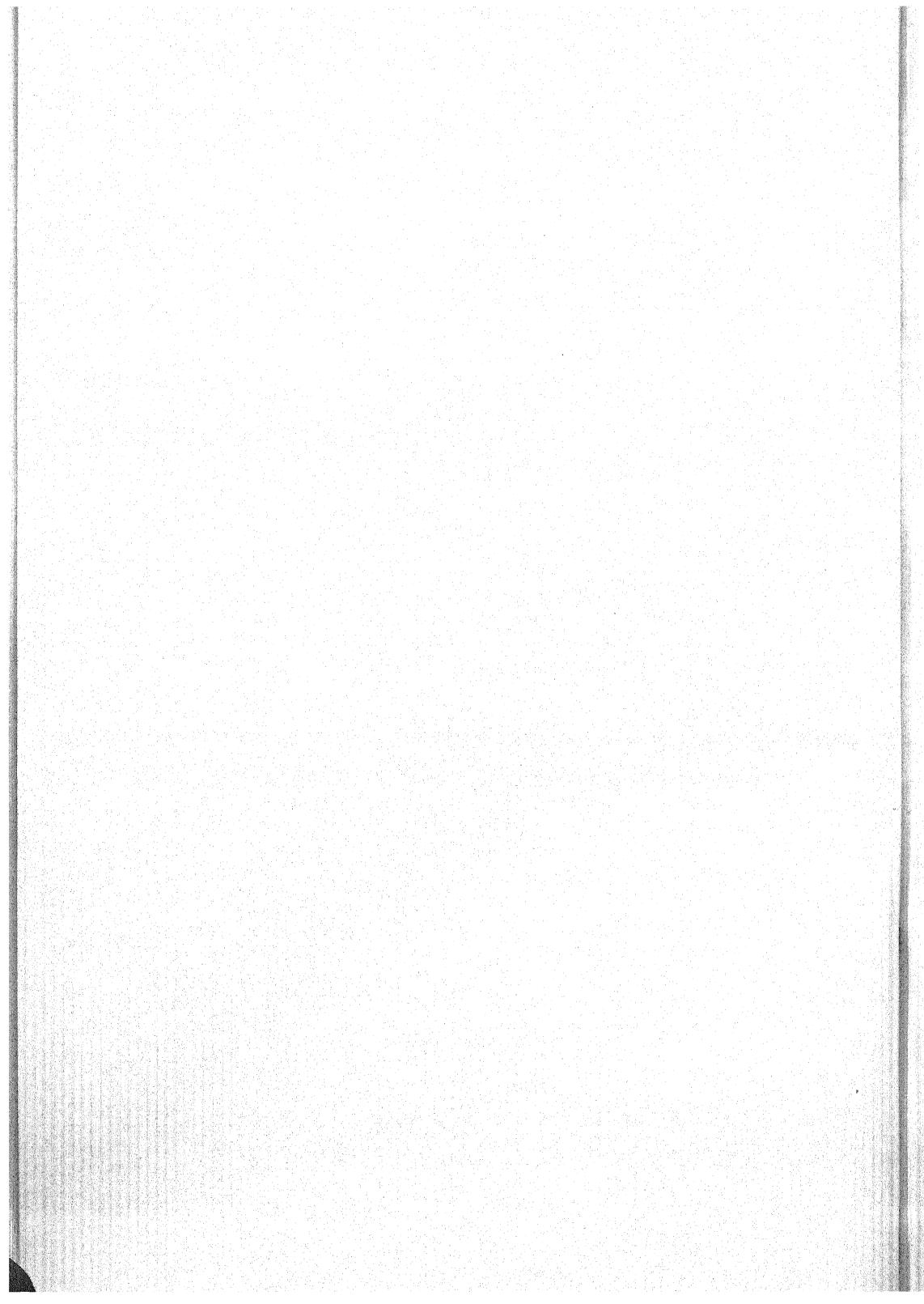
ز موج بحر کرم گوهری پدید آمد

ز اوج چرخ شرف اختری پدید آمد

بیان مجد و معالی گل مراد شگفت

نهال دولت و دین را بری پدید آمد

وَ السَّلَامُ *



Manuscript copy of the *Diwān* of Dārā Shikūh.¹

By ZAFAR HASAN.

The manuscript, as its name indicates, is a collection of poems composed by the Prince Dārā Shikūh, the eldest son of the Emperor Shāhjahān. It comprises 133 *ghazals* with 28 *ruba'iyyāt* (quatrains) at the end, the former being arranged in the alphabetical order of their final letters (i.e. according to *radīfs* and *qāfiyas*), while the latter, viz. *ruba'iyyāt*, having no such arrangement. Unfortunately it is incomplete, as all the *ghazals* of the *radīfs* from ፩ to ፪ and partly of the *radīfs* of ፻, ፻ and ፻ are wanting. Thus some of the folios from the middle of the manuscript are missing, and in the absence of pagination it cannot be said as to how many they were. Noticing however that most of the *radīfs*, which are wanting, are not popular, it is concluded that the missing portion was not of any great magnitude. The portion, as it exists, comprises 48 folios measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ " by 4", and the following is a detail of the *ghazals* contained in it under various *radīfs* :—

<i>Radīf.</i>	Number of <i>ghazals.</i>	<i>Radīf.</i>	Number of <i>ghazals.</i>
፩	15	፪	1
፪	6	፫	1
፫	25	፬	1
፬	1	፭	28

¹ So far as I am aware it represents the only copy of the work, and it is with a view to making enquiries about any other copy of it that I take this opportunity of bringing it to the notice of the scholars interested in Indian history and Persian literature and poetry.

It is proposed to edit and publish the *Diwān*, but the manuscript copy in my possession is incomplete and defective, requiring other copies for collation. My own enquiries about any other copy of the work have so far been unsuccessful, and any information on the subject will be greatly appreciated if communicated to me at the address noted below : "Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, Agra."

Radīf.	Number of ghazals.	Radīf.	Number of ghazals.
۳	1	۶	2 (see remark against ۷)
۷	7 (the figure does not show the total number of ghazals of which some are missing).	۸	15
۹	Wanting.	۹	6
۱۰		۱۰	13
۱۱ - ۱۲		۱۱	11 (see remark against ۷).

The manuscript is written in *Shikasta* script (running style) on Kashmiri paper. It is not in good condition, having been badly eaten by worms, and consequently many words at the holes made by the worms have partly or entirely disappeared. At the end there is a colophon, but it refers only to the title of the manuscript, viz. 'Dīwān-i-Dārā Shikūh', and does not bear the name of the scribe or the date of transcription. From the ink, which has lost its sheen, it appears that the writing must be quite old, presumably of about the same period when the *Dīwān* was composed (middle of the 17th century). It may be noted that the character of Persian scripts, viz. *Nasta'liq* and *Shikasta*, have not undergone any modification through ages, but their original style still persists, and hence a writing in either of those scripts cannot be assigned a date with any amount of certainty on the basis of its character or style.

The manuscript was received more than twenty years ago from a friend of mine, who is no more. It had been in loose sheets which were offered to me in two instalments with an interval of some seven months. According to the statement of my friend those sheets were picked up by him from the heaps of waste papers which were doomed to destruction. Fortunately the first and last folios, having respectively an endorsement and a colophon transcribed on them, were included among the sheets offered to me, and these records, which run as follows, assign the authorship of the work to Dārā :—

Endorsement—

دیوان دارا شکوه بادشاہزادہ

قادری تخلص

Translation—

Dīwān of the Prince Dārā Shikūh.

Qādirī, Takhalluṣ (poetic name).

Colophon—

تمت تمام شد کار من نظام شد

دیوان دارا شکوه

Translation—

It (the book) is completed and my engagement is over.
Diwān of Dārā Shikūh.

Both the endorsement and the colophon are written in the same handwriting and with the same ink as the manuscript, and their authenticity is beyond any question. They also receive support from the contents of the manuscripts, and the under-mentioned verse bears a testimony to the fact that the poetic name Qādirī, which is repeated in the final verse of each and every *ghazal*, was assumed by Dārā :—

چون بدارای خویش دل بسپرد قادری نیز عین دارا شد

Translation—

When he gave heart to his God (Dārā)
Qādirī also became the very Dārā.

(There is a pun on the word Dārā which is a proper name and also refers to God.)

As regards the merit of the *Diwān*, it is an excellent specimen of Persian poetry and literature prevailing in India at the period. The main theme struck in it is *Sufism* (mysticism), which was the hobby of Dārā, but most of the verses are also expressive of his emotion and sentiment—his deep affection and high esteem for his *Pīr* (spiritual guide) Mullā Shāh, for whose sake he makes lavish praises of Kashmir, Lahore and the Punjab; his reverence for saints, particularly those of the *Qādiriya* sect to which his *Pīr* belonged; his religious belief and faith; his dislike for *Mullās* on account of their narrow-mindedness; and his moral principles and character. Sometimes his flight of imagination carries him beyond the Islamic fundamentals, and he speaks after the fashion of old Muslim mystics in enigmas, which are susceptible of more or less orthodox interpretation. Allusions are also to be found to his aspirations for throne and to the effect that he considered himself superior to his brothers and that he had assumed certain royal prerogatives during the lifetime of his father Shāhjahān. A few verses illustrating these points are quoted below :—

I. Verses on the subject of *Wahdat-ul-wajūd*¹ (the whole existence in the universe consists of one) or *Hama Īst* (the

¹ Generally speaking, the doctrine of *Wahdat-ul-wajūd* or *Hama Īst* is parallel to pantheism signifying that God is everything and everything is God.

whole universe is God) which is the most important doctrine of *Sufism*. There is a large number of verses signifying this view, and the following are selected as specimens:—

ہرسو کہ نظر کنی ہمه اوست و چہ اللہ عیانست رو برو را

Translation—

Wherever you see all is He, the appearance of God is visible face to face.

(۱) گفت انا الحق و داد خود فتوی

دار گشت و کشید خود را خود

(۲) در پس پرده گفتگو میکرد

پرده برداشت دید خود را خود

Translation—

(1) He Himself said *Anal Haqq* (I am God) and Himself pronounced a judgement, He Himself became gallows and hanged Himself.

(2) He talked from behind a screen, (when) He raised the screen He saw Himself.

(In the first verse there is reference to Mansūr Hallāj, a mystic, who proclaimed '*Anal Haqq*' (I am God) and was sentenced to death for heresy by Khalifa Al-Muqtadir of Baghhdād about the year 919 A.D.)

(۱) ای آکل و اکل و شرب و ماؤکول توئی

وی فاعل کل فعل و مفعول توئی

(۲) در صورت حال و ماضی و استقبال

هم عرض تو بودہ و هم طول توئی

Translation—

(1) O! Thou who art eater, meat and drink and the substance eaten. O! Thou who art the doer of every action and the object bearing the effect thereof.

(2) In the form of present, past and future, Thou hast been breadth and also length.

(۱) هرچه بینی جز او این وهم تست

غیر او دارد وجودی چون سراب

(۲) بحر لا محدود ذات واحد است

ما و تو چون نقش و چون موج بر آب

Translation—

(1) Anything which you see besides Him is the object of your imagination, things other than He have their existence like mirage.

(2) The existence of one God is like a boundless ocean, we and thou are like a mark and a wave in water.

(۱) خویشتن را جدا نمی دانم

لیک خود را خدا نمیدانم

(۲) قطره را نسبتی که با بحر است

بیشتر زین روا نمیدانم

Translation—

(1) I do not think myself separate from God, nevertheless I do not consider myself God.

(2) The relation which a drop of water bears with an ocean is applicable in this respect, and beyond that nothing is permissible according to my belief.

II. Verses showing an opinion that it is necessary to be disciple of a saint:—

(۱) طعن کردی تو بر ارادت من

من ز طعن تو کی شوم دلگیر

(۲) من چگونه مرید کس نشوم

از ارادت مرا سرشت و خمیر

(۳) من مریدم بحضورت میران

هست دشنا� پیش من بی پیر

Translation—

- (1) You criticized my discipleship, but I do not resent your reproach.
- (2) How is it possible that I do not become disciple of somebody when my very nature is imbued with discipleship?
- (3) I am a disciple of Hadrat Mirān and to be without *Pir* (spiritual guide) is an abuse in my opinion.

III. Verses in eulogy of Mullā Shāh, Dārā's *Pir* (spiritual guide). Mullā Shāh, whose real name was Shāh Muḥammad, was a native of Bādkhshān, a city in Afghānistān. He came to India about the year 1023 A.H. (1614-15 A.D.) and settled at Kashmīr. He was a disciple of Miyān Mir of Lahore, who is also eulogized by Dārā. Mullā Shāh died at Lahore where he was buried near the tomb of Miyān Mir¹:-

حضرت ملا شہ است آن شاہ ما (۱)

کہ مزید خاص میان میر ہست

هر مسی را زر کند ارشاد او (۲)

طالبانزا فقر او اکسیر ہست

Translation—

- (1) Hadrat Mullā Shāh is my *Pir*, who is the chief disciple of Miyān Mir.
- (2) His teachings make gold of every copper (turn evil people into good); to his followers his poverty is an elixir.

دل پروای صد دشمن ندارد (۱)

مرا چون شاہ دارد در حیات

تو کردى قادری را خانہ آباد (۲)

سلامت بر سر ش دارد خدایت

¹ *Bādshāh Nāma* by Mullā 'Abdul Hamid Lāhorī, Persian text, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1867, Vol. I, Part II, p. 333; *Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī* by Maulvi Nūr Ahmad Chishtī, Hamidia Steam Press, Lahore, 1324 Hijra, pp. 259-261; *Lahore, Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities* by Sayyid Muhammad Latīf, New Imperial Press, Lahore, 1892, pp. 59 and 175-176; *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Thomas William Beale, published by W. H. Allen & Co. Limited, 1894, pp. 278-279. Beale says Mullā Shāh died at Kashmīr.

Translation.—

- (1) My heart cares not a hundred enemies, when Shāh keeps me under his protection.
- (2) You rendered the house of Qādirī flourishing, may God keep you over his head.

هست ملا شه آن وجود شریف که برو هر نهان عیان باشد

Translation.—

Mullā Shāh is that sublime personality to whom every hidden thing is clear.

توتیا گشت بہر هر دیده شاه را هر که خاک راه بود

Translation.—

He, who regards himself as dust of the road of Shāh, found place in the eyes of everybody like antimony.

IV. Verses lamenting the death of a saint named Muḥammad and giving the date of it as Tuesday, 15th of Ṣafar, the year 1052 A.H. (1642 A.D.). Muḥammad was also the name of Mullā Shāh, and if these verses refer to his death, the date stated therein does not correspond with that related by other authors, who place the event in 1069 A.H. (1658-59 A.D.),¹ 1070 A.H. (1659-60 A.D.),² or 1072 A.H. (1661-62 A.D.).³ Miyān Mir too bore the name of Muḥammad, but his death occurred in 1045 A.H. (1635 A.D.). If it is mourned in these verses there is again a discrepancy in date:—

(۱) چون نباشد آسمان با چشم تر

چون سفر فرمود شیخ بحر و بر

(۲) فقر او شاگرد فقر احمدی

بود کتر پیش او از خاک زر

(۳) آن محمد گر نمی امد برون

اهل شرق و غرب را گردید سر

¹ *Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī*, p. 261.

² Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 279.

³ Latif's *Lahore*, p. 59.

(۳) اویا را مرگ می باشد حرام

لایمتوں هست چون اندر خبر

(۲) در هزار و پنجدو چون رفت او

روز سهشنبه ده و پنج از صفر

Translation—

- (1) Why should heaven not shed tears when the chief of the land and sea departed?
- (2) He followed Alīmād (Muhammad, the Prophet) in contentment, and considered gold less than dust.
- (3) Should that Muhammad not come into existence, the people of east and west would have gone astray.
- (4) To saints death is inadmissible, as 'Lā yamūtūn' (they do not die) is written in *Hadīth* (sayings of the Prophet).
- (5) He died in one thousand and fifty-two, on Tuesday, the fifteenth of *Šafar*.

V. Verses in praises of Miyān Mīr, who was the *Pīr* of Mullā Shāh. The real name of Miyān Mīr was Shaikh Muhammād Mīr. He was born at Sīvastān in Persia in the year 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.), and came, while he was young, to Lahore where he resided and died at the age of 88 in 1045 A.H. (1635 A.D.)¹ Mullā 'Abdul Hamid of Lahore, the author of *Šāhjāhān Nāma*, places his death in the year 1044 A.H. (1634 A.D.) and says that he was buried at Lahore in the village of *Ghiyāthpūr* near 'Ālamgān² :—

خطره اندر دلم نمی آمد خطره ها دور کرده میان میر

Translation—

My heart feels no fear as all dreads and doubts have been removed by Miyān Mīr.

بود خرش بخاک حضرت میر که در خود همچو او مستور دار

Translation—

It (Lahore) is proud of the dust (tomb) of Hadrat Mīr, as it has him buried in it.

¹ *Safīnat-ul-Auliyā* by Dārā Shikūh, Persian text, Naval Kishor Press, Cawnpore, 1900, pp. 70-73; *Tāhīqāt-i-Chishtī*, pp. 250-272; *Latīf's Lahore*, pp. 59 and 174-176; Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 364.

² *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 329-331.

VII. Verses in praise of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir, the founder of the Qādriya sect of *Sūfīs*, whose tomb is at Baghdād:—

(۱) حضرت میران خداوند جهان

غوث جن و انس شاه عارفان

(۲) محبی دین شیخ عبد القادر است

آنکه او را عرش باشد آشیان

(۳) رهنمای شاه راه احمدی

دستگیر جمله درماندگان

(۴) کی تو انم گفت من خود را مرید

قادری باشد سگ این آستان

Translation—

- (1) Hadrat Mirān, the lord of the world, Ghauth (shelter) of jinn and mankind, and the king of saints,
- (2) Muhi-i-Din Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Qādir, who has heaven for his abode, is
- (3) A guide to the highway of the religion of Ahmad (Islām), and a helper to all of those who are destitute.
- (4) How can I call myself a disciple of his when Qādirī is (i.e. I am) a dog of his threshold?

VII. Verses in praise of Shāh Bahā'-ud-Din, who was a saint of the Suhrawardīya sect of *Sūfīs* and is buried at Multān:—

(۱) قطب دنیا و دین بهاء الدین

نقشبند یقین بهاء الدین

(۲) آنکه در حکم او همی باشد

آسمان و زمین بهاء الدین

(۳) وانکه در پیش او بعجر نهند

پادشاهان جیین بهاء الدین

Translation—

- (1) Qutb (lord) of the world and religion is Bahā'-ud-Dīn,
and painter of belief is Bahā'-ud-Dīn.
- (2) He, whose subservient are the heaven and the earth,
is Bahā'-ud-Dīn.
- (3) And he, before whom kings low their forehead with
humility, is Bahā'-ud-Dīn.

VIII. Verses in praise of Kashmir, the Punjab and Lahore. These places were highly esteemed by Dārā for the sake of Mullā Shāh and Miyān Mir. In one of these verses there is a reference to 'Dārāpūr', which was the name given, perhaps by Dārā himself, to the locality where the tomb of Miyān Mir is situated. Latif in his work entitled '*Lahore, Its History, Archaeological Remains and Antiquities*' (page 176) writes 'According to Dara Shikoh the saint (Miyān Mir) was buried in the suburbs of 'Alam Ganj and Darapur'. Mullā 'Abdul Hamid Lāhorī, the author of *Bādshāh Nāma*, also records that the tomb of Miyān Mir is situated at Ghiyathpūr near 'Alamganj,¹ but he makes no reference to Dārāpūr. Apparently the locality assumed this name after the *Bādshāh Nāma* was written. The name is now forgotten:—

چون خدا و صاحب من پیر است

کعبہ من حضرت کشمیر است

Translation—

When my *Pir* is my God and lord, my *Ka'ba* is *hadrat* (the blessed) Kashmir.

(۱) خدا پنجاب را معمور دارد

ز خاک اولیا منظور دارد

(۲) بود آباد دائم شهر لاهور

و با و قط ازین جا دور دارد

(۳) هیشه اولیا خیزد ازین ملک

خدا این قوم را مغفور دارد

¹ *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 331.

Translation—

- (1) God keeps the Punjab prosperous, and He graced it on account of the dust (tombs) of saints.
- (2) The city of Lahore ever remains flourishing, and He keeps it free from plague and famine.
- (3) Saints always appear from this country, and God forgives the sins of this sect.

(۱) عشق پنجاب نموده بیقرار

زانگ نقش دوست در پنجاب هست

(۲) کعبه من حضرت لاہور دان

سجدہ من سوی آن محراب هست

(۳) قادری را کعبہ داراپور شد

کاندران بسیار فتح الاب هست

Translation—

- (1) The love of the Punjab has made me uneasy, since the remains of the friend are in the Punjab.
- (2) Know ye Lahore as my Ka'ba, my prostration is towards that altar.
- (3) For Qādirī Dārāpūr became Ka'ba, since there is much success in it.

IX. Verses expressing Dārā's religious belief. They signify that he had faith in one God, and believed Muhammad as the last prophet. They are indicative of his high esteem for the first four *Khalīfs* and *Panjtan* (i.e. the Prophet, his daughter Fāti'ma, the husband of the latter, 'Alī, and Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the sons of Fāti'ma and 'Alī). The expression of such a belief leaves no doubt that he was a Sunnī Muslim:—

ترک زنار کرده ام ز آزو * تار وحدت نبود در زنار

Translation—

I have given up *Zunnār* (Brahminical thread) for the reason that there was no string of *Wahdat* (unity of God) in it.

قادری نیست هیچ جز قادر * وحده لا إله إلا هو

Translation—

Qādirī there is nothing but God; He is one and there is no God but He.

متوجه مشو بغیر خدا * رشته هست سبحة و زنار

Translation—

Do not turn your attention to anything but God, rosary and *Zunnār* are only threads.

(1) ز ذاتش هر دو عالم برقرار سست

ز حکمش کوه و دشت اندر بیانست

(2) کسی خاموش از ذکرشن نباشد

اگرچه سنگ و حیوان و نباتست

Translation—

(1) Both the worlds are extant from Him, by His order the mountain and the desert speak of Him.

(2) None is silent of the recital of His names, though it be stone, animal or herb.

چند بازی تو بر شریعت خود * احمد مرسل از خدا سست سوا

Translation—

How long will you play on your *Shari'at* (religious law) that Ahmād, the Prophet, is different from God?

از محمد هزار گل بشگفت * یک در نام احمد و محمد

Translation—

From Muhammad thousands of flowers blossomed (a large number of saints appeared among his followers), but under the names of Ahmād and Māhmūd (different names).

آن محمد شه رسولان بود * این محمد بود شه شاهان

Translation—

That Muhammad (the Prophet) was the king of prophets and this Muhammad (Mullā Shāh) is the king of saints.

تو همنشین من شو دیگر بدار دایم

چون خاتم النبیین با یار غار صحبت

Translation—

You become my companion and always stay with me,
as the last of the prophets (Muhammad) had an
association with the friend in the cave.

(This is an allusion to Abū Bakr, the first Khalifa who was
hidden in a cave with Muhammad before setting out on their
immigration to Madinah. It also indicates that Dārā believed
Muhammad the last of the prophets.)

(۱) نیست بی چاره هیچ کار درست

نیست چیزی چو چار یار درست

(۲) بسر بختی من همی باید

پایه چار استوار درست

Translation—

(1) No work is correct without 'Chārah' (four, it may
also mean help), nothing is perfect like 'Chār yār'
(four Companions of the Prophet, viz. Abū Bakr,
'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī).

(2) For the good luck of mine are needed four pillars
strong and sound.

(These verses show the respect and reverence of Dārā for
the first four Khalifs.)

(۱) ذات او هست پنج اهل الله

اہل توحید را امان باشد

(۲) صورتش جامع حقیقت شرع

شرع را او بکامیان باشد

Translation—

(1) His personality, which is the representation of five
persons of God (allusion to Muhammad, Fātīma,
'Alī, Ḥasan and Husain), is protection to the
believers in one God.

(2) His figure symbolizes the truth of Islāmic law, and
he makes the Islāmic law successful in serving its
useful purpose.

(These verses which are in praise of Mullā Shāh indicate Dārā's belief in Islām and his high regard for *Panj Tan*.)

X. Verses ridiculing *Mullās* (Doctors of Islāmic law). A study of the *Diwān* shows that Dārā did not hold un-Islāmic views, but he derided such *Mullās* as interpreted *Shari'at* (Islāmic law) to serve their worldly purpose :—

(۱) بہشت آنجا کہ ملائی نباشد

ز ملا بحث و غوغائی نباشد

(۲) جہان خالی شود از شور ملا

ز فتواہاش پروائی نباشد

(۳) دران شهری کہ ملا خانہ دارد

درانجا ہیچ دانائی نباشد

Translation—

(1) Paradise is there where no *Mullā* exists, and where there is no controversy and debate with any *Mullā*.

(2) May the world become free from the noise of *Mullā*, and may there be no care for the sentences passed by him !

(3) In the city where a *Mullā* resides, there is not to be found any man wise.

هر کہ می از جام وحدت درکشید

زادهان شهر را چون خر گرفت

Translation—

He, who drank from the cup of *Wahdat* (belief in the unity of God), regarded the religious people of the city (foolish) like an ass.

جملہ عجب و ریاست این تقوی ہے کی بود لایق نگار ما

Translation—

All this piety is conceit and hypocrisy, how can it be worthy of our sweetheart ?

XI. Verses showing ethical and moral principles of Dârâ :—

(۱) دست زر الود بد بو میشود

جان زر آلد را احوال چیست

(۲) روز و شب گوشت بمرگ مردمانست

مر ترا مردن بود این حال چیست

Translation—

(1) (When) hand soiled with gold becomes dirty of bad smell, how bad is the condition of the soul greedy of gold !

(2) Thou hearest day and night of the death of people, and thou hast also to die, how strange is this behaviour of thine !

قادری دید تا ترا در کل * صلح کل کرده از عناد گذشت

Translation—

When Qâdirî saw you manifest in all the existence, he reconciled with all and gave up spite.

تا خودی هست دائم اندوهست

این چنین کرده اوستاد ارشاد

Translation—

As long as one is self-conceited there is grief, this has been stated by the teacher.

راز خود را بغیر دل تو مگوی

رازداری بغیر دل نبود

Translation—

Do not confide your secrets to anybody but heart, no one can keep secret but heart.

(۱) مسافر هر قدر باشد سبکبار

نیابد در سفر تصدیع و آزار

(۲) تو هم اندر جهان هستی مسافر

یقین میدان اگر هستی تو هشیار

(۳) بقدر مال باشد سرگرانی

بقدر پیچ باشد بار دستار

(۴) خودی را نیز از خود دور گردان

که هم بار است بار وهم و پندار

(۵) تو تا باشی بدنیا باش آزاد

ترا چون قادری کرده خبردار

Translation—

- (1) A traveller, unencumbered if he is, feels little worries and troubles,
- (2) You are also a traveller in the world, believe this if are prudent.
- (3) One assumes arrogance to the extent of wealth, as one feels the burden of turban according to its folds.
- (4) Keep vanity away from you, as the load of scruple and conceit is also a burden.
- (5) As long as you are in the world, pass your life independently, as Qādīrī has warned you.

XII. Verses expressing Dārā's views approaching to heresy according to strict Islāmic point of view, but an allowance of poetic latitude acquits him of the charge, which is, however, contradicted from his other verses:—

قادری گشت قادر مطلق از پی هر فنا کال بقا است

Translation—

Qādīrī became Almighty, after every annihilation is the perfection of eternity.

قادری زود عین قادر شد چون مدد کرد قادر بغداد

Translation—

Qādīrī soon became the very God, when Qādīr of Baghdād helped him.

هم محمد توی و هم الله این عزایت ترا است ارزانی

Translation—

Thou art Muhammad and God too, this favour has been bestowed upon thee.

قادری را ز قدرت کامل * قادر ذو الجلال ساز دی

Translation—

With Your perfect providence make Qādirī powerful and glorified ('Qādir-i-Dhū'ljalāl' is an attribute of God) for a while.

XIII. Verses alluding to Dārā's aspirations, the conception of his superiority to his brothers and his bitterness against his opponents:—

قرنها همچو قادری باید * قادری صاحب قران گشته

Translation—

One like Qādirī requires ages to become Shāhib-i-Qirān (lord of happy constellation)—this was the title assumed by Timūr and Shāhjahān).

(۱) هرچند که نیست سایه از ذات خدا

لیکن نبود سایه شه غیر نما

(۲) دانم چو بگویند مرا سایه حق

ترسم که ازین دوی بد آید حق را

Translation—

(1) Although there is no shadow of God, yet (the title of king as) the shadow of God does not signify otherwise.

(2) I know this when they call me 'The shadow of God', but I fear that this duality may cause an annoyance to God.

(۱) هیچکسی مرا بساید سنجید

من زانچه گفته ام بساید رنجید

(۲) هرچند که چار بچه زاید بلبل

بلبل بچه کلان به بلبل گردید

Translation—

- (1) Nobody should weigh me (by my sayings), nor should any one take ill at what I have said.
- (2) Although a nightingale produces four chickens, the first born turns out a nightingale.

(۱) اهل حق را که بد تو میخوانی

کفر ہتر ازین مسلمانی

(۲) شاه ما را که بد همیگوی

عزل کرم ترا ز سلطانی

Translation—

- (1) You revile pious persons, infidelity is better than such an Islām.
- (2) As you abuse my Shāh (*Pir*), I deposed you from kingship. (This is perhaps an allusion to one of Dārā's brothers, possibly to Aurangzib.)

Dārā is known as an author of several works on mysticism and lives of saints, the most famous of which are (a) *Safinat-ul-Auliyā*, (b) *Sakinat-ul-Auliyā*, (c) *Sirr-i-Akbar*, (d) *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, and (e) *Risāla-i-Haqq Numā*.¹ The first two are the memoirs of saints, while the *Sirr-i-Akbar* is an interpretation in Persian of the well-known Sanskrit works entitled *Upanishads*, and the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* a discourse on the harmony of Brahmanism and Islām. In both of these works the author makes a comparative study of these two religions with an attempt to reconcile them, drawing conclusions that their teachings agree in essence, and the disharmony in them is superficial in technicalities only. The *Risāla-i-Haqq Numā* is a small treatise announcing the religious belief of the author, who confesses in it that he holds the Sunnī faith as propounded by the theologian Imām Abū Ḥanifa. Similar declaration has been made by him in the preface of *Safinat-ul-Auliyā*. All these works, with the exception of the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, have been lithographed or printed in India. Dārā is also related to have been a great patron of art, and the specimens of his writing, still available, signify his keen interest in the art of calligraphy, in which he himself attained a high² proficiency. He is, however, not given the

¹ Manuscript copies of (c), (d) and (e) are also in the possession of the writer of this article.

² *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, edited by Hidāyat Hussain, *Bibliotheca Indica*, p. 54.

credit of being a poet, as no reference to this effect is to be found in any of the memoirs of Indian poets. Latif following *Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī* gives a list of Dārā's literary works, and among them makes a mention of 'Diwān-i-Iksir-i-A'zam', but beyond quoting the title he says nothing about it.¹ Possibly that Diwān with a specific title alludes to the manuscript under notice, and if this is the case, we find a hint of another copy of the work. The fact that Dārā indulged in poetry is borne out by the following verses quoted from his *Diwān* :—

هزار و بیست غزل گفت قادری در عشق
مگر چه سود کسی منتبه نیگردد

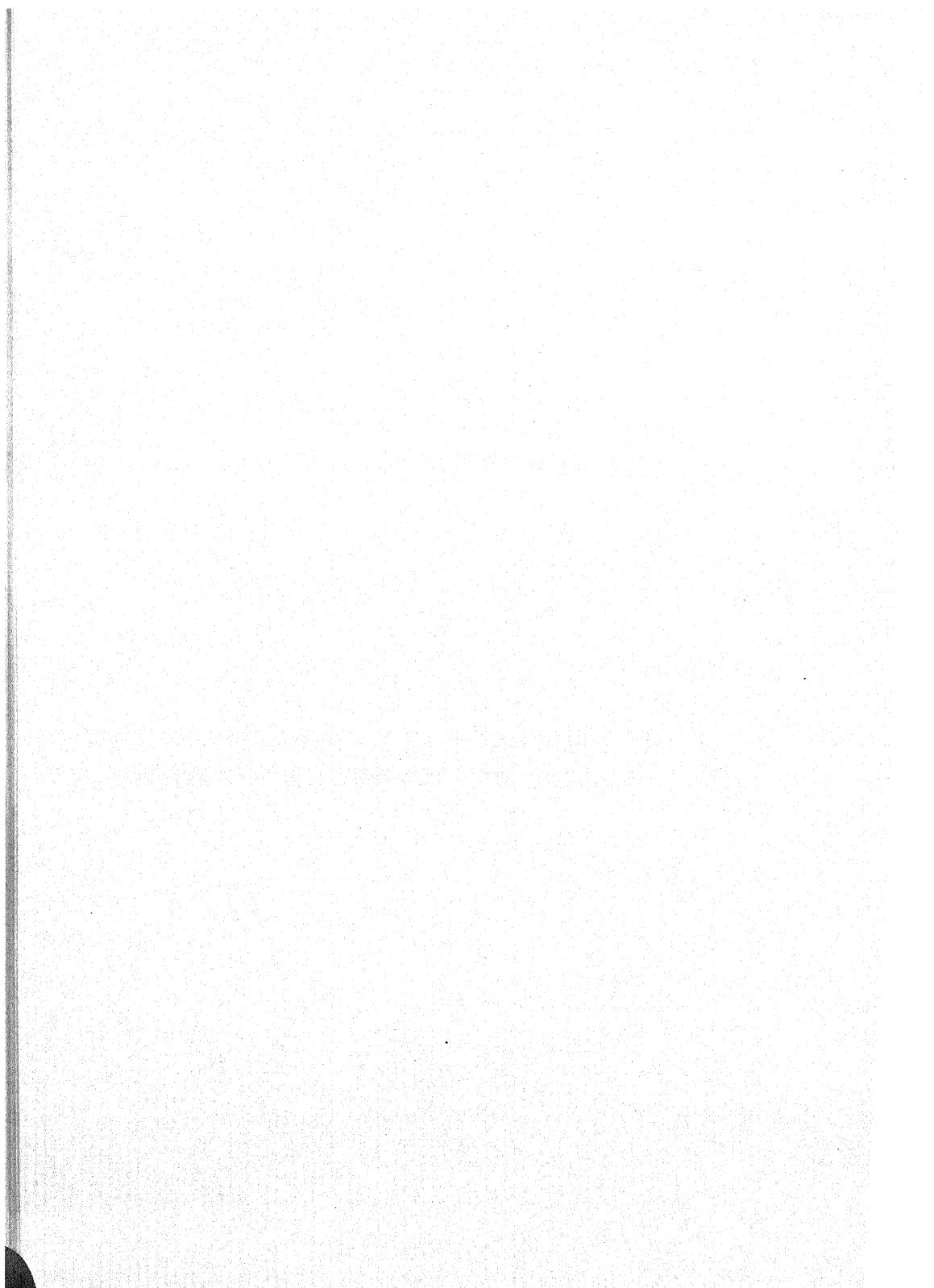
Translation—

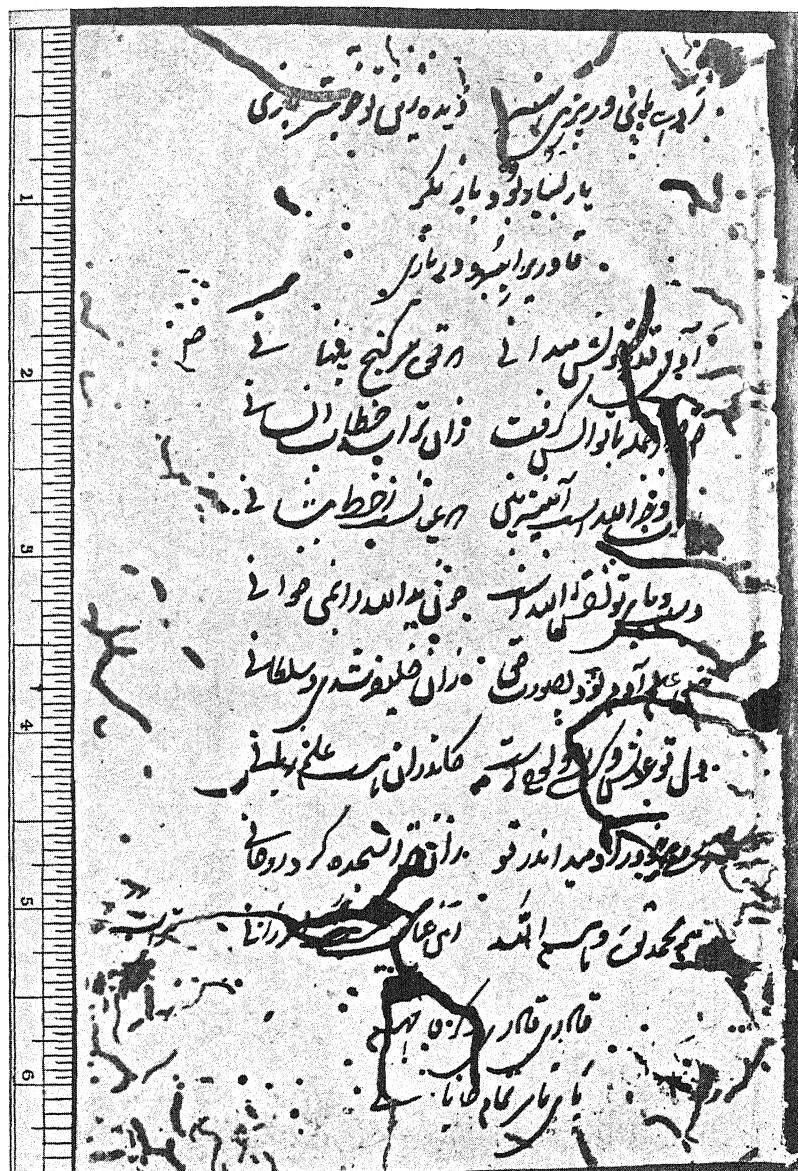
Qādirī composed one thousand and twenty poems on the subject of love, but it is to no avail, as none takes warning.

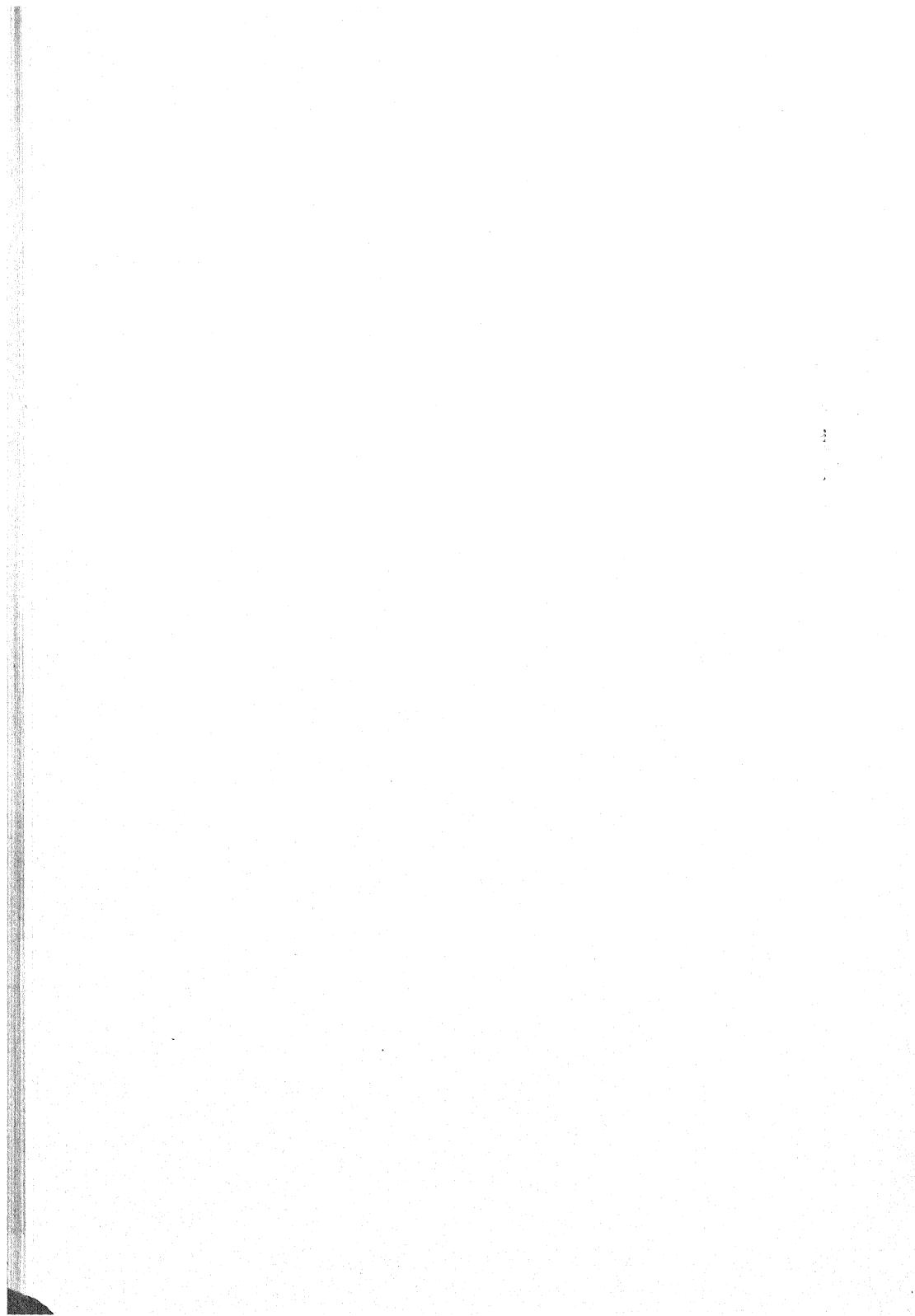
It appears that his compositions in verse did not receive publicity for want of his admirers during the reign of Aurangzib, who denounced him as a heretic. The few copies of his *Diwān*, and poems, that might have been made during his life, were probably thrown in oblivion soon after his downfall and murder. This unfortunate prince is accredited with many accomplishments, and our manuscript makes an addition to them, giving him a place among the poets also.

To make the general readers, not well versed in the history of the Mughal empire in India, familiar with Dārā, it seems desirable to narrate a short account of him. He was the eldest son and heir-apparent of Shāh Jahān, who ruled from 1627 to 1658 A.D. The latter had four sons, viz. Dārā Shikūh, Shāh Shujā', Aurangzib and Murād, all of whom were born to him from his favourite wife Arjumand Bānū Begam, better known as Mumtāz Mahal, to whose memory he built the celebrated *Tāj Mahal* at Agra. In the year 1658 Shāh Jahān fell ill, and a false report of his death actuated his three younger sons, who were governors of different provinces, to make a revolt against the central authority and extend their claims to the throne. The civil war, which broke out, resulted in the victory of Aurangzib, the third prince, who interned Shāh Jahān in the Agra Fort, and put to death or imprisoned the vanquished princes, including Dārā. The latter was declared a heretic, and such a charge was not difficult to be established against him from the utterances which in a mystical sense he was wont freely to make.

¹ Latif's *Lahore*, p. 64; *Tahqīqāt-i-Chishtī*, p. 257.







The Nāgas in the 3rd-4th Centuries A.D.

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI.

In 1906, in the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*,¹ p. 95, Vincent Smith recorded the opinion that 'The history of the third century A.D. in India is wrapped in obscurity, at present impenetrable, and not likely to be dispelled'. He reitreated this conclusion in his *Early History of India*: 'The period between the extinction of the Kushān and Andhra dynasties, about A.D. 220 or 230, and the rise of the Imperial Gupta dynasty (c. 350 A.D.), nearly a century later is one of the darkest in the whole range of Indian history. . . . Probably numerous Rājās asserted their independence and formed a number of short-lived states. . . . There is no indication of the existence of a paramount power'.

In 1913, in the *Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Pargiter confirmed from the Purānas the findings of Vincent Smith from inscr. and coins regarding both the local and transient character of these Hindu Native States: 'These local dynasties are all classed together as more or less contemporaneous'. (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 44.)

In 1933, in *History of India*, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.,¹ Mr. Jayaswal challenges this position and proposes to place a paramount power prior to the imperial Guptas. As it involves a considerable readjustment of known literary and archæological evidence, the proposed reconstruction deserves a careful scrutiny in order to note progress, if any, from the previous position.

Mr. Jayaswal's thesis takes the form of a mighty Bhāraśiva Nāga empire from c. 31 B.C. to 284 A.D., merged in the Vākātaka empire (c. 284 to 348 A.D.); his arguments are mainly three:—

- (a) inscr. and coins point to a great Bhāraśiva empire of the Nāgas (pp. 1-61); c. 31 B.C.-284 A.D.
- (b) inscr. and coins prove the Bhāraśiva Nāga empire merging in the Vākātaka empire through a grandson of the Nāgas (pp. 62-132); c. 284-348 A.D.
- (c) literature, specially the Purānas confirm (a) and (b).

(a) Actually, however, the entire edifice rests on a single incidental line of two inscr. of the self-same person Pravarasena Vākātaka; under (a) and (b), there is no direct reference, not even an indirect reference in a third inscr., no direct or indirect

¹ *JBORS*, Vol. XIX, Pts. I-II.

reference in the inscr. of a second individual, and not a single coin; (c) is absolutely silent.

The two¹ inscr. are: Inscr. Nos. 619-20 of Kielhorn. (Chammak, Siwani and Dudia.)

The line: *daśāśvamedhāvabhr̥thasnānānām Bhāraśivānām mahārājaśri-Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya . . .*

The materials for the construction are supplied by the three words in the line:—(i) Bhāraśiva, (ii) Bhavanāga, (iii) daś-āśvamedha.

(i) *Bhāraśiva*.

In 1914, JRAS, p. 323, Vincent Smith said, 'So far as I know, the Bhāraśivas are not mentioned elsewhere'. It has not been found till to-day. The original plates were in the possession of Major Szczepanski and Hazari Gond Malguzar when Fleet gave this first reading from the earlier readings of Indrāji, Bühler and Prinsep. No attempt has been made to verify the reading. The nearest known word in Sanskrit is *bhāraśikha* used in some commentaries on the Nirukta. In box-headed Vākātaka of the IV-VII centuries A.D., the similarity between *va* and *kha* is striking.²

(ii) *Bhavanāga*.

' . . . nor is there any other notice of a sovereign named Bhavanāga.' (V. Smith, JRAS, 1914, p. 323.) Fleet, the editor of the Gupta inscr. where names of rulers of Nāga tribes or dynasties are not uncommon (GI., pp. 12, 13, 62 and n., 283, 298) does not take this Bhavanāga to be of a Nāga dynasty. Others before Mr. Jayaswal have speculated on the possible meaning of the name ending in *-nāga*. Speculation, however, is not evidence.

(iii) *daś-āśvamedha*.

' . . . who had performed ten *āśvamedhas* followed by baths of completion.'

It is not necessary to get unduly excited by this *āśvamedha* exploit. An *āśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice could be celebrated by any prince who had subdued his neighbours. In *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 115, Dr. Bhandarkar shows that 'even a feudatory chieftain can perform a Horse-sacrifice which may or may not be preceded by a *dig-vijaya*'. It is difficult to escape from a number of these *āśvamedhas* even within the limited period

¹ Fleet, *CIG*, Vol. III, *Gupta Inscr.*, Nos. 55, 56; pp. 237, 241, 245, 248.

² Bühler's *Tafeln*: Tafel IV, VI-VIII for similarities in non-Vākātaka scripts.

under discussion. Thus, Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka performed 4 even though only a Māhārāja, not a Mahārājādhirāja (Ajanṭā inserr., No. 622 of K); Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin Mahārāja performed 11 (Rāmatirtham and Chikkulla plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 193; Vol. XI, p. 134), against Samudragupta's 1 *asvamedha*, his contemporary and reversioner in the south Mayūraśarmā Kadamba (345-370 A.D.) performed 18! Instances could be multiplied. So were Aśvamedhas by the process laid down by the *Mahābhārata* (XIV, 88. 14)—

*evam-atra mahārāja daksinām tri-guṇām kuru ।
tritvaṇi vrajatu te rājan brāhmaṇā hy-atra kāraṇam ॥*

From 1914 to 1936, not a single new datum has come to light regarding any of the three items (i) to (iii) above. As such a Bhāraśiva Nāga Empire must remain, pending further corroboration, a figment of the imagination.

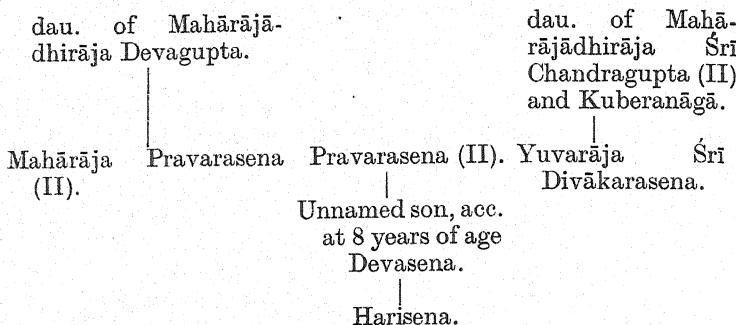
(b) The so-called Nāga-Vākāṭaka merger is based on the following inserr. of the Vākāṭakas:—

Chammak (Gupta Inserr., No. 55, p. 235), Siwani (Gupta Inserr., No. 56, p. 243), Dudia (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 258), Bālāghāṭ (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 268), Pathak's Plates (*Ind. Ant.*, XLII, 1912, p. 215), two Ajanṭā inserr. (*A.S.W.I.*, IV, pp. 53, 124, 129), Guwārā Ghatotkacha cave inscr. (*A.S.W.I.*, IX, pp. 64, 138).

VĀKĀṬAKA GENEALOGY.¹

Inserr. Nos. 619-20	Inserr. No. 622	Pathak <i>op. cit.</i>
(Chammak, Siwani, and Dudia).	(Ajanṭā). Vindhyaśakti.	
Mahārāja (I).	Pravarasena	Pravarasena (I).
Gautamiputra, m. dau. of Mahārāja Bhava- nāga of the Bhāraśivas.		
Mahārāja Rudrasena (I).	Rudrasena (I).	
Mahārāja Pr̥thiviṣeṇa (I).	Pr̥thiviṣeṇa (I) (Conquered the lord of Kuntala).	
Mahārāja Rudrasena (II), m. Prabhāvatiguptā,		Rudrasena (II), m. Śrī Prabhāvati,

¹ V. Smith, *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 322.



In preparing the above lists V. Smith overlooked¹ the following points:—

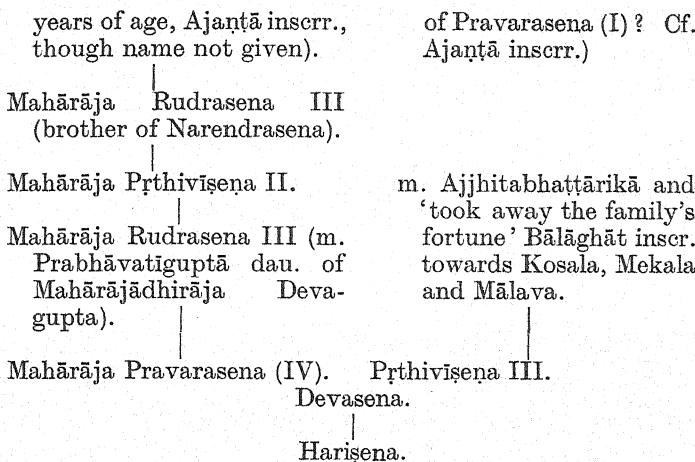
- (i) There was another Pr̥thivisena, son of Narendrasena, who succeeded the unnamed son of Pravarasena (II). If this Pr̥thivisena had a son Rudrasena (III), he would be four generations removed from Pravarasena (II) and therefore about the beginning of the VIIth century.
- (ii) The 8th verse of the Ajantā inscr. (Cave No. XVI, *Arch. Surv. W.I.*, IV, pp. 53, 124, says that Pr̥thivisena vanquished the king of Kuntala, i.e. the Kadamba king. If he is the father of Rudrasena that married the daughter of Chandragupta II, he must live for about hundred years and actually a tradition is found to that effect. V. Smith is constrained to allow him 'from about forty to sixty years'.
- (iii) Nothing is known in the Ajantā and Poona plates about Gautamiputra, son of Pravarasena and father of Rudrasena—so distinctly mentioned in the Chammak, Siwani and Dudia inscr.—a fact which is the keystone of the whole Nāga-Vākāṭaka arch.
- (iv) The Chammak, Siwani and Dudia inscr. definitely mention Devagupta, not Chandragupta.

These difficulties would disappear if the genealogy stands as follows:—

Mahārāja Pravarasena (II) related to Visnuvrddhas.

Gautamiputra m. dau. of (Could such connection be
Bhavanāga (acc. at 8 ignored if he were the son)

¹ In fairness to V. Smith, it must be noted that he admitted that 'The three genealogical statements, it will be observed, present considerable discrepancies as well as much agreement'. *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 322.



Towards the middle of the VIIth century the Vākāṭakas were replaced by the Kaṭachuris who claimed possession of all the country between Nāsik and Ujain by the end of the VIth century.

This Devagupta, contemporary and father-in-law of Rudrasena III, is known from the Madhuvan and Banskhera inscr., of Harsa, and from coins,¹ and belongs to the end of the VIth century, c. 600 A.D.

Besides the inscr. mentioned and utilized by V. Smith, Mr. Jayaswal has the advantage of comparing the Poona Plates of the reign of Dāmodarasena Pravarasena by Queen-Mother Prabhāvati Guptā, Mahādevī, wife of Rudrasena II, mother of Mahārāja Śri Dāmodara-Pravarasena, *I.A.*, Vol. 53, 48 and the Patna Museum Plates of Pravarasena, *JBORS.*, XIV, 465, with the Poona Plates of the Regent Queen Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II and Mahādevī Kuvera-Nāgā, mother of Yuvarāja Divākarasena, *E.I.*, XV, 39. From the phraseology, genealogy and palaeography of the inscr. there appear to be three Pr̥thiviṣenās and four Pravarasenas among the Vākāṭakas during five centuries (III-VII A.D.). Jayaswal accepts as truth and follows V. Smith in finding another name for Devagupta (i.e. Chandragupta II) against the testimony of his own daughter Prabhāvati, and the considered opinion of his faithful editor Fleet. The question is still open and awaits further research.

(c) Literature.

The following books deal historically with the period under discussion:—

(i) *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, c. 70 A.D.

¹ Cunningham, *CMI.*, Pl. II.

- (ii) Ptolemy, c. 140 A.D.
- (iii) *Mahāmāyūrī*, c. 300 A.D. (*JA.*, Jan.-Feb., 1915).
- (iv) Purāṇas, c. 320-335 A.D.
- (v) *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, c. 900 A.D.

None of these contains the remotest reference to a Bhārāśiva Nāga empire, or to any empire in Northern India in the IIIrd and early IVth centuries A.D. (iii) and (iv) make it abundantly clear that a large number of States were ruling at the same time. In fact, even a cursory glance at the *Purāṇa Text* (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-55) demonstrates this last point regarding the local and contemporary nature of these Native States so conclusively, that it would be mere excess of zeal to labour the point.

Thus the position summed up by Pargiter and Vincent Smith still holds good—but with a difference. Information concerning these local dynasties is lending itself to surer method and fuller interpretation.

Evidence about the Nāgas as detailed below would show the progress made in this direction.

VAIDIŚAKA NĀGAS.

The Purāṇas are clear about the chronology of these Vaidiśakas:—

- (a) Pulomāvi is the last of the Andhras. (*Mt* 273, 1-17; *Vā* 99, 348-58).
- (b) Andhrabhrtyas, Ābhiras, Gardabhinas, Śakas, Yavanas, Tusāras (*Vā* 99, 358-65; *Mt* 273, 17-24).
- (c) Śeṣa-Nāgas (*Vā* 99, 366-69).

Inscriptions and coins place the first of the Andhras c. 150-151 B.C. (Khāravela inscr. and coin of Śri-Śāta identified with Śri-Śātakarṇi of the Nanaghat inscr.) Vidiśā passed from the Mauryas to the Śuṅgas and was the capital of Agnimitra (*Mālavikāgnimitram*). Kautsigputra-Bhāgabhadra, a contemporary of Antialkidas was the king of Vidiśā. (*Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 127.) This 9th Suṅga king (Kāsiputra Bhāgabhadra acc. to the Besnagar inscr.) was succeeded by Devabhūmi who was murdered by Vāsudeva Kāṇva. From Vasudeva, Vidiśā passed to the Śātavāhanas c. 27 (B.C.). Thus about the 1st century B.C. the Śātavāhanas were ruling in Eastern Malwa with their capital at Vidiśā. The Andhra coins suggest that Western Malwa may have been conquered by the Andhras at a much earlier period. (Rapson, *Cat. Ind. Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., p. xciii.)

(a) The last of the Andhras was overwhelmed by the Śaka invasion which started under the Kushāṇas, c. 25 B.C. Rapson

agrees with Cunningham that the Vidiśā coins 'of Besnagar and Eran (i.e. of Ākara, East Malwa, nearly all square, are markedly different¹ from those of Ujain (i.e. of Avanti, West Malwa) being invariably round pieces'. (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. xcii.)

(b) *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, c. 70 A.D., describes Scythia at the apex of the Indus valley as a region torn by Indo-Parthian dissensions (ed. Shroff, pp. 32, 37, 39, 166). Cave No. 3 Nāsik inscr. No. 2 (*EI.*, Vol. VIII, p. 61) records 'Gautamiputra Śrī-Śātakarni destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, rooted out the Kṣaharāta race and restored the Śātavāhana family'. He was an Andhrabhṛtya about 124 A.D. (cf. the Joghalmembhi hoard of 13,250 coins of Nahapāna of which 9,270 restruck by Gautamiputra. Gautamiputra ruled over Ākarāvanti, i.e. Avanti (West Malwa) and Ākara (East Malwa) with Vidiśā as its capital. The Śaka power was again consolidated under two lines of rulers; the 'Northern Satraps' from the Indus to the Jumna, and the 'Western Satraps' in Kathiawar, Gujarat and Malwa. Thus both before and after 124 A.D., Nahapāna of Malwa (including Vidiśā) and Hagāna, Hagāmāśa, Rājūvula, Śoḍāśa, Kharahostes and Kalni of Mathurā before, and the Kṣaharātas of the family of Chaṣṭana in Ujain and Vidiśā, and the Kushāṇas at Mathurā (cf. Gaṇeshrā inscr. Mathurā mound No. 2, 1910-11, JRAS, 1912, p. 122) were related. In the first quarter of the IIIrd century, Malwa (West and East) was in turn ruled by the Western Kṣatrapas under the Kushāṇas and by the Mahārāthis under the Śātavāhanas. (Rapson, *IC.*, p. 23). The same state of affairs was in vogue in the Ist and IIInd centuries; 124 A.D.—Gautamiputra Śātakarni *versus* Nahapāna, 150 A.D.—Rudradāman *versus* Śātakarni. (Rapson, *Cat. Ind. Coins*, p. cxix.) These Mahārāthis of Malwa bear the names of Cuṭu, Nāga and Pallava. (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxv.)

(c) With the weakening of the Kṣatrapas in the 2nd quarter of the IIIrd century, the Nāga Mahārāthis of Eastern Malwa asserted their local supremacy in Vidiśā, while the Western Kṣatrapas continued to issue coins till 348 A.D. Rudrasena III, son of Rudradāman II (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 247). These Vaidiśaka Nāgas are described in the Purāṇas as born of Śeṣa-Nāga.

The evidence of the Purāṇas regarding these local dynasties is so continuous in its chronology (Vā 99, 348-58, 358-65, 366-69) and it is so consistently corroborated by the inscr. and coins referred to above that there must be special reasons for proposing any other arrangement.

An alternative arrangement is suggested by Mr. Jayaswal in his *Hist. of India*, pp. 14-15. His reasons are not convincing.

¹ For an analysis and comparison of the Western and Eastern, i.e. Ujain and Vidiśā Andhras and Kṣatrapas, see Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. clxv-ccviii.

A fatal objection to Mr. Jayaswal's dating of the Vaidiśaka Nāgas (Śeṣa-Bhogin, Rāma-candra, Dharma-varman and Vaṅgara) between 110-90 B.C. is the definite mention of Nakhavān as a past king in the Purāṇa list (Vā 99, 368) as a predecessor of Sadā-candra or Rāma-candra.¹ When Vā, Bd, and Bh all give the name as Nakhavān, Nahapāna (i.e. Nahapāna), it is no use saying that Vṣ omits it. As a matter of fact Mt omits the whole list, from Śeṣa downwards. The reason attributed to Vṣ by Mr. Jayaswal (*op. cit.*, p. 9) that it (Nahapāna) was not to be read in the line of the Nāgas, is gratuitous as none of the Purāṇas takes it that way. The Sanskrit text has been correctly translated by Pargiter as— 'who will be a second Nakhavant (or Nahapāna's offspring)' (*Pur. Text*, p. 72). Nahapāna is thus a predecessor. Mr. Jayaswal offers no explanation for departing from this obvious rendering. In any case Nahapāna (with a long coin series, Rapson, *CIC.*, pp. 65-70) cannot be placed earlier than 119-124 A.D.,² surely not in the 2nd-1st century B.C. Thus the Vaidiśaka Nāgas commencing from Śeṣa have to be placed not earlier than IIInd century A.D., preferably in the 1st quarter of the IIIrd century A.D.

Inscr.

Besides the 4 mentioned in the Purāṇas (Śeṣa,³ Bhogin, Sadācandra, Dhanadharma and Vaṅgara), the following names occur in inscr. pertaining to this locality.—

- (i) Nāga-Nikā (*Arch. Surv. West Ind.*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 64). Nanaghat inscr.
- (ii) Mahārathi Agnimitra-Nāga, (*EI.*, VII, p. 49).
- (iii) Skanda-Nāga-Śātaka or Śivaskanda-Nāga (Kanheri; Lüders List, No. 1021).

'There can be no doubt that the mother of Skanda-Nāga is to be identified with the donor mentioned in the Banavasi inscr. and was the daughter of king Haritiputra Vishnukada Cutu Śātakarnī.' (Rapson, *CIC.*, p. liii.) Kanheri is in Aparānta. The name of the mother is Nāga-Mula-Nikā. In the Banavasi inscr., IIInd century A.D., the king's daughter is named Nāgaśrī and she makes the gift of a Nāga.

The Maṭavalli inscr. of a Kadamba king (No. 1196, Lüders List) mentions Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Carr.*, VII, p. 252). The Nāgas were succeeded by the Pallavas about 225 A.D.-338 A.D. (Bappadeva-

¹ Pargiter, *Pur. Texts*, p. 48.

² Rapson, *CIC.*, p. xxvi.

³ Śeṣa, though called a Nāga-raja, does not appear to have ruled in Vaidiśa, Vā 99, 367.

Viṣṇugopa) near Kāñcī. In Malwa Vaidiśa they found local rivals in Bhūtinanda and others (Vā 99, 369-70).

The interrelation between the Mahārāthi Nāgas and the Kṣaharātas in Aparānta is shown by the following inscr.: (1) Rudradāman's daughter married a Sātakarni (Kanheri); (2) Siva-Skanda-Nāga's daughter married a Pallava who founded the Pallava power (Velūrpālaiyam plates); (3) Rudradāman's minister was a Pallava (Girnar inscr.); (4) Hirahadagalli plates are dated in the reign of Siva-Skanda-Pallava, while the Banavasi inscr. mentions Siva-Skanda-Nāga.

Coins.

In ascribing coins to these Vaidiśaka Nāgas, it is necessary to emphasize that Indian coin-types are essentially local in character. Each locality retains its types, fabric and main characteristics often unchanged not only by changes of dynasty, but even by the transference of power from one race to another. Under the Græco-Indian and Indo-Scythic princes, Guptas and Hūṇas, distinct varieties were in circulation in different districts at the same time. *Provenance* therefore is essential for adequate assignment. Generally speaking Prinsep and Cunningham are correct in tracing Gupta and post-Gupta coin-types directly from the Kushāṇa coinage. Rapson has similarly traced the silver coins of Nahapāṇa, Caṣṭana and successors to the hemi-drachms of the Greek princes of the Panjab who were their predecessors (JC., p. 21). In the latter case, however, a clear distinction can be drawn between the coin-types of Ākara—East Malwa with capital at Vidiśā, and Avanti—West Malwa with capital at Ujain. Thus a distinction could be made between the square coins of Vidiśā and the round ones of Ujain (Rapson, CAI., p. xcii), apart from the wider symbols of 'Chaitya,' 'Ujain symbol,' and 'tree within railing'. On this basis it is possible to affiliate the Andhras, Andhrasbhṛtyas, Eastern Malwa Kṣatrapas and Vaidiśaka Nāgas to an earlier, possibly indigenous, coin-type, whereas the Western Kṣatrapas appear to belong to the Græco-Indian and Indo-Parthian coin-type substantially modified by the Śaka-Kushāṇa coinage of central and western India. Weights also cause no confusion as in every age in India 'The various systems of weight used in India combine uniformity of scale with immense variations in the weight of units' (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, p. vii).¹

Judged by the above criteria, at least one of the coins published as of Nine Nāgas, by Cunningham in CMI., Plate II, Nos. 13-25 is of a Vaidiśaka Nāga. It is the square coin of Vyāghra, No. 22 in the plate. The rest seem to belong to the Nava-Nāga group with centres at Padmāvatī (Narwar),

¹ Rapson, CIC., pp. clxxxi-clxxxii.

Kāntipuri, Mathurā and possibly Champāvati. (Vā 99, 382). The coins of the founder Nava of this later Nāga line contemporary with the early Guptas c. 300-350 A.D. stand in the peculiar position of lingering Vaidiśa affinities and are square,¹ whereas the other Nāga coins on Plate II, Nos. 13-21, 23-25 are round and may belong to the Nava Nāga families further to the north, e.g. Mathurā, whose Kṣatrapas were related to the Western Kṣatrapas of Ujain.

NAVA NĀGAS.

The Purāṇas place the Nava-Nāgas in Padmāvatī, Kāntipuri, Mathurā and possibly Champāvati (Vā 99, 382-88; Vś iv, 24, 18) ruling as contemporaries of the Gupta kings along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa and the Magadhas, and along with other contemporary kings—evidently before 350 A.D. the conquest of Samudragupta. Cunningham was misled by the term Nava and interpreted it as *nine*. He even stretched a point or two in favour of his supposition. Thus in his *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. X, 1880, p. 37, he says: 'There were also amongst them eight specimens of the satraps of Saurāshṭra, eight Nāgas of Narwar, and one coin of Chandra Gupta'. In 1894, in his *Coins of Medieval India*, he published these under the heading 'Nine Nāgas of Narwar', Pl. II, p. 9.

Coin of Nava.

As early as the 7th June, 1837, three coins of Nava were known and confidently read as *Navasa* by Prinsep. Prinsep had the perspicacity to note the peculiarity of the group: 'Another distinct group (that made known first by Mr. Spiers) from Allahabad (pl. xxvi, figs. 12-15, vol. iii, p. 436, see Art. vi)... On three more of the same family, we find ।।। Navasa. On one it seems rather ।।। Narasa, both Nava and Nara being known names. On another ।।। Kunamasa; and on another, probably, ।।। mahāpati, "the great lord", (*Ind. Antiquities* of Prinsep, ed. by E. Thomas, 1858, Vol. II, pp. 3-4).

The facsimile given below will show that this Nava coin of Prinsep is similar to the coin published by V. Smith in *CCIM.*, pl. XXIII, Nos. 15-16, and reproduced by Jayaswal in *Hist. Ind.*, Pl. I, p. 20, and read as *Navasa*.

Coin of Nava Nāgas.

(a) of Padmāvatī.

(i) Deva—(V. Smith, *CCIM.*, p. 178); Cunningham, *CMI.*, Pl. II, 21.

(ii) Ganapati—V. Smith, *CCIM.*, Pl. XXI, 10, c. 350 A.D. Cf. Samudragupta's Allahabad inscr.

¹ The square incuse in a round is significant.

- (iii) Kha + ; Vā + + ;
Bhima;
Bṛhaspati;
Skanda-Nāga. Cunningham, Pl. II, p. 9.
Vyāghra may be a Padmāvatī, descendant of the earlier Vaidiśaka Nāgas.
- (b) of Kāntipuri, Mathurā, Kosam.
 - (i) Traya-Nāga—V. Smith, *CCIM.*, p. 205.
 - (c) of Champāvatī. (Not known.)

'The coins of the other Nāga chiefs are wanting', V. Smith, *CCIM.*, p. 164. Some of them are evidently lying undiscovered in the published coins of various so-called Mālava coins; *CCIM.*, pp. 161-164. This is true for both the Vaidiśaka Nāgas and the Nava Nāgas. The commentary on Vātsāyana's Kāmasūtra (IIInd-IIIInd century A.D.), adhikarana 3 explains the term Mālava as properly East Malwa, West Malwa being called 'the country of Ujjain'. The similarity in fabric between the coins of the Mālavas and of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī has been pointed out by Cunningham, Fleet and Rapson.¹ A careful re-reading of the coin-legends may supply further information² regarding more of these Nāga kings and incidentally the fiscal arrangements of these Hindu Native States of the IIInd, IIIInd and IVth centuries A.D.

Inscr.

The Gupta inscr. often mention the Nāgas as local rulers in the IVth-Vth centuries A.D.

- (i) Nāgas defeated by Samudragupta. Fleet, *GI.*, pp. 12, 13. Ganapati-Nāga; probably Nāgadatta and Nāgasena. *Ibid.*
- (ii) Nāgas defeated by Skandagupta; *GI.*, p. 62 and n.
- (iii) Nāgas defeated by Tīvaradeva; *GI.*, p. 283.
- (iv) Mahārāja Maheśvaranāga of the Nāga race.

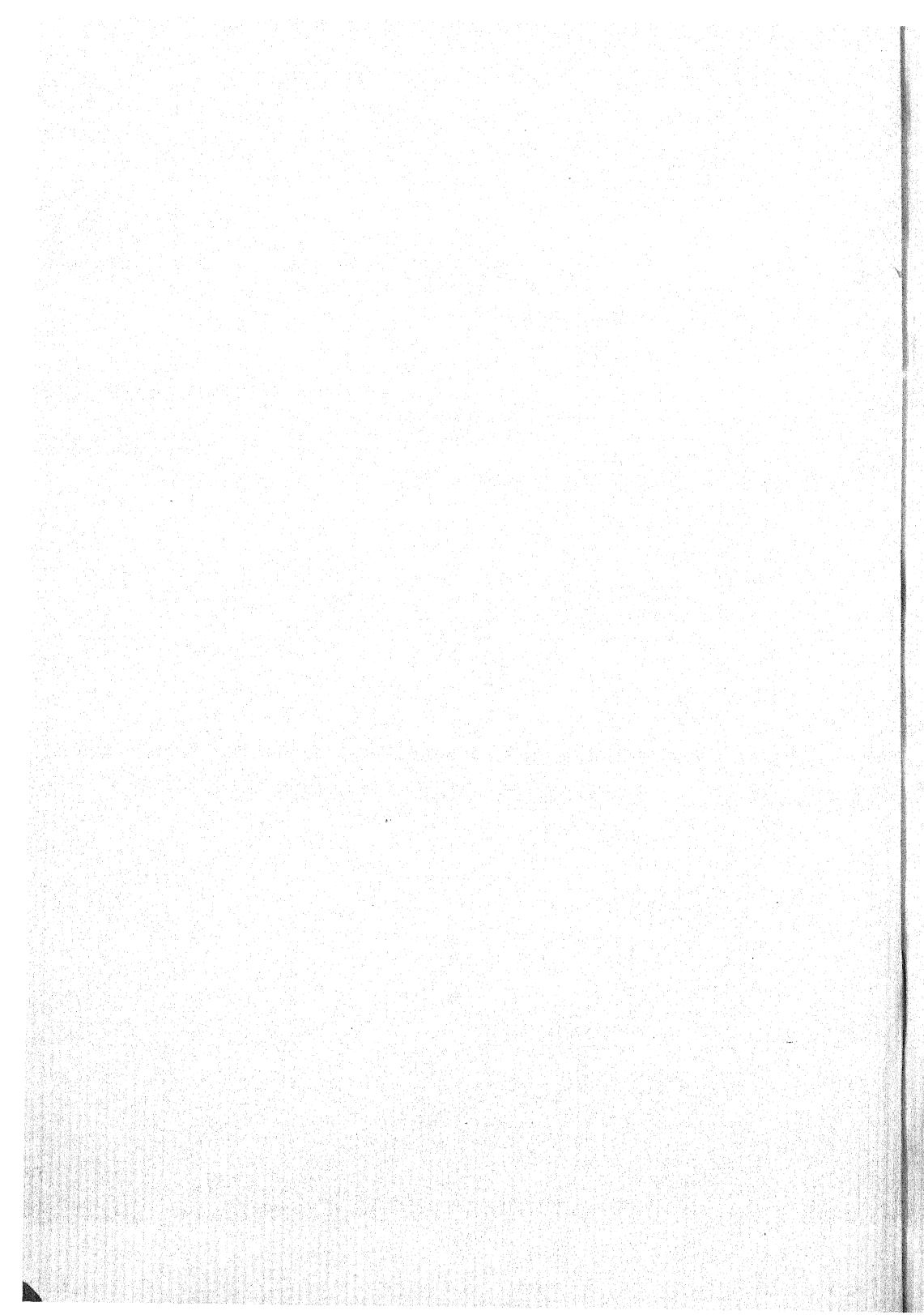
No more is heard in the VIth-VIIth centuries A.D. in the plains of Northern India, regarding the independent existence of these local Nāga dynasties, tribes or families. In Kashmir, however, the Nāga dynasty of Durlabha, (c. 625 A.D.) counts at least 8 rulers for about 125 years with a coin-type based on the Śaka through the Gupta, Chandragupta II Vikramāditya having annexed Vidiśa in the year 401 A.D. (Udayagiri Hill inscr.)³ *

¹ Rapson, *IC.*, p. 13; V. Smith, *CCIM.*, p. 164.

² Jayaswal, *Hist. Ind.*, pp. 24-28.

³ Fleet, *GI.*, pp. 16-25.

* This article is published without the plate describing the Genealogy of Śaka-Kushāna Coinage. The plate has been omitted owing to the rubbings of most of the coins being imperfect and unsuitable for reproduction.—A.B.S.



The Vaghers of Okhamandal.

By S. T. MOSES.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. GUHA.)

The Okhamandal district was the first to be surveyed, soon after my assuming charge as the Director of Fisheries, Baroda State, and among its inhabitants, the historic and interesting community of Vaghers early attracted my attention. During the recent Pearl fishery which was organized more as a relief work for the Vaghers, I was brought into frequent and intimate contact with them. This paper embodies the information collected about them and the results of my observations. Hundred men had their anthropometric, etc. measurements taken.

THE CASTE AND ITS TRADITIONAL ORIGIN.

The Vaghers are undoubtedly among the earliest inhabitants of Okhamandal, a district which receives its name 'Okha: bad, Mandal: district' from the barren and unpicturesque nature of the country and the atrocities of the residents in the past. The older and more correct derivation is from Okha, the beautiful daughter of Banasur the king of Arabia Felix, to whom Anirudh, the grandson of Krishna, the Yadava king of Dwaraka, was sold as a slave by pirates. Okha fell in love with the slave and the illicit intimacy infuriated Banasur who threw Anirudh into a dungeon. Krishna came out with a rescue party, defeated Banasur, had the marriage ceremony performed legally, and returned to Dwarka with Anirudh and his bride who gave her name to the district.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Okhamandal are the ancestors of the Vaghers, who were divided into three tribes all of whom were supposed to have sprung from the 'dirt' of God; Kabas from the sweat of the shoulders, Modas from that of the face and Kalas from that of the waist. These are alluded to in the Greek history of over 2,000 years ago. The Kabas were famed in the days of Krishna as the savage inhabitants of Saurashtra, now named Kathiawar. The Kalas are said to be the direct ancestors of the present-day Vaghers. There has, however, been great admixture, particularly with races of Rajput origin.

The earliest conqueror of Okhamandal was the mighty king of the Yadavas, the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, who left Muttra with his army and subjugated Okhamandal after a hard struggle with the Kabas, etc. He established his capital at

Dwaraka, now a famous centre of pilgrimage with its 'Krishna' temple built by his grandson's grandson Vajranabh. Many are the legends current about the origin of the Vaghers. A demon Kashasura who harassed Krishna while sporting in the river Gumti near Dwaraka was severely punished by him. The unfortunate demon was crushed and forced into the earth. The first to issue from this hollow was a man imbued with all the traits of the buried demon and this was the ancestral Vagher. Another story is connected with the Gopis of Krishna and Arjuna. Once, in a peevish mood, the Gopis left Krishna and went away to Gopitalav (it was here that they drowned themselves later, when they heard the news of the death of their Lord) at Samleshar near Mulvel. Arjuna was sent to make peace and persuade the Gopis to return. The delicate nature of the errand made Arjuna vain and so Krishna, to humble him, created four males from the sweat of his body and these robbed Arjuna and the Gopis of all their belongings. The progeny of these four are the Kaba and the Kala ancestors of the Vaghers.

Originally two Rajput clans, Herol and Chowra, are said to have ruled over Okhamandal. Later Rathors, when banished from Marwar, wended their way to Okhamandal at the invitation of both these clans, who desired them to settle their feuds. At a feast the Rathors treacherously attacked the Rajputs and those who survived were forced by circumstances to take refuge with the Vaghers and get incorporated with them. Later a Vadhel prince of Cutch was enamoured of a Herol girl brought up in a Vagher family and this marriage, disliked by the other Rajputs as a mesalliance with an inferior and despised tribe also called in those days 'Machiaras' or fishermen, united all the three tribes together, though the descendants of that couple have the title 'Manek', a name prominent in later history. Besides Manek other surnames the Vaghers have are Bhagar, Bhataad, Dima, Gad, Hathal, Kara or Kala, Ker, Sumania, Choobani, Siriya, Gigla, Kere, Jam, Jegatiya, Dugaya, Baya, etc. each of which represents a division.

THE NAME 'VAGHER' AND ITS ORIGIN.

The word Vagher is usually split into 'Va' : a prefix meaning without, and 'Gher' : smell, and refers to the criminal tendencies of the tribe who were as sanguinary as the tiger, which is said to be devoid of the sense of smell. Another legend explains the name differently. Once a god visited Okhamandal and found it unbearably hot. The area today is so very windswept that even the trees are unable to stand erect and are bent all in the same direction, i.e. towards the temple, an ocular proof that even trees in Okhamandal pay obeisance to Dwarakanath. The heat was very intensive and he demanded to be fanned by the men who surrounded him exclaiming 'Vagher'. 'Va'

means wind and 'Gher' is the imperative form of the verb 'Ghervu': surround. They kept the breeze going around him and when he had been cooled down, he was so pleased with the ministrations of the people that he bestowed upon them the appellation 'Vagher'.

OCCUPATIONS.

The original occupation of the Vaghers was fishing, as it is in certain parts even today. From a peaceful fishing tribe, the natural conditions of the country developed them into turbulent freebooters ever ready for piracy or broil. Outlawry and robbery are neither easy nor attractive today and the persuasions of the authorities have succeeded in making them adopt the honourable and legitimate profession of agriculturists. Many follow fishing and pearl-fishing or sailing as a side-occupation in addition to looking after their lands. Vaghers who boast of high descent repudiate all connection with the fishing occupation. In fact it is an old insult which Emperor Aurangzeb repeated when he told Shamla, a Vagher chief, 'You are not a Manek but a Machiara'. The Emperor made fun of fishing and asked the chief to show him his art. The chief stood before the Emperor with all his implements and queried 'Should I kill the large fish or the small fish ?'. Aurangzeb, it is said, pacified him by granting him his request to release some prisoners.

The Vaghers of Dwaraka, for instance, are fishers and use cast-nets as also hook and line. They also introduce poison into tanks or banded portions of the river and catch the intoxicated fish. The general antipathy towards fish-killing and fish-eating is so great that these Vagher fishermen were afraid to come with their catches to the Dwaraka resthouse where we were camping, lest the orthodox should beat them. But all the same, even the fish-catching Vaghers were ready to join in the defence of their temple when a false rumour about intended desecration with fish was started. At the November fair 'Annakot' in the Dwaraka temple, a special feature is the offering of various food-dishes with which the inner temple is filled. My first visit to Dwaraka was at a time when there was a slight excitement about the visit of the Harijan Sevak Sangh there. The idea of a Government department being constituted for fishery work being novel, a curious rumour spread that fish caught under Government orders were to be taken as offerings by the Harijans to the temple !

Pearl-fishing is, however, of a recent date. The Jamnagar Vaghers, who are Muslims, are divers and they fish for true pearl-oysters in the Jamnagar seas. In the Baroda waters, the oysters fished are the window-pane oysters, whose existence was discovered by Mr. James Hornell in 1905. Pearl-fishing here is mere wading and picking up of oysters, at low tide, particularly on the days of major spring tides when great areas

of the shallow seas are exposed. The fisher—the work is done by men usually, though a few women also join—with crude mocassins of rough hide, shod on his feet, to prevent their damage by cuts from the sharp-edged shells, and cruder gloves fitted to his right hand, forces his way into the mire with a stout stick, with which he plumbs the depth and feels his way. A gunny hangs by a rope slung across his shoulder and when the oysters are felt by the feet, he picks them up by hand and puts them into the gunny bag. At the end of every period of 10 days or less favourable for pearl-fishing and just before the next, the workers offer cocoanuts and burn incense sticks before stone 'Matas' housed very crudely in a field on the outskirts of the village. This ceremony is believed to ensure a good yield of pearls. As pirates, the Vaghers, with other sea-faring tribes of Kathiawar, were the terrors of the Arabian Sea and gave trouble to all governments till recently. Today, however, their main business is agriculture, but the poorer Vaghers do cooly work, they give carts on hire, and cut wood from the outskirts of Okhamandal for sale, etc. They are very useful as guides and the cartman will protect his clients even at the cost of his life. Any Vagher who does not do so, will be looked down upon by the community. Once a Vagher cart is engaged, there is no danger, however lonely and difficult the way, of being robbed by Vaghers or anybody else.

The Vaghers enjoy their lands under the Salami tenure, which requires them to pay only one rupee per annum for a Santi or 48 bighas of land. The conditions are that the Salami holder should own a pair of bullocks and a set of agricultural implements and must behave himself. Participation in any outlawry or rebellion against Government entails forfeiture of the lands, which can never be alienated by mortgage, sale or gift. The staple crops sown are Tel, Bajri and Jovar and these are grown in the monsoon only. The early arrival of the monsoon last year (1938) diverted the pearl-fishers to their fields and thus reduced the output of the recent pearl-fishery which lasted from the end of May to the end of July. Agricultural work commences with every labourer, man and woman, tying to his or her wrist, usually the left, but often also the right, a magic thread, coloured, sold to them by priests, after some incantations. The poorer women do outdoor work in the fields and help their husbands in cutting bushes, etc. for fuel, or in fishing or pearl-fishery work. They do all the household work and fetch water from the well. Water is not only scarce but also saltish, except in places like Varvala. Wells are sunk in sites chosen by expert Vagher water-diviners. Their qualification is, curiously enough, their posthumous birth. The five sweetwater wells near Dwaraka, where the water is brackish, are attributed to five arrows sent by Rama which descended and tapped the correct freshwater sources.

FOOD, DRINK, ETC.

Jowar and Bajri are the main articles of diet. Meat (mutton) is taken as also fish. Milk is taken, camel's milk included. The Vaghers do not eat fowl, beef or pork, nor do eggs enter their dietary. The Gho (monitor) is not eaten though the flesh of the Gho as of the Conch is used in medicine. The men do not drink intoxicating liquors as a rule though they may take opium dissolved in water. They honour the guest by squeezing on his palm a few drops of this fluid from cotton kept in a small vessel and soaked in this solution. The men smoke but ordinarily the women do not. Tobacco is used both for chewing and for snuffing. Some, especially, women discolour their teeth by rubbing snuff on them.

DRESS.

The men wear a turban, a loose coat and baggy trousers which is tight in the lower portion, and shoes, often substantial and countrymade. The coat which has very long arms, has innumerable stitches describing quaint patterns and carry no buttons but are held together by the tying together of 4 thin bands in the usual Gujarati style. The pants consume more cloth than necessary. The women wear a petticoat usually of coarse cloth, a long-sleeved bodice covering the bosom and the shoulders, which is backless and a *sadi*. The petticoat and the bodice are usually of brightly coloured cloth. The bodice is of differently coloured cloths, the brightest colour marking the exact portion enclosing the bosom proper. It is open behind and is fastened by thread or strings of cloth behind, an economical procedure in great contrast to the enormous waste of cloth in the men's apparel. Ready-made Vagher dresses, coats and pants, are sold in shops at Dwaraka for Rs.1-8 or so. The men of the labouring classes are dirty in their habits and bathe, if at all they do, in their clothes which they wear ceaselessly till they are worn out and fall off in rags. They, however, anoint their hair with oil and comb it before they wrap a headscarf round or put on the huge turban, even it may be a dirty one. Richer females wear ornaments, bangles, ivory, silver and gold and silver anklets, gold ear ornaments (*todio*), etc. and nose-rings (*vindo*, *fulbai*, etc.). The males do not wear any, but small boys wear silver waistlet and rings.

GAMES, ENTERTAINMENTS, ETC.

Both men and women are usually musical. They are patrons of family bards (Barots) who, as strolling players visit villages, perform dramas and sing songs glorifying the deeds of

Vagher chiefs and outlaws. One favourite game of the men is Hargarivadi or Hututu.¹ It is usually played with 6 a side but there can be any number of players, the number being the same both sides. A line is drawn across the middle of an open space and 2 umpires, usually old people, sit at the ends of the line to declare decisions. Each side in turn sends a player into the enemy's country. The invader rushes in humming a tune and if he touches any player of the opposite side and reaches the line without being made captive, the player touched is out and has to stand out of the game till one of the opposite party is out. One down in the opposite camp means the revival of a captive in the other. If on the other hand the invading player is caught within the enemy's territory and is unable to reach the line he is out. The game is over when all players on one side are out. It is played with dash and good nature, and the whole village comes out to see the tamasha. The good-natured sallies and the witty remarks of the spectators are taken in good spirit all round. The womenfolk often during moonlit nights have their 'Garba' when they sing in chorus clapping hands in unison and going round and round in a circle.

TALK.

The speech of the Vaghers is a jumble of Gujarati and Cutchi, all 'wrong talk' as quaintly characterized by my Gujarati peon who could not understand them. It is a mongrel speech and intelligible to those in long residence there. Kathiawadi speech by itself has many phonetic and grammatical peculiarities to distinguish it from Gujarati and when the Vaghers mix with it a corrupt form of their so-called mother-tongue the Cutchi dialect, the result is 'Babel'. 'What is this' is 'Kuro Ay'. 'Where are you going' is 'Kathi vindo'. 'Will you accompany me' is 'Koti vindo'. 'I am ready to come' is 'Ach mo ay', and 'I' is 'Mave'. Their talk is not usually refined or polite and they do seem to be proud. They use the second person singular 'Thu' when talking even to men of high rank but while speaking about themselves use 'Ame' the first person plural! They usually make a military salute (salaam) when State officers visit their villages and make fun of the usual salaam current in all States, tendered by other officials who lower themselves to the ground and make a series of rapid salaams. The womenfolk greet their relatives by cracking their fingers on the temples or on the headscarf just above. Education does not seem to have made much progress among them but some have even studied Sanskrit and are well read in the Shāstrās. One is a graduate of the Bombay University and is in the employ of the State.

¹ Compare Hādūdū in Bengal. Ed.

RELIGION.

The Vaghers are Hindus. How often they may worship Dwarkadish at other times, one day in the year—it was the 8th June last year 1938—all the Vaghers from various places congregate, bathe in the Gumti and worship in the temple at Dwaraka. As is the case with many other Hindus, the Vaghers go to the tombs of Muhammadan saints for the cure of diseases. The Jamnagar Vaghers are Muslims and an authoritative statement that the Hindu Vaghers, while strict as regards dining, have no objection to (and do) give their daughters to Muslims who can pay for them is indignantly denied.

MARRIAGE, DIVORCE, ETC.

The marriage which is usually arranged by the parents is preceded by a betrothal. The marriageable age is from 15 to 20. The bride is generally 14 and the groom about 17. Small girls are not married, post-puberty marriage being the rule. The bride is generally the daughter of the father's sister or the mother's brother. The marriage ceremonies are in no way different from those of the surrounding castes, Brahmin priests officiating here as well. The bridegroom and the parents have to, in one ceremony, drink the milk in which the bride's toes are washed! There is no polyandry. Men seldom marry more than one wife though they are not limited in this respect and polygamy is allowed. Divorce is easy. A man can divorce his wife by writing a slip and giving her a dismissal order 'Rajinama' (resignation). The divorce is recorded in writing in the presence of elders and witnesses and the written document is entrusted to a third party for safe keeping. The divorced woman is free to marry but the new husband has to pay a small fee called 'Vel' to the old husband. Dead bodies are usually burnt but small children receive a burial.

CHARACTERISTICS, PHYSICAL, ETC.

The men are hefty and of medium stature. The analysis of the heights of 100 individuals taken is as follows: 5' 1": 3, 5' 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ": 7, 5' 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ": 2, 5' 3": 13, 5' 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ": 9, 5' 5": 7, 5' 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ": 11, 5' 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ": 29, 5' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ": 16, and 5' 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ ": 3. The men are fine-looking, particularly the old men who part the beard in the middle, and if luxuriant, curl the ends up behind the ears. Among the pearl-fishery workers was an old woman who had a beard tuft and she was always seen to smooth it down with her hand as if to direct every one's attention to her peculiarity. If the men are sturdy, bold and capable of enduring any amount of fatigue, the women are equally well-built and are also hardworking. The Vaghers are, by nature, restless and turbulent but have now very much settled

down, though formerly their impatience under control and predatory instincts made them a continual source of anxiety to the authorities.

ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS.

The head as well as nasal measurements were taken on 100 individuals. The analysis of the cephalic indices is as follows: 76.9: 11, 79.1: 3, 80: 5, 80.9: 4, 81: 3, 81.2: 7, 81.5: 3, 82.2: 17, 82.5: 9, 83.2: 15, 84.2: 8, 84.5: 6, and 86.4: 9. The analysis of the nasal indices is as follows: 57.5: 1, 63.1: 8, 72.4: 3, 73.6: 10, 74: 14, 77.7: 13, 78.4: 9, 80: 11, 82.9: 12, 83.3: 11, 85.4: 7, and 100: 1.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

VIKRAMPURER ITIHAS (IN BENGALI). HISTORY OF VIKRAMPUR,
PART I. By SJ. JOGENDRANATH GUPTA. Second edition.
Royal Octavo, pp. xxx+370+28. Well printed on thick
antique paper. Published by Sj. Sudhansu Sekhar Gupta
from P. 651-A, Mahanirvana Road, Calcutta. Price Rs.6.

The first edition of the work came out in 1316 B.S., i.e. thirty years ago, and it has taken more than a quarter of a century for its 2,200 to get sold out. A rather chilling prospect for writers of historical works! Sj. Gupta is to be heartily congratulated on the fact that he has succeeded in bringing out a second and much improved edition, though entirely at his own expense and after the lapse of such a long period. The Pargana of Vikrampur, now cut into two by the Kirttināśā or the Padmā river and incorporated into the adjacent districts of Dacca and Faridpur, is one of the most cultured and thickly inhabited portions of Bengal and contains scores of High English schools and one second-grade college. The great personal and pecuniary sacrifices of Sj. Gupta should certainly evoke sympathetic and admiring appreciation from the Heads of these institutions who can hardly find a better prize-book for their boys than the book under review.

The present reviewer was a college student when the first edition of this book came out in 1910, and he still remembers with delight the avidity with which he went through its pages and also the chorus of appreciation with which the book was hailed. As a local history, it was a pioneering work of great merit and fully deserved the praise that was bestowed on it. But thirty years is a long period and the pace of new archaeological discoveries and scholarship has been amazingly quick in Bengal and I wish I could say that the author, busy as he is with his different literary activities, has been able to keep up with that pace. The author in his preface (p. xiii) claims that in writing the history of Vikrampur, he has not confined himself to the history of that Pargana, but has attempted to write the history of the entire province of Bengal, because Vikrampur is identical with ancient Vanga, which again has given its name to the entire province. The reasoning is fallacious as ancient Vanga was undoubtedly a much bigger unit; and the historian of a small Pargana of that unit has hardly any justification for attempting the history not only of the entire unit but of the whole province to which its name was latterly transferred. The historians of Bogra, Faridpur, Malda, Nadia and Hooghly can with equally good reasoning set about writing the history of the entire province because these districts

had been the seats of the capital cities of Paundravardhana, Kotālipād, Laksmaṇāvati, Nadia and Saptagrāma. It is high time that the writers of district and Pargana histories understood their proper scope and what is expected of them. When the history of their locality merges into the general provincial history, they are quite welcome to give greater freedom to their pens, but even then, the bearing of the general provincial history on the local history and antiquities should be stressed upon and given greater prominence. Of late, we have seen some laborious but futile attempts at Bengal-history-writing, and the huge amount of industry and money (in one instance, public money) spent in those attempts can hardly be called anything else than wasted. Such a task is almost impossible of performance without proper and lifelong equipment, and it becomes doubly such when the writer attempts to write the history of all the periods of Bengal's history single-handed, without sufficient grounding in archæology in general and epigraphy and numismatics in particular, both Muslim and pre-Muslim.

Our author's knowledge of the topography and antiquities of the area, the history of which he attempts, is unrivalled and he is eminently readable, nay fascinating, when the local colouring prevails; but he is not often out of his depths when he strays into provincial history. He is undoubtedly the pioneer explorer of the area, and the glory of the pioneer will always be his. It is fervently to be hoped that he would bear his limitations in mind when he attempts to bring out the promised second part of his work.

The greater portion of the first chapter deals with the topography of Vikrampur and is generally well-written and informative. The statement (p. 6) that Vikrampur was included in the kingdom of Samatata, and the speculations on the geographical locality of that ancient kingdom are hardly happy. Those who want to include the Bengal sea-coast within that kingdom forget one very simple fact. Samudra Gupta's panegyrist includes it in the list of the *Pratyanta*, i.e. frontier kingdoms lying outside the boundary of his vast empire and no tract on this (the west) side of the great Meghnā or the Brahmaputra river can be included in a frontier kingdom.

We have nothing but praise for the second chapter dealing with the flora and fauna of Vikrampur and the third chapter dealing with the people of Vikrampur, their caste and religion.

The fourth chapter deals with the early history of India and gives a brief sketch of all the dynasties that ruled in succession, up to Harshavardhana and Śasāṅka,—an unnecessary prelude in a Pargana history. The Brahmi inscription from Mahasthan is needlessly dragged in and its reading given from Dr. Bhandarkar's version, totally ignoring the more correct version of Dr. Barua. A fairly long account of the Palas then

follow, though these rulers had hardly anything to do with Vikrampur. The author attempts to put together everything known about the great Buddhist preacher Dipaṅkara-śrī under the honest belief that the great scholar was a son of Vikrampur, though he fails to adduce any convincing proof that he was really so. Historians should always try to rise above local patriotism. The name is almost always very loosely written as Dipaṅkara-śrijñāna, a mistake repeated by most Bengali writers. The correct form of the name would appear to be Dipaṅkara-śrī and he was called Jñāna-atiśa (the great lord of knowledge) for his learning. The statement about Dipaṅkara-śrī being born in the village of Vajrayogini in Vikrampur has nothing to support it except the fact that a site in the village is still known as *Nāstik-pāñdīter-Bhīṭā* (the atheist scholar's homestead). The identification of this atheist scholar with Dipaṅkara-śrī is hardly logical. That the name of the great scholar really ended in śrī is also borne out by the fact that his father is called Kalyāna-śrī and his son is named Punya-śrī.

The political history proper of Vikrampur really begins with the rise of the Chandras, the most distinguished of whom appears to have been Śrī-Chandra, of whom no less than four copper-plate grants have been hitherto discovered. The rise of Śrī-Vikramapura as a capital town along with the rise of the Chandras is dealt with in the fifth chapter. Kanti Deva of the Chittagong plate is totally ignored and the author knows of only three copper-plates of Śrī-Chandra. The Dhullā plate, of which there is a good notice in Mr. N. G. Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, is totally ignored in the body of the book, a defect sought to be belatedly made good in the appendix. The geographical position of Samatata is again discussed in this chapter with no better result. Bakarganj, Dacca, Faridpur, Tippera and Noakhali are all sought to be included in Samatata, the *pratyanta* kingdom of Samudra Gupta's time, and thus made into an impossible geographical unit.

The inscribed image reproduced against page 172 and described as the inscribed image from Bāghāurā is really a very much later image from Kewār.

P. 173, line 4—'Buddhāradhi' should be corrected to 'Buddhardhi', i.e. Buddha+Rddhi.

The Guptas and the Khadgas are needlessly dragged in in this chapter. That the copper-plates of Devakhadga were really issued from their capital at Karmmanta is now admitted by all scholars and some puerile old controversy on the subject is needlessly discussed in pages 184 and 185.

The Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena is undoubtedly of his 61st year and the author on page 212 makes it of the 31st year following the erroneous reading of Mr. R. D. Banerji.

Rohitāgiri of the plates of Śrī-Chandra (page 217) is probably not Rhotasgarh of Sahabād, but the Lalmai Hill of Tipperā. The well-known name of the former is Rohitāśva-gad (fort of Rohitāśva) and the hill called Rohitā is likely to be different.

The sixth chapter deals with the Varmma kings of Vikram-pur. The author is totally ignorant of the fact that a new copper-plate (fragmentary) of Samala Varmma was found at Vajrayogini and published by the present reviewer in the Bengali journal *Bhāratbarṣa*, several years ago. He also does not know that the lost plate of Harivarmma was hunted up by the present reviewer and a fresh reading published in the same journal three years ago. The plate is actually undated, whereas the late Mr. N. Vasu made it out to be of the 42nd year of Harivarmma, thus creating a terrible confusion in the Varmma chronology. The reading of the plate published by the late Mr. Vasu is also wrong in many vital particulars. It is really very careless of the author to ignore these two new sources in writing the history of the Varmmas of Vikram-pur. The seal of the Belaba plate of Bhojavarmma has been reproduced against page 220 in an inverted manner. The royal *mudra* of Viṣṇuchakra is clear in the picture, though the author says on page 222 that it has disappeared. The whole chapter requires re-writing.

The seventh chapter deals with the Senas. The erroneous chronology of Mr. R. D. Banerji is sometimes followed and sometimes rejected, with the result that the whole chapter is a mass of confusion. On page 247, Vijaya Sena is made to rule only 35 years when his plate is clearly dated in his 61st year. On page 278, Vallala correctly dies about 1185 A.D. but on page 287 his son Lakṣmaṇa is finished even before the father in 1170, following the impossible chronology attempted to be set up by Mr. R. D. Banerji. The provincial patriotism of the author, like many other writers in Bengal, makes him averse to admit that Lakṣmaṇa Sena did actually fly from Nadia on the invasion of the place by Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar; but the correct chronology of the king (1185-1206 on page 296 and 1204 on page 305) accepted in places makes the fact almost a certainty.

P. 307, the Madanpād plate of Visvarupa, said to have been lost, is now in the Dacca Museum.

The eighth chapter deals with Daśaratha Deva and the Muslim conquest and is well written.

The ninth chapter, dealing with the topography of the ancient city of Śrī-Vikramapura and the archaeological treasures discovered in the area covered by the ruins, is very interesting. The map of the old city against page 330 is taken from the reviewer's 'Iconography' without acknowledgment. The measurement of the old tanks (pp. 359-360) on the site is also taken from the same book without acknowledgment. These are

undoubtedly oversights, as acknowledgments to him are really generous and numerous.

The translation of the inscription on the Kewar image (p. 362) is made on the basis of the reviewer's first defective reading. The correct reading appeared in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, which has been quoted, but the translation remains uncorrected!

P. 363, Harivarmma Deva's plate is now in the Dacca Museum, and not lost, as stated by the author.

The plate reproduced against page 368 is really that of the inscribed image from Bāghāurā and not from Kewār, as stated.

The inscribed image of Sadāśiva, referred to on page 20 of the appendix, is in the Indian Museum and not in the Dacca Museum, as stated. But the mistake is really not of the author but of the compiler of the Kern Institute Bibliography.

As in duty bound, the reviewer has pointed out some of the defects of the book. But he has nothing but admiration for the perseverance, industry and tenacity of the author, the great pioneer scholar of the reviewer's land of birth. The plates (41) are excellent and well-chosen. The absence of an index, however, is much to be regretted.

N. K. BHATTASALI.

TRI SINHALA: THE LAST PHASE, 1796-1815. By P. E. PIERIS.
Pp. xiii+248, Colombo, 1939.

The history of European intercourse with Ceylon may be described as a grand trilogy having for its theme the gradual, but inevitable, absorption of the island under foreign rule. In the early 16th century the Portuguese, those dauntless pioneers of empire-building in the East under the *aegis* of modern European powers, planted their victorious flag in Ceylon. Their career was closed after a century and a half of brilliant achievement, when the intrepid Hollanders became the heirs of their greatness, only to be ousted another century and a half later by the British power.

In two previous works, *Ceylon, the Portuguese Era* and *Ceylon and the Hollanders*, the zealous author has traced the two earlier phases of the drama. In the present work, which owes its title to one of the characteristic designations of the Sinhalese kings (*Tri Sinhala Adhisvara*), he portrays with equal vividness and pathos the story of the last phase. His narrative, based almost exclusively upon the archives of the Public Record Office in London, seeks to tell 'the true history' of this period, stripped of its outgrowth of extraneous matter. In this attempt, it must be admitted, he has attained undoubted success. His

attitude is that of a Sinhalese patriot lamenting the collapse of 'the kingship which had lasted for twenty-four hundred years'. But his patriotic zeal never leads him to gloss over inconvenient facts. On the contrary, he attempts to explain them in the light of contemporary Sinhalese (and English) laws and public manners, and, with less justice, of the provisions of the ancient Hindu Law as depicted in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Witness his discussion of the responsibility for the slaughter of European and other prisoners at Kandy in 1803 (pp. 66-69), his criticism of the Kandy King's treatment of the traitorous minister Ehelopola's family (pp. 142-43 and App. H), his remarks on the punishment of the ten spies which immediately provoked the final war of conquest (p. 148 and App. J and K). For the rest he tells in simple unadorned style the full story of the sordid intrigues of the Chief Minister Pilima Talavuva¹ culminating in General Macdowal's² abortive mission to Kandy in 1800, which was followed by the ill-fated British invasion of the kingdom in support of a rival candidate for the throne, Muddu Svami.³ Equally full is the story of the subsequent treasonable intrigues of Sinhalese chiefs and ministers with the English, the fruit of which was seen in the comparative ease with which the Kandy kingdom was at last won for the British Empire in 1815. Fourteen Appendices (including, besides those above-mentioned, an informing note on the Regalia of the Kings of Kandy) and an Index enhance the value of the work. The frontispiece consists of a unique drawing reproduced from the Colombo Museum collection, showing the three principal Sinhalese chiefs in conference with the English secretary of the Colombo Government in the Hall of Audience of the Kings of Kandy on the 19th March, 1815.

We offer a few suggestions for improvement of this valuable work in case a second edition is called for. There should be a glossary of Sinhalese terms used by the author along with at least one map of Ceylon of the kind given in J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Vols. V and XI at the end. The history of the British conquest of Kandy should be completed by the narrative of the suppression of the rebellion (1817-18) which at one time assumed such serious proportions as to make the Ceylon Governor twice call for reinforcements from India. An attempt should be made to consider the discrepancy of the author's figures for the unfortunate English garrison at Kandy with those of Fortescue: 'Thirty European officers and men, three hundred Malays, twelve Bengal lascars and thirty Indian pioneers' (Pieris, p. 65); 'Fourteen British officers, twenty

¹ Misspelt *Pelime Talauve* in Fortescue, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, Ch. V.

² *Macdowall* in Fortescue, *loc. cit.*

³ Misspelt *Moottoo Sawmy*, *ibid.*

British soldiers, about one hundred lascars, two hundred and fifty Malays' (Fortescue, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 154).

U. N. GHOSHAL.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

Vol. II. SANSKRIT POETESSES. Part A. (Select verses.) With a supplement on Prakrit Poetesses. By JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, Ph.D. (London). With an English Introduction by Roma Chaudhuri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.). Published by the author, 3, Federation Street, Calcutta. Crown 16mo, pp. i-xciii+1-198. Price: Indian, Rs.5 ; Foreign 7/6.

The present volume with a somewhat confusing title is an anthology of select Sanskrit and Prakrit verses belonging to as many as 42 poetesses. The verses, about 150 in number, are culled from different rhetorical works and anthologies, published as well as unpublished. 'The work is divided into three parts. The first part contains an introduction in English giving information about the personal histories, dates, works and trends of thoughts of the poetesses. In the second part are given some select verses of the Sanskrit and Prakrit poetesses, with annotations and references. The English translation of the verses is given in the third part, followed by ten appendices.'

The plan of the work is attractive but the execution is unfortunately not so satisfactory. The introduction is well written and contains much useful information, though one may not agree with all the views expressed there especially with the interpretations of Sanskrit quotations and verses of the text. It gives critical and historical accounts of not only the poetesses, whose verses have been published in the volume, but also of other poetesses, old and modern. The references to the sources of information, particularly in connection with the personal history of some of the poetesses are meagre and insufficient. A comparatively recent Sanskrit work, the *Guruparamparācaritra* of Rāmakṛṣṇa, which contains interesting traditional accounts about some of the poetesses, might have yielded useful materials ; but this has not been utilized. The accounts of the modern poetesses are also rather scrappy and the list is palpably incomplete. It is not clear as to why Anasūyā Kamalā Bai Bapat, authoress of a ritualistic work (p. lix), is included in the list of modern poetesses. The principles followed in the selection of the poets dealt with have not been explained. As a matter of fact, there are numerous references to Sanskrit poetesses and authoresses and it is really difficult to do justice to all of them and give a complete account of the contributions

of women to Sanskrit literature. But a sincere attempt may be made to prepare a comprehensive bibliography of women writers in Sanskrit.

In the second part of the work the verses are arranged not according to the subject-matter as is usually the practice in works of anthology but under the names of poetesses, which in their turn have been arranged alphabetically. The indication of the subject-matter made in thick headlines over the verses is not always expressive and happy. The editor could have given more suitable and appropriate headings. In some cases, e.g. in the case of verse 139, the heading is clearly wrong. The use of the term *vrajyā* (group) to refer to one particular verse (as in the case of verse 2 as well as verse 3) is rather curious. The language of the headlines should have been either Sanskrit or English. But though these have been put in Devanāgarī characters, inflections have not generally been used. The lavish and unusual use of hyphens to distinguish between different parts of a compound word has been carried to the extreme—even to a ludicrous extent.

The third part of the volume containing translation of the verses is extremely disappointing. There are very few verses that have been translated correctly or literally. It bristles with errors of omission as well as of commission. The subtle touches of the original are seldom expressed in the translations which, though generally very free, are not always sensible, clear and attractive. The attempt to translate from corrupt and obscure texts has not been happy and in fact it was hardly necessary, as detailed summaries of the verses have been given in the introduction under respective poets. This is not the place to discuss in details all the numerous defects of the translation. Attention, however, may be drawn to a few and the most palpable of them.

Verse 4d, ननु त्वं मयैवानुवेद्यः । 'It is I who should plead with you.'
Correct—'entreat you'.

V. 25cd, अर्पितवान् भूमिषतो मारकतं वचयुग्मकं सुदर्शोः । 'Presented the eyebrows to the beautiful eyes under the guise of a pair of umbrellas.'
Correct—'a pair of emerald umbrellas under the guise of the eyebrows'.

V. 34d, अध्यनीनरमणीचेतः, 'a love-lorn damsel's heart'. Rather, 'the heart of the wife of a traveller (i.e. one away from his wife)'.

V. 38c, सा किं न रम्या स च किं न रन्ता । 'Was it not enjoyable, did it not delight?' Better, 'was she not fit to be dallied with and was he not fit to enjoy?'

V. 43cd, सधुपाः कथयन्ति पद्मिनोनां चलिलैरन्नरितानि कोरकाणि, 'the bees humming continuously are conversing with the lotus-buds, hidden under water'. Correct—'the bees indicate the fact that the buds of lotuses are concealed by the waters'.

V. 73a, नलिन्याः, 'of the lily'. Correct—'of the lotus'.

V. 74b, गोपाल्लौभिरभियुतं व्रजवधुनेचोत्पलैरचित्तम् । 'Worshipped by cowherdesses and adored with looks from their lotus-eyes.' Better, 'praised by groups of cowherds and worshipped by the women of Vraja with lotuses in the form of their eyes'.

V. 74d, भवद्वर, 'the remover of mundane miseries'. Better, 'the annihilator of worldly existence or one who puts a stop to births (and transmigration)'.

V. 75d, एको लोकत्रयात्मकः । 'You are the soul of the three worlds.' Correct—'You, though one, are the embodiment of the three worlds'.

V. 83cd, इदमपि न हृतं नितम्बिनीनां स्वनपतनावधि जीवित रतं वा । 'That too is equally improper that women, so long as they are capable, should indulge in amorous passions even at the cost of their lives.' Correct—'and it has not been ordained of women that life and sexual intercourse should be up to the (time of the) falling of their breasts'.

V. 101a, भूपाल्लः शशिभास्त्वरान्वयमुवः के नाम नासादिताः । 'Who amongst the kings of this universe with its sun and its moon has not been subjugated (by you)'? Correct—'What kings of the solar and lunar dynasties have you not received ?'

V. 108b, कान्तस्याङ्गे प्रसीदादुभयभजपरिष्वक्तकण्ठे निल्लीना । 'Clinging to her lover, with her neck joyfully embraced by his two hands.' Correct—'with his . . . and by her . . . '.

V. 109b, कान्तेन पाञ्चेन मे । 'By my dear lover.' Correct—'by my beloved who is a traveller (i.e. away from me)'.

V. 137c, एताचतु सच्चि वेद्धि केवलमहं तस्याङ्गसङ्गे पुनः । 'He is near me—this alone I know.' Correct—'O friend, this much only do I know, but at the touch of his body . . . '.

V. 139cd, विहरसि करट किमस्त्रिन् परिस्त्रिवह्लोऽपि केतकीकुत्सुमे । 'In spite of there being the honey-filled ketaki-flower . . . why are you, O crow ! haunting the nimba-tree ?' To make it correct omit the first part and say, 'highly fragrant ketaki-flower', in place of nimba-tree. That the ketaki has no honey has already been stated in verse 76 and also definitely mentioned in the half-verse following 139.

Of the ten appendices some are evidently not very useful while the absence of others is keenly felt. Thus while one might do without the separate indexes of the works of poetesses, old and modern, who are individually dealt with in the introduction, a highly welcome addition would have been an appendix containing a critical account of the manuscripts used and an alphabetical index of the sources with an indication of the verses taken from each. There is also room for shortening some of the existing appendices, especially the long but imperfect bibliography, which includes even dictionaries and catalogues of printed books, and contains descriptions not infrequently incomplete, and introduces new abbreviations not mentioned in the list of abbreviations.

In spite of these defects, however, the volume under review is welcome as bringing together a good lot of valuable information

with reference to Sanskrit poetesses. We trust that other volumes of the series will be free from defects of the nature of those mentioned above so that they may be acclaimed by students of Sanskrit literature as well as by students of Indian culture at large, and serve to remove to some extent the long standing misconception as regards the degraded position of women in Indian society.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

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A.  
B.  
58

The Songs of the Elder of Herat

*Translated from the Russian of V. Zhukovsky*

By L. BOGDANOV

(L. S. DUGIN)

[The sketch of which a translation is given below originally appeared in the 'Vostochnyia Zamietki' (i.e. 'Oriental Notices'), a memorial volume dedicated by the professors and readers of the Faculty of Oriental Languages of St. Petersburg to the 'Ecole des Langues Vivantes Orientales' of Paris, on the occasion of the centenary celebrations of its foundation, in 1895.

Copies of the Russian original not being very easily accessible\* (only 322 copies, numbered I-XII and 1-310, were published), and only very few among scholars of Persian being familiar with Russian, it was thought advisable not to let this early work of the great Russian savant be relegated to oblivion, the more so, as there are no European editions of Ansāri's works in existence.]

In those glorious days of Persian letters, when Nāṣir-i Khosrow (d. 481 A.H.), at Kunduz, was unfolding in the 'Book of Light', the 'Book of Happiness', and other works, his ideology,—the outcome of long hesitations and protracted journeys all over the world; when the famous vizier of the Seljūqs, Nizāmu-l-Mulk (d. 483 A.H.) was compiling his 'Treatise on Government'; when Jullābi (d. 456 or 464 A.H.) was discussing the tenets of Sufiism in his work entitled 'The Uncovering of What is Veiled'; when the austere ascetic Abū-Sa'īd ibn Abī-l-Khayr (d. 440 A.H.), at Mahna, was presenting mystical thoughts in the garb of graceful quatrains,\*\*—at that time, at Herat, that 'little garden of the Ansārs'<sup>1</sup>, the 'Elder

\* Our thanks are due in this place to Mr. J. van Manen, the former General Secretary of the Society, through whose courtesy in lending the present writer for a protracted period his own copy of that valuable publication (probably, the only copy in existence in India) the present translation was made possible.—*The Translator.*

\*\* The question of Abū-Sa'īd's authorship with regard to the quatrains generally attributed to him has become open to discussion since the publication by Zhukovsky himself (in 1899) of the Persian biography of Abū-Sa'īd, in which it is stated that the 'Shaykh' had never uttered any quatrain beside the one quoted by the biographer.—*The Translator.*

<sup>1</sup> Jāmī, Nafahātū-l-Ums, Indian edition of 1289, p. 232.

of Herat', 'Abdullāh Anṣārī<sup>1</sup>, was expounding his teaching and passionately calling mankind to Truth.

Abū-Īsmā'īl 'Abdullāh ibn Abī-Mansūr Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Haravī was born on the 2nd of Sha'bān 396 A.H. (1005 A.D.) at Herat, to which place his ancestors had come in the days of caliph 'Uṣmān with the latter's famous general Aḥnaf b. Qays. When he was still quite young, Anṣārī showed already an extraordinary aptitude for making verses, which were highly admired by his schoolfellows, who used to suggest themes for his poetic improvisations. Endowed with a remarkable memory and an uncommon zeal for study, to which he devoted the whole day and even part of the night, strictly adhering all the time to a fixed time-table, he studied theology and jurisprudence of the Hanbalite sect under the guidance of many *shaykhs*, such as Abū-l-Ḥasan Bishrī,\* Abū-l-Fażl b. Muḥammad at-Taqī, Yāḥyā b. 'Ammār. It was the latter who foresaw in the then 14 years-old 'Abdullāh the future great teacher. And we see, in fact, that his deep erudition earned for him in later years the title of 'Shaykhul-Islām' *par excellence*. He devoted himself with particular zeal to collecting traditions, which he succeeded in recording from 300 of the most strict followers of the *sunna* and 'people of the *hadīs*', steadfastly avoiding at the same time 'opinionated people'\*\*, innovators and scholastics and rejecting any traditions, however well substantiated, transmitted by such persons. Such a strict discrimination and undeviating singleness of purpose are considered by many as a proof of Anṣārī's excellence in his capacity of a 'champion of the *sunna* and a destroyer of innovations'.

<sup>1</sup> Biographical data about him are found in: Soyutii liber de interpretibus Korani (ed. Meursinge) p. 15, No. 45, and note on p. 86;

كتاب طبقات المفاظ auctore Dahabio (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 24, No.

27; the historical work by al-'Aynī, Asiatic Museum (St. Petersburg) Ms. No. 177 (524), part II, fol. 242r; Rāzī's *Haft Iqlim*, As. Mus. Ms. No. 603/bc, fol. 240r; Muṣmal-i Faṣīḥ, As. Mus. Ms. No. 581/a, fol. 266r; Bāyqārā's *Majālisu-l-Ushshāq*, *majlis* 8th, St. Petersburg University Library Ms. No. 915 fol. 46r; Dārā-Shukūh's *Safinatul-Awliyā*, As. Mus. Ms. No. 581, fol. 170v; Rīzā-Qulī-Khān's *Riyāzūl-Ārifin*, p. 30; his *Majma'u-l-Fusahā*, I, p. 65; more particularly *Nafahātu-l-Uns*, Indian ed. of 1289, p. 212 (Nassau-Lees' ed., No. 394, pp. 376-380.-T.), and *passim*.

\* Zhukovskiy in his Russian text, spells the name as 'Basharī'. But cf. *Nafahātu-l-Uns*, Nawal Kishore ed., of 1317 A.H. (1899 A.D.), p. 309, marginal note, where the vocalization is given as: بَشَرٌ بَشَرٌ مُوحَدٌ وَرَاءَ مَهَلَةٍ وَسُكُونٌ شَيْنٌ مَحْمَدٌ وَرَاءَ مَهَلَةٍ.—The Translator.

\*\* صاحب رای is a term applied by other Sunni sects of Islam to the Hanafites: Anṣārī being himself a Hanbalite, quite naturally, avoided to record traditions, however reliable, from the lips of the representatives of that rival sect.—The Translator.

According to his own statement, Ansārī knew by heart as many as 300,000 traditions, being able to quote an appropriate tradition for the most trifling incidents in daily life.

The *shaykhs* whom he mentions as having been his teachers in religious law were many, but he recognizes as his spiritual guide (*pīr*) only Abū-l-Hasan Kharaqānī stating clearly that "he would not have known Truth, had he not seen Kharaqānī". That close relationship in *taṣawwuf* between himself and Abū-l-Hasan is recorded by Ansārī in following terms:

عبد الله مردى بود بیانی، می رفت بطلب آب زندگانی،  
ناگاه بر سید بحسن خرقانی، آنجا یافت چشمۀ آب حیوانی، چندان  
آب بخورد نه عبد الله ماند نه خرقانی، پیر انصاری گنج بود  
پنهانی، کلید او بدست خرقانی

"‘Abdullāh was a savage; he went in search of the water of life; suddenly he came across Hasan Kharaqānī; he found there a fountain-head of the water of life, and drank so much of it that there remained neither ‘Abdullāh, nor Kharaqānī; the Elder Ansārī is a locked treasury, the key of which is in the hands of Kharaqānī’.—Ansārī died in 481 A.H. (1088 A.D.) and is buried at Gāzurgāh, a suburb of Herat. His tomb is held in great reverence by all classes of the population, is kept up by Eastern rulers and has been often described in detail by many travellers who visited Khorasan at different epochs.

A considerable literary patrimony was left by Ansārī, both in Arabic and Persian, but, as far as one can gather from the catalogues of great libraries, only a minor part of his works, either original or in later adaptations, has reached us.

Haji Khalifa mentions the following of his works:

- (1) 'The forty traditions of the Shaykhul-Islām' اربعين 'شیخ الاسلام' (I, 235, No. 411);
- (2) 'The Joy of the Disciples and the Sun of the Assemblies' انس المریدین و شمس المجالس — a mystical story of Joseph and Zulaykhā —(I, 453 No. 1339);
- (3) A commentary on Abū-Bekr Muḥammad Bukhārī Kalābādī's 'Exposition of the teachings of the Ṣūfis' التعریف 'لذہب التصوّف' (II, 316, No. 3083);

\* For the designations A, B and C used by Zhukovsky in this article, v. p. 5 under para. I.—The Translator.

(4) The essence of the *hadīs* "All innovation is heresy"

(III, 168, No. 4782);

(5) Three Persian *divāns* (III, 293, No. 5539);

(6) 'In Blame of the scholastic theology' (III, 335, No. 5822);

(7) Rhymed prose (V, 528, No. 11560);

(8) 'The Stations of the Travellers' which was composed to comply with a request made by the people of Herat; many commentaries on that work have been written (VI, 129, No. 12920);

(9) 'The virtues of imām Ahmad ibn-Hanbal' (VI, 143, No. 13011).

Suyūtī mentions his

(10) 'Book of the Discerner' dealing with the attributes of God;

Bayqarā mentions his

(11) Commentary on the Qur'ān, written in 'the tongue of the dervishes', and

Rizā-qulī-khān speaks of his

(12) 'Lights of Certainty' , a well-known book containing prayers, sayings, pious precepts and admonitions.

Finally, it is known from the introduction to Jāmī's *Nafahātū-l-Uns* that Anṣārī used to dictate in gatherings of disciples the work by 'Abdu-r-rahmān Naysābūrī (d. 412 A.H.) known under the title 'Classes of Sūfis' , adding to it sayings of various *shaykhs* and his own arguments and observations, whilst one of his friends or *murids* would take it down from dictation. In such a way there was produced

(13) a book valuable by its contents for the Sūfis. That work was written in the old language of Herat of that time and had since, in many parts, become hardly intelligible owing to mistakes and blunders committed by the successive copyists. It dealt only with the Sūfis of earlier times and did not contain any mention of Anṣārī himself, his contemporaries and immediate successors. That was the reason why Jāmī, by adding to it abstracts from later works, came to compile his well-known *Nafahātū-l-Uns*. In Jāmī's work Anṣārī is everywhere mentioned simply by his title *Shaykhū-l-Islām*— شیخ الاسلام میکوید

Of all the above enumerated works of Anṣārī, to my knowledge, only \* the *Manāzilu-s-Sā'irīn* has reached us under its original title, and copies of it are extremely rare. An interesting and valuable old Ms. of it, bearing the date 620 A.H. (1223 A.D.), has been described by Flügel in his Vienna Library catalogue (III, 321). On the other hand, one often comes across manuscript copies in various libraries and Eastern editions of certain minor tracts by Anṣārī, which at first would seem not to be contained in the list given above, bearing titles such as: *Munājāt*, *Maqālat*, *Ilāhi-nāma*, *Naṣīḥat-nāma*, and a voluminous pseudo-*Manāzilu-s-Sā'irīn* in Persian.

There is quite a number of such works by Anṣārī in St. Petersburg. They can be divided into three categories:

I. MSS. of the Persian *Manāzilu-s-Sā'irīn*, of which there are no copies in the libraries of Western Europe. Two of these MSS. (A and B) belong to myself, having been acquired in 1890 in Bukhara, and the third one (C) is the Ms. III. 2.8 in the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg. All these copies are modern and only C bears a date—1267 A.H. Beginning:

حمد بیحد الٰی را و درود بیعدد پادشاهی را که برداشت

از دیده دلها رمد و رفع السموات بغير عَمَد بگسترانید فرش

ثُمَّ أَسْتَوَى عَلَى الْعَرْشِ وَبِقَدْرَتِ از فَهْمِ دُورِ وَ جَعَلَ الظُّلَمَاتِ

وَ النُّورِ وَ بَدِيدِ آورَدَ دِي وَ بَهَارِ وَ خَلَقَ الْلَّيْلَ وَ النَّهَارِ وَ بِيَا فَرِيدَ

کوه و کمر و سَخَرَ الشَّمْسَ وَ الْقَمَرَ وَ بِيَارَاسْتَ چَهْرَهَ صَبَاحَ

وَ هُوَ الَّذِي يُرْسِلُ الْرِّيَاحَ وَ شَعَعَ يَقِينَ نَهَادَ در خلد سُبحانَه

أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ وَلَدَ الْحَ

The name of the work is nowhere mentioned in the text, but appears in a colophon by the copyist in codex C, and is

\* Since then, however, a Ms. of the *Tabaqātu-s-Šūfiyya* has been discovered in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and described in its Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1924), p. 78 under No. 234, and, more in detail, by its learned compiler, in a separate article in JRAS. pp. 1-34 and 337-382.—The Translator.

also found on the initial folio of codex A, added in another, more modern hand. The work is written mostly in rhymed prose interspersed with ghazals, quatrains, maṣnavis and qit'as, and is full of every kind of mystic dissertations, exhortations, parables, traditions (*hadīs*), etc. and, judging from its contents, could be supposed to be the same as the *Anwāru-t-taqīq* mentioned by Rīzā-qulī-khān, yet, by its style it could well be taken for the *Musajja'at* recorded by Hāji Khalfa. That it is not the *Manāzilu-s-Sā'irīn* clearly appears from the descriptions of the latter work by Flügel (loc. cit.) and by Ahlwardt (the Berlin Library Arabic Catalogue, III, pp. 11-12, No. 2826).

The three above cited copies do not always coincide. The fullest of the three MSS. is the one belonging to the Public Library of St. Petersburg.

II. The small *risālas* (in the Public Library Codex III. 3.37 and in the initial part of my Ms. C) are similar to the *نَاجَاتُ خَواجَةِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ انصَارِي* published in India in 1286 A.H., and to the MSS. described in Rieu's (I, 35) and Flügel's (III 49 7) catalogues.

III. Other minor tracts, containing invocations to God, wise sayings, rules to be followed by a vizier, etc.; MSS. Nos. 258, 259, 260 of Dorn's catalogue; codex No. 268<sup>a</sup> in the Asiatic Museum (of the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg); codex No. 386 of the University Library, St. Petersburg, fol. 352<sup>r</sup>-364<sup>v</sup> and fol. 366<sup>r</sup>-274<sup>r</sup>. The texts vary a great deal with regard to the wording.

In many cases large parts of the works of groups II and III are integrally included in the pseudo-*Manāzilu-s-Sā'irīn*, which makes one think that all the just mentioned works might have been once parts of one whole, later disintegrating so as to form the more common versions known as the [pseudo-] *Manāzilu-s-Sā'irīn*, *Ilāhī-nāma* or *Munājāt*. Such a disintegration could well have been caused by the absence of an obligatory unity in the arrangement of the text of a work consisting of strings of brief thoughts unconnected either by form or context.

Of Eastern editions of the works of Anṣārī (of European editions there is none), besides the already mentioned Indian edition of the *Munājāt*, there exist two more brief Tehran editions (1299 and 1304 A.H.) of the same, and an Indian edition of his quatrains in a collection published in 1297 A.H.

The above materials fully suffice to enable us to understand Anṣārī as a mystic and to give him his proper place in the Ṣūfīc literature of his time and of later epochs. Definitions of mystic concepts and ideas, which were by later writers clothed in a somewhat obscure garb of allegories and parables, leaving to the reader to draw his own conclusions, are presented by him, with

great clearness and fulness, in the form of extremely brief and elegant apophegms.

‘The Friend,’ says Ansārī, ‘is a Sea, all the rest are rivers: if thou be seeking pearls, look for them in the Sea, not in the

دوسن دریا سنت باقی همه جوی اگر در جوی ز دریا جوی نه از جوی<sup>1</sup> river’

‘On the outward—go straight, and that is “Law”

‘Inwardly—be pure, and that is “Path”

‘After having straightened the external by the internal,

‘See God in thy heart, and that is “Realization”’

بظاهر راست رو اینک شریعت

بباطن صاف شو اینک طریقت

چو ظاهر را بباطن راست کردي

خدابین شو ز دل اینک حقیقت

‘“Realization” is a sea, “Law” is a ship. Without a ship how canst thou cross the sea?’ ?

حقیقت دریاست و شریعت کشی از دریا بی کشی بجه گذشتی<sup>3</sup>

‘What Mansūr (Hallāj) said, I also said. He revealed it, and I concealed it’

آنچه منصور گفت من کفم او آشکارا کدم من بهنم<sup>4</sup>

Hallāj said: ‘I am Truth’, and became a crown for the gibbet. ‘Abdullāh spoke the truth, and became a crowned head’

حلّاج انا الحق کفت تاج دار شد عبد الله حق کفت تاجدار شد<sup>5</sup>

‘What is a dervish? A little sifted earth, with a little water sprinkled on it. No harm from it to the sole of the foot, no dust from it to the upper part of the foot’

درویشی چیست خاکی بینه و آبکی برو ریخته نه کف پارا ازو دردی و نه پشت پارا ازو گردي<sup>6</sup>

Ansārī shows himself as a typical and firm protagonist of Sufism in his ‘songs’ as well, of which a certain number, culled from the pseudo-*Manāzilu-s-Sā'irin*, is submitted below

<sup>1</sup> Univ. Library Ms. No. 386, fol. 368r.

<sup>2</sup> Indian ed., p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Imperial Public Library Ms. No. 258, fol. 8v.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., fol. 7r.

<sup>5</sup> Imperial Public Library Ms. No. 259, fol. 6r.

<sup>6</sup> Imperial Public Library Ms. No. 258, fol. 5r.

to the attention of lovers of Persian literature. The poetical surnames used by our author in these 'songs' are: 'The Elder of the Ansārs', 'Ansāri, the Elder' and 'The Elder of Herat'.

## I

A, fol. 52<sup>r</sup>; B, fol. 109<sup>r</sup>; C, fol. 93<sup>r</sup>; Ind. ed., p. 17.

دلا در کار حق<sup>۱</sup> میکن نظرها  
 که در راه تو می بینم خطرها  
 گشای از خواب غفلت<sup>۲</sup> چشم تا<sup>۳</sup> من  
 بگوش هوش تو گویم خبرها<sup>۴</sup>  
 نگر در خلق گورستان فگنده  
 ز یک تیر فنا جمله سپهها  
 بسا شاهان مه رویند در خاک  
 که ایشان در جهان ماندست اثرها  
 معاصی زهر قهر است<sup>۵</sup> و نموده  
 بکام نفس تو همچون شکرها  
 گذرگاهیست این دنیای فانی  
 نیاید مرد عاقل بر گذرها  
 چو در پیش است مرگ ای پیر انصار  
 تماشای جهان کن در سفرها

<sup>۱</sup> C خود

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in A

<sup>3</sup> B, C, and Ind. ed. با

<sup>4</sup> Ind. ed. سخنها

<sup>5</sup> Ind. ed. و قهر از تو

O heart ! observe the work of Truth, because on thy road  
I see many dangers.

Open thy eyes from the sleep of negligence, so that I should  
tell to the ear of thy reason many revelations.

Look at the people of the graveyard, who from one arrow  
of annihilation have thrown down all their shields.

How many moon-faced kings are under earth, traces of  
whom are still remaining in this world !

Sins are an overwhelming poison, and yet they taste to  
the palate of thy lower soul like sugar.

This transitory world is a crossroad: a wise man does not  
stop at crossroads.

Since death is looming ahead of thee, O Elder of the Ansārs,  
look at the world by undertaking journeys.

## II

A, fol. 44v; B, fol. 95v; C, fol. 80v.

بروز مرگ که روز فراق<sup>۱</sup> یاران است  
کسیکه<sup>۲</sup> دست من آمد گرفت یار آن است  
گمان میر که بیم ز مرگ و گردم خاک  
ز سوی یار چو باران لطف باران است  
بیاتم مگری<sup>۳</sup> زار زار و نوحه مکن  
که آن نفس نفس صور وصل جانان<sup>۴</sup> است  
جنازه ام چو بو بینی<sup>۵</sup> تو از فراق منال  
که دست دوست در آندم بگردن جان است

<sup>۱</sup> C وداع

<sup>۲</sup> B and C یک که

<sup>۳</sup> B and C گری

<sup>۴</sup> B and C سلطان

<sup>۵</sup> I leave the lection instead of بو بینی and farther below بو بینی instead of بو بینه and بو بسته, since it occurs in all the three MSS.

بیا و بر سر تابوت من تماشا کن  
 بیانگ نای و دف و مطربی که خوشخوان است  
 مرا بگور در آری بگو مبارک باد  
 مگو دریغ که تاریک و تنک زندان است  
 که راه گور ره گلشنست برو دل ما  
 هوای خاک لحد فصل نویهاران است  
 زنخ بو بسته و در گور خفتـهـام منگر  
 که مرغ روح من اندر خوش و جولان است  
 کفن بوبین که به از جامه کشت در بر من  
 سرا و منزل من در ریاض رضوان است  
 شراب و شربت من شد طهور<sup>۱</sup> در دل خاک  
 غذای جان ده جانم جمال جانان است  
 زیارت من چو بیـانـی بیا تو پاکوبان  
 که بزم مقبره ما مقام مستان است  
 یقین که مسقی انصاری از رخ ساقیست  
 که شعر تو سبب مسقی حریفان است \*

<sup>۱</sup> B and C; A has من افظبور شربت

\* This is one of the two *ghazals* of *A nsārī* which were reprinted from *Zhukovsky*'s article in the little known and now extremely rare Persian chrestomathy compiled by 'Abdullah Ghaffarov (its full title in Persian is:

منتخبات فارسیه از آثار مؤلفین ایران از قرن چهارم  
 هجری الی ایامنا هدا سعی و اهتمام میرزا عبد آله بن عبد الغفار تبریزی معلم زبان ترکی  
 در مدرسه السنة شرقیه لازاروف بجمع و تکاشته شد - جلد دوم - نظم - مسکو -  
 سنه ۱۳۲۳ هجری ۱۹۰۶ میلادی .

On the day of death, which is the day of parting with friends, a friend is he who comes and shakes my hand.

Think not that I shall die from death and become dust, because from the Friend the rain of grace is pouring forth.

Weep not in bitter grief for me and bewail me not, for that [last] breath is the breath of the trumpet of the union with the Sweetheart.

When thou seest my bier, groan not with separation, for at that moment the arm of the Friend is on the neck of my soul.

Come and admire my coffin at the sound of a flute, of cymbals, of the song of a pleasant-voiced singer.

When consigning me to the grave, say 'Hail!', say not 'Alas, how dark and narrow is that prison!'

The way to the grave is the way to a flower-garden for our heart, and the time in the depth of the earth is early spring.

Mind not that, with my chin bandaged,\* I am lying in the grave, for the bird of my spirit is singing and flying about.

Look at my shroud, which has become better than any clothes on my body, since it means my sojourn in the gardens of Rizvān.

My wine and my drink is the purification in the heart of the earth, the life-giving food of my soul is the beauty of the Sweetheart.

When thou comest to visit my tomb, come with a dancing step, for the feast on my grave is the trysting-place of the intoxicated.

Verily, thou art drunk, O Anṣārī! It is from the countenance of the Cup-bearer that thy verses cause the inebriety of thy companions.

### III

A, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>; B, fol. 43<sup>r</sup>; C, fol. 41<sup>v</sup>.

هرگه امروز از پی حق پای نفس خود نهشت

ک بود جانش معطر از نسیمات بهشت<sup>۱</sup>

\* Zhukovsky translates منگر خفه‌ام نگر : "Do not think that I have given up talking and have gone to sleep in the grave". But, 'zanakh basta' is merely an allusion to the special bandage (the 'tahta-l-hanak') keeping in position the chin of a corpse among Muslims. 'Khufra' I take here to mean 'lying', not necessarily 'sleeping', and 'manigar' could hardly mean 'do not think'.

<sup>1</sup> C has ک شود فردا معطر جانش از بوى بهشت

قاف قرب حق ترا گر می باید جهد کن  
 خرمن آن کس را مسلم شد که اول دانه کشت  
 جامه بالاش پوشد روز بخشن هر وجود  
 روزی او تاکه اینجا رسیمانزا از چه رشت  
 گر تو نیکی تکیه برکدار نیک خود مکن  
ور بدی لَا تَقْنَطُوا را حق ز بہر ما نوشت  
 ای بسا خودبین ز مسجد سوی دوزخ می رود  
 وی بسا مسکین که ناگه شد بہشتی در کنشت  
 مرحا آنرا که اندر عمر خود یک صبحدم  
 خاک پاک سجده را از آب چشم خود سرشت  
 با ازل کاری نداری<sup>۱</sup> امثال امر کن  
 وین فضولیها بمان ای مرجع تو خاک خشت  
 دولت دار النعیم و وصلت حوران خوب  
 کی توانی یافت آخر با چنین کردار زشت  
 حال آدم بین بعیرت پیر انصاری برو  
 کز پی یک ذلت ایزد از بہشت او را بہشت<sup>۲</sup>

Whosoever to-day bendeth not the steps of his lower soul  
 towards Truth, how can his [higher] soul be perfumed by the  
 fragrant breezes of Paradise.

\* see footnote on p. 10.—The Translator.

<sup>1</sup> ندارد

<sup>2</sup> در بہشت اورا نہشت

If thou wantest [to reach] the mountain Qāf\* of the proximity to Truth, strive for it; the harvest is assured for him who first soweth the seed.

A robe to fit its stature will be worn by every being on the Day of the Resurrection: everyone's lot will be according to the kind of yarn spun by him in this world.

If thou art good, rely not on thy good actions; if thou art bad, it is for us that God hath written the words '*Despair ye not!*'<sup>1</sup>

How many self-seekers go straight from the mosque to Hell, how many humble ones in the synagogue become suddenly dwellers in Paradise!

Welcome to him who, during his life, hath mixed, if only on one morning, the pure dust of genuflexion with the moisture of his eyes.

Thou hast no business with pre-eternity,—obey orders, leave that impertinence, O thou whose ultimate destination is to become clay for bricks.

How canst thou, with thy evil doings, attain unto the wealth of the 'Abode of Bliss' and the beautiful houris?

Take a warning from the case of Adam, O Elder Ansāri, and go: for one mistake, God expelled him from Paradise.

#### IV

A. fol. 127<sup>v</sup>; B, fol. 230<sup>v</sup>; C, fol. 256<sup>r</sup>.

ای شده عمر عزیز تو بغلت برباد  
 وز کفن موی سفید تو ترا یاد نداد  
 گر بدانی که چه راهست ترا اندر پیش  
 بر نیاری بهمه عمر ازان یک دم شاد  
 چند ازین خواب گران خیز و دمی طاعت کن  
 ای که در زیر زمین<sup>2</sup> کس چو تو در خواب مباد

\* In a postscript to his article *Zhukovsky* suggests himself this translation: originally he translated the passage: 'If thou needest the [letter] *qaf* of the [word] *qurb*—the first step on the road to Truth', etc. I have merely installed that correction in the place to which it belongs.—The Translator.

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, XXXIX, v. 54.

<sup>2</sup> C has ای که در روی کسی

در دل خاک لحد خواب چنان خواهی کرد  
 که رود جمله لذات جهانت از یاد  
 کاهل سهل بود رغم شیاطین برخیز  
 تاکه ارواح عزیزان تو گردد ز تو شاد  
 کاروان رفت درین منزل خونخوار محسوب  
 راه دور است و خطرناک<sup>۱</sup> نخوردی غم زاد  
 رو بدرگاه خداوند کریم آر و رحیم  
 یاد کن کرده خودرا و برآور فریاد  
 گو الهی ز معاصی بتو میگردم باز  
 هرچه کردم همه بد بود و خططا بود و فساد  
 آخر این خانه و دکان تو ویران شدنی است  
 بر سر<sup>۲</sup> سیل فنا خانه که کردست آباد  
 قصر و ایوان و سراپرده نمایند با کس  
 ریخت در خاک تن عاد و ثبود و شداد  
 یا رب از فضل ببخشی تو گناه همه را  
وعده تست که آللہ لطیف بعباد  
 ای کریم از کرم خویش تو انصاریرا  
 با همه امت احمد برسانی بمراد

<sup>۱</sup> B has راه تو دور و دراز است

<sup>۲</sup> C has ره

Thy precious life was wasted in negligence, and thy white hair reminded thee not of the shroud.

If thou knewst only what kind of road is ahead of thee, thou wouldst not breathe a single happy breath in the whole of thy life.

Arise from that heavy sleep and worship God for a moment, O thou than whom no one should be more fast asleep under the earth.

In the depth of the dust of the grave thou shalt have such a sleep that all the joys of this world will disappear from thy memory.

O indolent one ! it is easy to humiliate devils,—arise, so that the souls of thy dear ones should rejoice.

The caravan is gone. Sleep thou not at this blood-thirsty station: the road is long and full of dangers, and thou hast not thought of travelling-provisions.

Turn thy face to the palace of the Merciful Lord, the For-giving, remember thy actions and scream for help.

Say: 'O God ! from sins I return to Thee: whatever I did was evil, error and iniquity'.

In the end this house and shop of thine are doomed to destruction: who is it who buildeth a house in the path of the torrent of destruction ?

Castles, palaces and pavilions remain not for anybody: the bodies of 'Ād and Ṣamūd and Shaddād have fallen to dust.

O Lord ! forgive Thou, in Thy Mercy, the sins of everybody: it is Thy promise that 'God is kind to His slaves'.<sup>1</sup>

O Merciful One ! through Thy mercy bring Thou Ansāri and the whole community of Muhammad to the object of desire.

## V

A, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>; B, fol. 16<sup>r</sup>; C, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>; Ind. ed. p. 40.

مرجعاً قومي كه داد بندگي را داده اند  
 ترك دنيا كرده اند و از همه آزاد اند  
 روزها با روزه و<sup>2</sup> در گوشة بنشسته اند<sup>3</sup>  
 باز شها در مقام بندگي استاده اند

<sup>1</sup> Qur'ān, XLII, 18.

<sup>2</sup> C ٦٠

<sup>3</sup> Ind. ed. روزها با روزها بنشته اند گوشة

نفس خود را قهر کرده روح را داده فتوح  
 زاد تقوی بـ<sup>۱</sup> کرفته بـر مرگ آماده اند  
 طرفه العینی نبوده غافل از حضرت و لیک  
 سیلها با این همه از چشم خود<sup>۲</sup> بکشاده اند  
 یکرمان از نوچه همچون نوح خالی نیستند  
 گوئیا خود همچو یحیی بـر زاری زاده اند<sup>۳</sup>  
 ز آب و تاب تب الله غسل کرده در جهان  
 روی را بر خاک پـاک اسـجـدـوـا بـنـادـه اند  
 راحتی دیدند و ذوقی یافتند از انس او  
 روز و شب در کنج خلوت بر سر سجـادـه اند  
 رـبـنـا گـوـينـد اـزاـن لـبـيـك عـبـدـي بشـنـونـد  
 جمله سرمـست أـلـسـت جـرـعـه اـينـ بـادـه اـند  
 تـاـ بـدـنـيـاـ آـمـدـنـد اـزـ كـلـهـ كـتمـ وـ عـدـمـ  
 سـوـيـ حـضـرـتـ جـزـ نـيـازـ وـ نـالـهـ نـفـرـسـتـادـهـ اـنـدـ  
 پـيـرـ اـنصـارـيـ توـ مـيـدانـيـ کـهـ اـيـشـانـ کـيـسـتـندـ  
 فـرقـهـ بـ<sup>۴</sup>ـ کـرـ وـ فـرـ وـ زـمـرـهـ دـلـ سـادـهـ اـنـدـ

<sup>1</sup> C خود<sup>2</sup> Ind. ed. از دیده‌ها<sup>3</sup> The three following verses occur only in the Indian ed.<sup>4</sup> Thus Ind. ed.; A, B and C با

Blessed be the people who have achieved service, have relinquished the world and are free from everything. The whole day long they are fasting and sitting in their corners, and at night they stand in the place of worship.

They have conquered their lower soul and made the spirit victorious, have provided themselves with the fear of God and are prepared for death.

For one moment have they not been negligent of [His] Person, and yet they are letting loose from their eyes whole torrents of tears.

For one moment, like Noah, they are not free from lamenting, —one would say that, like John [the Baptist], they have been born for weeping.

By the water and fire of the fever of God they perform their ablutions, and place their face on the pure earth of [the word] 'Prostrate yourselves'.<sup>1</sup>

They have found peace and they have enjoyed communion with Him, day and night in the corner of solitude they are sitting on the praying-carpet.

They say 'O Lord!', and they hear from Him, 'Here I am, O My servant!' they are all intoxicated with the wine of [the words] 'Am I not your Lord?'<sup>2</sup>

Since the time they have come in to this world from the cell of concealment and non-being, they address nothing but invocations and lamentations to His [Divine] Person.

O Elder Ansārī! thou knowest who they are: a band devoid of pomp and pride, a group of simple-hearted people.

## VI

A, fol. 47<sup>r</sup>; B, fol. 100<sup>r</sup>; C, fol. 83<sup>v</sup>.

این چه سیل است این چه ویل است این چه طوفان است و دود  
 این چه قهر است این چه دهر است اهل گیتی<sup>3</sup> را چه بود  
 سینها از کینها دان گشته بی نور صفا<sup>4</sup>  
 کلبه دلها ز غلها مانده بی شمع شهود

<sup>1</sup> Qur'ān, XXV, 61.

<sup>2</sup> Qur'ān, VII, 171.

<sup>3</sup> ب کشی

<sup>4</sup> C حضور

عالی بیشم خراب و مردم غافل درو  
در پی دنیا زیان آخرت را دیده سود  
آتش فتنه هزاران شهر دل را سوخته  
ریع مسکون را کرفته تیغ انکار و جحود  
نه بکا و ژاله را در درگه حضرت قبول  
نه دعا و ناله را بر سوی علیین صعود  
نیازی در نماز و نی پیامی در قیام<sup>۱</sup>  
نه خضوعی در رکوع و نه شهودی در سجود<sup>۲</sup>  
 Zahedan از کدس قدس زرع شرع احمدی  
دانه معنی نکفته<sup>۳</sup> جز مگر گفت و شنود  
مفتیانرا یوسف جان مانده اندر چاه جاه  
هر یک خود را عزیزی کرده<sup>۴</sup> در مصر وجود  
عبدان خود پرست و نفس پرور ظاهر اند  
کیست کو از دود غفلت باطن خود را زدود  
قاضیان میل تمایی کرده سوی سیل ویل  
بهر رشوت کرده ضایع وضع احکام و حدود  
حاکمان خود بر رعایا همچو گرگی در رمه  
گوئیا هرگز در ایشان رحمت و رافت نبود

<sup>۱</sup> Thus B; A and C قیامی در پیام

<sup>2</sup> C در قیود نه قیامی در قیود

<sup>3</sup> B and C نجسته

<sup>4</sup> B and C دیده

منعاًزرا بر در دل قفل بخلي استوار  
 نه زيان لغو بسته نه گشاده دست جود  
 زاهدانرا روز روزه حيله در يوزه است  
 شب برای صيد دلها دام ايشان در<sup>۱</sup> سجود  
 خواجگانرا بندۀ خود کرده است آمال مال  
 حرص دنیائی عنان از دست ايشان در ربود  
 حافظانرا بنگری حق ناشناس و ناسپاس  
 در عطاهای الهی در کفورند<sup>۲</sup> و کنود  
 صوفیان از سیر خوردن روی دل کرده سیاه  
 هر دنيا سرخ چشم و طیسان کرده کبود  
 طالب نوش است اکنون صوفی سجاده نشین  
 زرق و تزویر است ايندم خرقهای تار و پود  
 کی بود صوف کسی کاندر پی صورت بود  
 صیت و وجد<sup>\*</sup> و نام چوید برسرش بادا عمود<sup>۳</sup>  
 کی بود صوف کسی کو نفس را برق گزید  
 دوسترا از هر دشمن بیوقایها نمود

<sup>۱</sup> دان C<sup>۲</sup> بس کفورند B در کنوزند A<sup>\*</sup> I prefer to read وجه and translate accordingly.—The Translator.<sup>۳</sup> In B the whole verse is omitted.

کی بود صوفی کسی کو خفته باشد تا سحر  
 آه دلسوزی ندارد هردم از شوق و دود  
 کی بود صوفی چنان خر طبع کو از حرص خویش  
 می نخواهد تا کسی را باشد از گاوی غدوه  
 کی بود صوفی کسی کز آتش شوق الله  
 می نسوزد جان او در بمحر تن همچو عود<sup>۱</sup>  
 کی بود صوفی کسی کو در ره اسلام و دین  
 کذب گوید چون نصاری بعض دارد<sup>۲</sup> چون یهود  
 صوفی صافی که باشد آنکه اورا خلق حسن<sup>۳</sup>  
 چون بدی دید از برادر در جزا نیکی فزود<sup>۴</sup>  
 صوفی صافی که باشد آنکه بی دیدار یار  
 گر همه دار القرار است او نمیخواهد خلود  
 ساقی باق سَقَاهُمْ رَبَّهُمْ فرموده است  
 ورنه عاشقرا بمحبت رغبی اصلا نبود  
 ای مزور صدق باید تا گشاید بر تو راه  
 کی شوی ای بنده صالح تا ننالی همچو عود

<sup>1</sup> In B the whole verse is omitted.

<sup>2</sup> B جوید

<sup>3</sup> B حسن خلق

<sup>4</sup> C omits the whole verse.

پیر انصاری تو در<sup>۱</sup> صفرا لکن<sup>۲</sup> آهسته باش<sup>۳</sup>

چون زیان کردن بمردم درپی دنیا چه سود<sup>۴</sup>

What is that torrent? What is that misfortune? What is that flood and smoke? What is that oppression, what times are these? What hath befallen the people of this world?

Breasts from rancour, know thee, have become devoid of the light of purity, the cells of the hearts from hatred have been left without the lamp of the sight of God.

The whole world I see in ruins full of careless people in search for worldly goods, damage to the life to come they consider an advantage.

The fire of discord hath burned down thousands of cities of hearts, the whole inhabited world is conquered by the sword of disbelief and denial.

No response to weeping and tears is vouchsafed from the Court of the Almighty, prayers and lamentations reach not the Sublime.

There is no humility in the prayer and no intelligence in the 'standing up' (*qiyām*), no submission in the 'bowing' (*rukū'*), no recognition [of one's unworthiness before God] in the 'prostration' (*sujūd*).

The hermits have not obtained a single grain of spirituality from threshing the sheaves of the holy field of Muhammad's law, except idle talk.

For the *mufīs*, the Joseph of the soul remains in the well of outward dignity,—each of them maketh himself a prime minister of the Egypt of human existence.

One sees self-conceited and sensual devotees: who of them wipeth off the soot of negligence from his inner self?

The judges are wholeheartedly directing themselves towards the torrent of calamity: for a bribe they damage the institution of the ordinances and penal laws.

The rulers are treating their subjects like wolves would treat a flock of sheep, as if they had never felt any mercy or compassion.

The wealthy ones have a strong lock of avarice on their heart, their mouths are always open with silly talk, their hands are never opened in liberality.

For the zealots the days of fasting are a pretext for begging, and at night their snare for catching hearts are genufluxions.

<sup>۱</sup> C has: پیر انصاری برو:

<sup>۲</sup> C مکن:

<sup>۳</sup> B has: پیر انصاری تو صفرا مکن آینه را:

<sup>۴</sup> B has: چون زیان کرده خو کرد سودای او: C has: چون زیان کرده خو کرد سودای او

کردن مردم در پی سودا چه سود

Expectations of wealth have enslaved the Elders, wordly cupidity hath taken away from their hands the reins [of guidance].

Look at the readers of the Qur'ān (*hāfiẓ*): they ignore Truth and have no gratitude, with regard to divine gifts they are full of negation and denial.

The Ṣūfīs by overeating have darkened the face of their hearts, but for the world they make their eyes red and their turbans blue.

The Ṣūfī squatting now on the praying-carpet seeketh worldly joys, coarse sack-cloth is nowadays mere hypocrisy and deceit.

How can be a Ṣūfī one who seeketh form, who desireth noise, authority and renown? May a pillar crash on his head.

How can be a Ṣūfī one who giveth preference to his lower soul before Truth, who, in favour of the enemy, betrayeth the Friend?

How can be a Ṣūfī one who is asleep till sunrise, one who, in the passion of love emitteh not every moment heart-burning sighs?

How can be a Ṣūfī such an ass, who, in his avarice, is against anybody having a portion of beef?

How can be a Ṣūfī one whose soul, in the fire of longing for God, burneth not in the censer of the body like incense?

How can be a Ṣūfī one, who, in the path of Islam, telleth lies like a Christian and is full of hatred like a Jew?

Who is a pure Ṣūfī? One who is good-tempered, who, when seeing evil from his brother, increaseth goodness in retaliation.

Who is a pure Ṣūfī? who desireth not eternal life, if the gardens of Paradise be devoid of the countenance of the Friend.

The Eternal Cup-Bearer hath deigned to say: '*The Lord hath given them to drink*'<sup>1</sup>,—otherwise the lover would not have had any longing for Paradise.

O hypocrite! sincerity is needed in order that the road should open before thee. How canst thou, O slave, become pious, unless thou groanest like a lute?

Elder Anṣārī! thou art irritated. Keep quiet: what is the use of hurting people on account of worldly things.

## VII

A, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>; B, fol. 27<sup>v</sup>; C, fol. 44<sup>v</sup>.

ای پسر گر مرد راهی بر در دریو زه باش

وز تواضع خاک بوس در قدم چون موزه باش

<sup>1</sup> Qur'ān, LXXVI, 21.

خویشتن افگنده دار و بارکش همچو زمین  
 بر در حق پشت خم چون گنبد فیروزه باش  
 مطعم بیچارگان چون کاسه‌شوی منتی  
 بی طمع سقای هر تفسیده دل چون کوزه باش  
 ظاهرت شیرین و باطن تلغی چون خرما مشو  
 از درون نرم و منور وز برون چون غوزه باش  
 از حیا افگنده سر وز زهد لاغر همچو خنگ  
 وز ندم در<sup>۱</sup> صبحدم در ناله چون جلغوزه باش  
 گر مسلمانی ز خمر زهر<sup>۲</sup> میکن اجتناب  
 ور ورع ورزیده زان دورتر از بوزه باش  
 ور دوام نور ایمان بایدست شب زنده دار  
 ور امان خواهی<sup>۳</sup> ز دوزخ روزها بر روزه باش  
 ورغنا<sup>۴</sup> جوئی ز مردم پیر انصاری برو  
 قانع و راضی ز حق بر قسمت هر روزه باش

O youth ! if thou art a man of the Path, stand at the door of begging, kiss the ground in humility, be in walking like unto a boot.

Keep thyself prostrated, and carry burdens like the earth. At the door of Truth stand thou with thy back bent like the turquoise-blue cupola.

Be a feeder of the destitute like unto an obliging scullion, give to drink to those whose hearts are burning unselfishly, like a pitcher.

<sup>1</sup> B and C هر

<sup>2</sup> B خمر و زهر

<sup>3</sup> B یاد

<sup>4</sup> Thus B; A and C عنا

Become not outwardly sweet, and bitter inside like the date. Be soft and white inwardly, and outwardly like a cotton-pod.

Keep thy head bowed in modesty and, from devout exercises, be as thin as a bow-string \*. From early morning groans of repentance, be like a pine-nut.

If thou art a Muslim, abstain from the poison of wine, if thou art undergoing pious practices, keep away even from beer.

If thou art in need of the light of true faith, keep awake at night. If thou wantest immunity from hell, pass thy days in fasting.

If thou seekest emancipation from men, O Elder Anṣārī, go thou, and be content and satisfied with what the Lord granteth thee for thy daily lot.

### VIII

A, fol. 51<sup>r</sup>; B, fol. 107<sup>v</sup>; C, fol. 91<sup>v</sup>.

شی تیره است و مهی در خسوف  
 طریق مضیق و راه مخوف  
 نه زادی در اینان نه آبی بمشک  
 نه امکان رفتن نه جای وقوف  
 ز پیش ازدهای گشاده دهان  
 ز پس دشمنان کشیده سیوف<sup>۱</sup>  
 بس آنکه تن سست و مرکب ضعیف  
 نه همراه مشق نه یار عطوف  
 چنین وادی سخت و جای مهیب  
 زهی مشکل ارحق نباشد رؤوف

\* Z h u k o v s k y translates: 'a lean horse'. But *khing*, with regard to horses, means only the colour ('grey', etc.), and has no reference to their condition. The meaning 'bow-string' seems to have been overlooked by the author.—The Translator.

<sup>1</sup> Thus B and C; A سیوف با دشناک است.

صلاح صلاحت شکیبائی است  
 اگر مرد صاف و پوشیده صوف  
 مراد از تو صبر است انصاریا  
 چو گنج رموز از طلس حروف

The night is dark and the moon is obscured, the path is narrow and the road is full of dangers.

No provender in the bag, no water in the water-bottle, no possibility of advancing and no place for resting.

Ahead a dragon with its jaws open, behind are enemies with swords drawn.

The body very tired, the mount very weak, no kind companion and no affectionate friend.

Such an arduous valley, and such a dreadful place! How difficult it would be, were not the Lord compassionate.

The armour of thy well-being is patience, if thou art a man of purity clothed in wool (*sūf*).

Patience is expected from thee, O Anṣārī, as from the lettering of a talisman [is expected] a treasure of riddles.

## IX

A, fol. 44<sup>v</sup>; B, fol. 94<sup>v</sup>; C, fol. 79<sup>r</sup>.

الرَّحِيلُ أَيُّ دُوْسْتَانَ مَا رَخْتُ خُودَ بِرْدَاشْتِيمْ  
 بِرْ شَمَا بَادَ مَبَارِكَ آنْچَهَ مَا بَگْدَاشْتِيمْ  
 مَنْزَلَ مَا خَاْكَ تَيْرَهَ بُودَ وَ مَا اَزَ خَيْرَگَيْ  
 قَصْرَ وَ اِيَوَانَ تَا عَنَانَ آسَانَ اَفْرَاشْتِيمْ<sup>1</sup>  
 مَارَ بُودَسْتَ آنْچَهَ اوْ رَامَالَ خُودَ مَيْ گَفْتَهَ اَيْمَ  
 بَادَ بُودَسْتَ آنْچَهَ اوْ رَا عَمَرَ خُودَ پَنْدَاشْتِيمْ

<sup>1</sup> Thus B and C; A بِرْدَاشْتِيمْ

ای بسا انبارها کر حرص خود انصاریا  
بر نوشانوش عیش دیگران انباشیم

We depart, O friends, and we have collected our traps.  
Whatever remains we offer to you.

Our abode was [to be] the black earth, and foolishly we  
have erected castles and halls as high as the clouds.

A serpent was what we called our property, and wind was  
what we thought to be our life.

How many storehouses, O Anṣārī, have we not filled in our  
cupidity for others to enjoy!

## X

A, fol. 17<sup>r</sup>; B, fol. 42<sup>r</sup>; C, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>; Ind. ed., p. 24.

هر تنی را رنگ نیکی داده سلطان ازل  
هر سری را<sup>۱</sup> سرنوشتی کرده دیوان ازل  
هر وجودی در حقیقت مظہر سری شده  
تا شود پیدا ز فعلش سر پنهان ازل<sup>۲</sup>  
اختیار<sup>۳</sup> ما چه سنجد پیش تقدیر الله  
چون ترا چون گوی گردون کرده چوگان ازل  
هرچه کاری در بهاران تیرماه آن بدروی  
تا چه تخم انداخت اول دست دهقان ازل  
آنچه باری<sup>۴</sup> خواست آن شد پس بجیرت می زنیم  
مشت جد و جهد را بر روی سندان ازل<sup>۵</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus B, C and Ind. ed.; A تنی را

<sup>2</sup> In the Ind. ed. the verse is omitted.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. ed. احتیاط

<sup>4</sup> Thus B and Ind. ed.; A and C باری

<sup>5</sup> In B, C and Ind. ed. is added the next verse.

تا ابد سیری نبیند دائم جایع بود  
 آن دل و جانی که جایع مانده برخوان ازل  
 غیر تسلیم و رضا انصاریا تعلم نیست<sup>۱</sup>  
 عقل عاجزرا که گوید<sup>۲</sup> مرد میدان ازل

To every body the Sultan of Pre-Eternity hath given a beautiful colour, on every head the court of Pre-Eternity hath bestowed a writing on the forehead.

Each being, in reality, became thus the manifestation of some mystery, so that from its actions some Pre-Eternal mystery becometh manifest.

What is our free-will worth compared with Divine pre-destination, since the polo-stick of Pre-Eternity treats thee like a ball?

Whatever thou sowest in spring-time, thou reapest in summer\*, in accordance with the kind of seed originally thrown by the Pre-Eternal Cultivator.

What God willed became, and we, in perturbation, are hitting with the fist of effort and exertion at the anvil of Pre-Eternity.

To the end of time will experience no satiety and will remain hungry that heart and soul which hath remained hungry at the table of Pre-Eternity.

Except resignation and acquiescence there is nothing to be taught, O Anṣāri! Who would give to a weak intellect the name of Pre-Eternal man?

## XI

A, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>; B, fol. 80<sup>r</sup>; C, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>.

خوش آن ساعت که در خلوت بود دیدار درویشان  
 ز یاد حق شود خرم خجسته کار درویشان

<sup>۱</sup> تدبیر چیست

<sup>۲</sup> گردد

\* Zhukovsky translates: 'in autumn'. But *Tir* corresponds to the sign of the Cancer (end of June to the last week of July). In Zhukovsky's text تیره ماه is an obvious misprint.—The Translator.

گدایان فلک سایر<sup>۱</sup> فقیران ملک سیرت  
 چو آب کوثر و زمزم بود اسرار درویشان<sup>۲</sup>  
 بود دیدارشان نعمت بود گفتارشان رحمت  
 همه علم و ادب باشد یقین کردار درویشان  
 حضور آن عزیزان را غنیمت دان اگر دانی  
 ز نور مخصوص سبحانی بود انوار درویشان  
 کشند آزار خلق را نیازارند موری را  
 بود شادی<sup>۳</sup> جان و دل همه آثار درویشان  
 فقیران همچو بازانند ارادت دام ایشان دان  
 بهر سوئی غرض باشد همه رفتار درویشان<sup>۳</sup>  
 اگر داری سر ایشان ز مال و جاه و تن بگذر  
 هزاران جان جوی ارزد درین بازار درویشان  
 چو انصاری سخن گوید شود خوشوقت صوفیه  
 چه خوش مرغی است انصاری که شد گلزار درویشان

Sweet is that hour when dervishes can be seen in privacy: from mentioning Truth, the blessed work of dervishes becometh delightful.

They are beggars ascending to heaven, paupers of angelic disposition: like unto the waters of Kawşar and Zamzam are the mysteries of dervishes.

Their sight is a joy, their conversation is bliss. Truly the actions of dervishes are all wisdom and decency.

<sup>1</sup> فلک اسا B

<sup>2</sup> In B and C is added the next verse.

<sup>3</sup> In B and C is added the next verse.

Consider thou the presence of those holy ones an advantage, if thou art aware that pure divine light is radiating from dervishes.

They bear molestation from people, but they molest not even an ant. All traces left by dervishes are joy for the soul and the heart.

The faqirs are like unto falcons, know thou that their snare is discipleship (*irādat*). Wherever there be need, towards that place are the steps of dervishes directed.

If thou wishest to be with them, discard thou thy riches, thy rank and thy very body: a thousand souls cost one barley-grain in that market of dervishes.

When Anṣāri speaketh, Šūfis become glad. What a pleasant meadow is that, O Anṣāri, which becometh a flower-garden (i.e. the trysting-place) of dervishes.\*

## XII

A, fol. 50<sup>v</sup>; B, fol. 107<sup>r</sup>; C, fol. 91<sup>r</sup>.

علم و حکمت گنج تو کوپیان مشتاق تو  
 فرش اغبر مسند<sup>۱</sup> تو سقف اخضر طاق تو  
 عقل و نقل از بهر تست و ملک ایمان شهر تو  
 فکر و خشیت خوی تو روحانیان عشاق تو  
 انبیا غرخوار تست و اولیا دلدار تو  
 نور ایمان یار و قرآن<sup>۲</sup> حجت و مصدق تو  
 ناصحت الام غیبی واعظت تنبیه دل  
 ناصرت تأیید علوی حافظت خلاق تو

\* Zhukovsky translates: 'What a pleasant bird is Anṣāri, who composed the melody of the dervishes'. I fail to agree with him, primarily on account of the verb *shud*, which cannot mean 'composed', but must be translated 'became'. I read *marghī* 'a garden; lawn, meadow, grass, etc. (cf. *marghzār*) and take *gulzār* in its original meaning of flower-garden'.—The Translator.

<sup>1</sup> Thus B and C; A مست

<sup>2</sup> Thus B and C; A بار تو و حجت

پیر انصاری صلاحی کر همی ورزی بود<sup>۱</sup>

مهر و مه در رشک اشک چهره برّاق تو

Knowledge and wisdom are thy treasure; cherubs are longing for thee; a dusty carpet is thy throne, the azure cupola [of the sky] is thy roof.

Reason and tradition are for thee, the kingdom of faith is thy city. Meditation and fear of God is thy temperament; spiritual entities are thy lovers.

Prophets are thy intimate friends, saints are thy admirers; the light of faith is thy friend, the Qur'ān thy proof and confirmation.

Thy adviser is Divine Inspiration, thy admonisher—the warning of the heart; thy helper is assistance from on high, thy protector is thy Creator.

O Elder Ansārī! if thou practisest virtue, the sun and the moon will be jealous of a tear on thy shining face.

### XIII

A, fol. 45<sup>r</sup>; B, fol. 96<sup>r</sup>; C, fol. 81<sup>r</sup>.

باری اگر عاشق شوی بر خالق جّار شو  
ور فتنه کردی بر کسی بر عالم اسرار شو  
بر دوختم از غیر او چشم اولو الابصار را  
خواهی بشهبازان رسی تو از اولو الابصار باش  
تا چند بندی جان و دل بر خوبرویان جهان  
در ما نگر ای بی بصر وز خواب خوش بیدار شو  
این ماهرویان عاقبت چون کاه رویان میشود  
از بیوفایان جهان بستان دل و بیزار شو

<sup>1</sup> Thus B and C; A برو

اهل ملاحترا ز رخ هردم طراوت کم شود  
 گر حسن باقی بایدست در عشق موسی وار شو  
 بس بیوفا و پرچفا باشند یاران دگر  
 یار وفاداری اگر خواهی تو با ما یار شو  
 دانا و بینائیم هم بر جمله کردار تو  
 خواهی شبی را<sup>۱</sup> روز کن خواهی پس دیوار شو  
 تو کار چندین ساله را اندیشه پیش خود نهی  
 اول تو عمر خویش را یک لحظه پنرفتار شو  
 ای بنده نشکستیم ما هرگز مرادی در دلت  
 شرمی بدار آخر تو و دلچوی آن دلدار شو  
 پنجاه و شصت از عمر تو بگذشت تو طفی هنوز  
 ای پیر<sup>۲</sup> نبالغ بیا از مستیت هشیار شو  
 پیدا نخواهد شد ترا جز من خریدار دگر  
 ور می نیاید<sup>۳</sup> باورت اینک سوی بازار شو  
 در قلب شب پرسش کنم دلخستگان خویش را  
 گر پرسش من بایدست از خواب خوش بیدار شو  
یا نار کوئی بردا از ما سوی آتش بر پیام  
 پس تو مترس و خوش خوش اندر دوزخ پر نار شو<sup>۴</sup>

<sup>1</sup> بروی

<sup>3</sup> ور می نیارد C ورنه نیارد A

<sup>4</sup> This verse is omitted in A.

<sup>2</sup> Thus B and C; A گشته

چندین چه معماری کنی بستان سرای خویش را  
 زندان تنگ گوردا آخرا یکی معمار شو  
 ای که مرا گفتی یکی خواهیم امرزیدنت  
 خواهی تو در کعبه نشین خواهی تو بر کفار شو<sup>۱</sup>  
 گر صد هزاران سال تو پهلوتی کردی زمن  
 یکباره گو بد کردم و در بارگاه<sup>۲</sup> یار شو  
 انصاریا خواهی که تو یابی ز عمرت بهره  
 بی خواب و خورد و دردمند چون عاشقان زار شو

Shouldst thou ever fall in love, do so with the Almighty Creator. If thou hast afflicted anybody, turn towards the Knower of Mysteries.

I have closed my clairvoyant eyes to everything except Him: if thou wantest to equal the royal falcons, be of the clairvoyant ones.

How long wilt thou attach thy heart and soul to the beautiful ones of this world? Look at us, O sightless one! awake from thy sweet sleep.

These moon-faced ones will in the end become with faces like straw [i.e. yellow-T.]: take away thy heart from the unfaithful ones of this world and become thou free.

The beautiful ones loose every moment some of the freshness of their face: if thou needest permanent beauty, be in love like unto Moses.

How unfaithful and full of cruelty are other friends! If thou wantest a faithful friend, make thou friends with us.

We know and We see all thy actions, whether thou turnest night into day \* or hidest behind a wall.

The care for the works of so many years thou placest before thee: be first a surety for one moment of thy own life.

<sup>1</sup> This verse, as well as the preceding and the next hemistichs are omitted in A.

بستان C<sup>2</sup>

\* Zhukovsky translates, I don't know why خواهی شی را روز کن 'whether thou committest them in broad daylight', etc.—The Translator.

O my servant! We have never broken in thy heart a single wish: for shame, show at last affection to this Loving One.

Fifty, sixty years have passed of thy life, and thou art still a child. O immature old man! come, get sober from thy drunkenness.

There will not be found another buyer for thee, except Myself: if thou believest Me not, go to the market-place.

In the middle of the night I question my heart-tired ones. If thou needest to be questioned by Me, awake from thy sweet sleep.

To the fire the message from Us was: 'O fire, become thou cold.'<sup>1</sup> Do not fear, in consequence, and go gladly to the hell which is full of fire.

Why art thou building so many palace-gardens for thyself: be for once the builder of the narrow prison of thy grave.

O thou who hast called Me 'One'!\* We shall forgive thy sins whether thou abidest in the Ka'ba or with infidels.

Although for a hundred thousand years thou hast shunned Me, say once 'I have behaved badly!' and enter the Court of the Friend.

O Ansāri! if thou wishest to derive any benefit from thy life, be thou without sleep, without food and feel miserable, like those who are languishing with love.

#### XIV

A, fol. 130<sup>r</sup>; B, fol. 235<sup>r</sup>; C, fol. 259<sup>r</sup>.

من کیم بر آستانت یا الله  
 شرمساری عذرخواهی از گناه  
 عمر ضایع کرده سرگشته  
 خوار و زار افتاده بر خاک راه<sup>2</sup>  
 گه ز سوز سینه ام سازی کتاب  
 گه دلم خون گردد از حال تبا

<sup>1</sup> Qur'ān, XXI, 69.

\* I cannot accept Zhukovský's translation 'Somebody spoke to me: we shall forgive thee', etc. for: ای که مرا گفته یکی.—The Translator.

<sup>2</sup> In C this verse is omitted.

میکشم زاندیشة آخر نفس  
آههای سرد وقت صبحگاه  
آه با دل تو چها<sup>۱</sup> پرداختی  
سرنوشتی ما چه کردی آه آه  
هرچه کردم عفو فرما زانکه من  
بر امید رحمت کردم کنام  
گشته بار معصیت سنگین چو کوه  
کاش بودی وزن طاعت پر<sup>۲</sup> کاه  
تو بسوز انصاریا مستوچی  
ور ببخشد هست عفو از پادشاه

Who am I on Thy threshold, O God? An ashamed one  
asking to be forgiven his sins.

One who hath wasted his life, one distressed, and miserable,  
and afflicted, fallen in the dust of the road.

Sometimes by the heat of my breast Thou burnest me;  
sometimes my heart bleedeth on account of my desperate  
situation.\*

At the thought of my last breath, I give utterance to  
chilling sighs every morn.

Oh, what hast Thou done to my heart? What hast Thou  
done with our predestination, alas, alas!!

Forgive me what I did, for I had sinned relying on Thy  
mercy.

The burden of sins hath become as heavy as a mountain,  
Oh, were it that the weight of obedience were as light as a bit  
of straw!

Burn thou, O Ansāri, thou deservest it, and if He forgiveth  
[so much the better], for forgiveness is natural to Kings.

<sup>1</sup> آه نا بردل چها

<sup>2</sup> Thus B and C; A بگ

\* Zhukovsky translates 'از حال تباء' 'on account of [my]  
depravity'.—The Translator.

## XV

A, fol. 52<sup>v</sup>; B, fol. 110<sup>r</sup>; C, fol. 104<sup>r</sup>; Ind. ed., p. 46.

ای لباس اقتباس از دوش<sup>۱</sup> هوش انداخته  
 وی ز بهر دام و دانه دین و دل در باخته  
 زآتش سودای دل در بوته حرص و امل  
 همچو سیم و زر ز عشق سیم و زر بگداخته  
 از جهولی بر طریق حق نرفته یک قدم  
 وز فضولی سوی شهر شر دو اسپه تاخته  
 از برای رای زن دور از رضای ایزدی  
 وز غرور خان و مان با نفس بد در ساخته<sup>۲</sup>  
 مال و نعمت بذل کرده بهر فرزندان بسی  
 بهر حق امّا یک دلخسته را نتواختی  
 بس خجالتها که بینی گر بمیری همچنین<sup>۳</sup>  
 شکر نعمتها نگفته قدر خود نشناخته  
 شرم باد از حضرت حق آدمی را هر سحر  
 کو بخواب غفلت است و حمد گویان فاخته  
 وه که عزراشیل ناگه بر زند طبل رحیل  
 خواجه آزق را نپخته کارها نا ساخته<sup>۴</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus Ind. ed.; B, C هوش

<sup>2</sup> This verse and the next one are omitted in the Indian edition.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. ed. ناگان

<sup>4</sup> This verse and the next one are omitted in the Indian edition.

منزلش گور است خواجه بر ره سیلاپ مرگ  
 قصر و ایوان تا عنان<sup>۱</sup> آسمان افراخته  
 با اجل شطرنج بازی میکنی انصاریا  
 ناگهان تو مات گشته او دغائی باخته

O thou, who hast thrown off from the shoulders of reason  
 the mantle of learning and hast lost thy faith and thy heart for  
 the grains in a snare.

On the fire of the concupiscence of the heart, in the crucible \*  
 of greediness and desire, like unto silver and gold, from the love  
 of silver and gold, thou art melted.

In thy folly, thou hast not advanced a single step on the  
 road to Truth, out of foolhardiness, like a post-boy, thou hast  
 hastened to the city of evil.

From thoughts about thy wife thou hast estranged thyself  
 from pleasing God, from the vain-glory in thy house and its  
 belongings thou hast made a compromise with thy lower soul.

A lot of riches and wealth thou hast spent on thy progeny,  
 yet, for the love of God, thou hast not treated kindly a single  
 afflicted one.

How much shame wilt thou feel, if thou diest in that state,  
 without having expressed thy gratitude for the favours received,  
 without having understood thy proper value.

May be ashamed before God the man who every morning  
 is sleeping in heedlessness, whilst the dove is singing praises to  
 God.

Take care ! suddenly 'Azrā'il might strike the drum of  
 departure, whilst the old man hath not yet cooked his provisions  
 and not arranged his affairs.

His station, O old man, is the grave on the road of the  
 torrent of death, and thou hast erected castles and halls as high  
 as the clouds of heaven.

Anṣārī ! thou art playing chess with Fate: all of a sudden  
 you are checkmated, for He is cheating at the game.

<sup>1</sup> Thus C; A and B تا سرا ایوان

\* Zhukovsky translates 'در چوب حرص و امل' on the fuel (or  
 "firewood".—T.) of cupidity and hope'. I am unable to fit in the meaning  
 of 'firewood' into چوب, which may sometimes, of course, mean  
 'brushwood'. The preposition در also shows plainly the correct  
 meaning.—The Translator.

## XVI

A, fol. 4v; B, fol. 19v; C, fol. 4v.

جاھلی چند از پی زنگی شده  
 صوف پوش شیوه ننگی<sup>1</sup> شده  
 هر یک را ظاهری معمور لیک  
 باطن ویران و دل سنگی شده  
 برق زرقی می نماید از برون  
 از درون بر روی دل زنگی شده  
 نفس ایشان را ز خودبیی که هست  
 صحن گیتی حیره تنگی شده  
 خواب خودرا کرده عادت همچو گاو  
 در ره طاعت خر لنگی شده  
 مرد باید اندرين ره هر دوست  
 استخوان و پوست چون چنگی شده  
 دوست با تو صلح کرد آندم که دید  
 در میان با نفس تو<sup>2</sup> جنگی شده<sup>3</sup>  
 در ریاضت بین تن انصار را  
 وز<sup>4</sup> شکرهای سخن تنگی شده

<sup>1</sup> جرعه نوش شیوه بگی C<sup>2</sup> در میان نفس خود B<sup>3</sup> This verse is omitted in A.<sup>4</sup> در B

A few fools attracted by externalities have donned the wool of glorying in reputation.

Each of them hath a cultured appearance, inwardly desolate and with a heart of stone.

On the outside they show the brilliancy of hypocrisy, inside the heart is covered with rust.

For their lower soul, owing to the conceit which prevailth in them, the expanse of the world is like unto a narrow cell.

They have accustomed themselves to sleep like cows, and on the path of obedience to God they have become like unto a lame ass.

On this path the man needed by the Friend should be all skin and bones, like unto a harp.\*

The Friend will make peace with thee, when He seeth that thou art at war with thy lower soul.

In austerity look at the body of Anṣārī: from the sweetness of his words he hath become an ass-load of sugar.

## XVII

A, fol. 30<sup>v</sup>; B, fol. 69<sup>r</sup>; C, fol. 57<sup>r</sup>.

ای که تو مغور تخت و دولت فرخنده  
 خواجه صاحب سریر و مفرشی افگنده  
 یا که جمشیدی بسیرت یا که خورشیدی بحسن  
 یا چو زهره چهره داری یا چو مه تابنده  
 یا کلالتی که گفتم ضعف آن دریافتی  
 یا مراداتی که جستی جمله را یابنده  
 یا چو قیصر هست در سر تاج و افسر مر ترا  
 یا چو عیسی ابن مریم تا قیامت زنده

\* Zhukovsky translates: 'by bones and skin resemble a claw (i.e. dry up) for استخوان و پوست چون چنگی شده', which seems to me somewhat far-fetched. But *chang* means also any stringed instrument played upon by pinching the strings, and a harp *does* resemble a skeleton.—The Translator.

یا گرفتی چون فریدون ملکت روی زمین  
 یا چو فارون صد هزاران مال و گنج آگنده  
 جمله شدادی و لیکن نیستی این ز موت  
 هیچ کس گفست با تو تا ابد پاینده  
 آسمان چو ابر نیسان بر تو گریان است زار<sup>۱</sup>  
 آن زمان که غفلت خود همچو گل در خنده  
 چند از این باد بروت و آتش سودای دل  
 خاکی و بی آب آنکه با دماغ گنده  
 گر امیری هم بیمیری پیر انصاری برو  
 خواجهی نذیرد از تو سر بنه چون<sup>۲</sup> بندۀ

O thou, who art deluded by thy throne and thy favourable fate, O lord and master of the throne and of the carpet spread.

Art thou Jamshid as to temperament, or like the Sun in beauty, or hast thou a face like Venus, or art thou shining like the Moon ?

Hast thou reached all the virtues, twice as much as I have said ? or hast thou obtained the objects of all thy wishes ?

Or is there a crown and a diadem on thy head like unto the Qaisar ? Or wilt thou be alive until the Day of Resurrection, like Jesus, son of Mary ?

Hast thou obtained the kingdom of the whole earth, like Faridûn ? Or hast thou collected, like Qârûn, a hundred thousand riches and treasures ?

Thou art altogether like Shaddâd,—but art thou safe from death ? Hath anybody told thee that thou shalt live forever ?

Heaven, like unto a cloud in Naysân (i.e. April.-T.), is weeping bitterly over thee, at the moment, when, in thy unconsciousness, thou art laughing like a rose.

For how long that wind of arrogance and that fire of the ambition of the heart ? Thou art dust, devoid of water (i.e. of lustre), O thou with the swollen head.

<sup>1</sup> بار زار

<sup>2</sup> گو

If thou art even a prince, death is unavoidable. O Elder Anṣārī! He accepteth not mastership from thee,—go, bow thy head in obeisance, like a slave.

## XVIII

A, fol. 46v; B, fol. 98v; C, fol. 82v.

ای که در لای بلای معصیت آلوده  
 وعظ دل را هیچ وقت از سمع سر نشنوده  
 حت دنیارا نشانده در سرای سر خویش  
 و آنzman مر دیگرانرا ترک آن فرموده  
 خدمت پیری نکری کی جوانبختی<sup>۱</sup> شوی  
 صحبت نیکان نیابی چون برین بد بوده  
 ره نرفتی رهبری چون میکنی ای خیرهکار  
 میوه کی پیدا کنی چون غنچه ننموده  
 ذل شاگردی ندیدی عز استادی مجوی  
 گر مرید شیخ گردی فارغ و آسوده  
 چشم اهل معرفترا از تو باشد روشنی  
 گر چو<sup>۲</sup> سرمه زیر سگ ابتلا فرسوده  
 گنج بی رنجی بدان حاصل نشد انصاریا  
 جان فدا کن بهر جانان ورنه رو بیهوده

<sup>۱</sup> جوانبختی C

<sup>2</sup> Thus B and C: A هجو

O thou, who art stuck in the mire of the misfortune of sin,  
never hast thou listened to the admonitions of the heart while  
hearing mysteries.\*

Thou hast established the love for worldly things in the  
innermost of thy heart, teaching others, at the same time, to  
give it up.

Thou hast not served an Elder, how canst thou be happy ?  
Thou canst not become a companion of good men, having been  
bad in that respect.

Thou hast not followed the Path, how canst thou be a guide  
on the road, O foolhardy one ? How canst thou obtain fruits  
without having ever produced a bud ?

Thou hast not experienced the mortification of discipleship,  
do not seek the dignity of masterdom: by becoming the disciple  
of an Elder, thou wilt be free and quiet.

For the eyes of the 'people of knowledge' (*ahl-i ma'rifat*)  
there will be light from thee, if thou art pounded, like a  
collyrium, under the stone of trials.

Treasure cannot be gained without trouble, O *Ansāri*:  
bring thy soul in sacrifice to the Beautiful One, otherwise, go !  
thou art useless.

### XIX

A, fol. 49<sup>v</sup>; B, fol. 105<sup>r</sup>; C, fol. 89<sup>v</sup>.

هرگز ای جان نکنم از در تو نومیدی  
چون هزاران بتر از من بکرم بخشیدی  
روز بازار استم که بها میدادی  
جمله عیب من مفلس و بیکس دیدی  
کی فضیحت کنیم روز قیامت یا رب  
تو که کردار من اکنون ز کم پوشیدی  
ذرّه بی سر و پائی که هوائی تو کرفت  
بر سر خلق دو عالم بکند خورشیدی

\* Zhukovsky translates: 'didst not hear with the ear of thy head'  
for از سع سر نشنوده. I read *sir(r)*, not *sar*, and translate accordingly.—  
The Translator.

هله ای عاشق بیچاره<sup>۱</sup> خنور چندین غم  
 تو که جامی به<sup>۲</sup> است از کف ما نوشیدی  
 ای بسا محنت دنیا که بروی تو رسید  
 روز و شب ز آتش عشق رخ ما جوشیدی  
 مهر مهرم بزدی بردل مجروح بسی  
 غرقه در<sup>۳</sup> خون جگر سر بکفن پیچیدی  
 پیر انصار چو مردی ز غم عمر توام<sup>۴</sup>  
 با تو پیوندم اگر تو با همه ببریدی

O Beloved ! I will never forsake the hope of [entering] Thy door, since thousands worse than me Thou hast forgiven in Thy mercy.

On the day of the fair of creation, when fixing my price, thou didst see all the defects of such a destitute orphan as I.

How canst thou disgrace me on the Day of Resurrection, O Lord, since Thou hast concealed now my doings by Thy Clemency.

The insignificant atom which fell in love with Thee, will become a sun above the heads of the creatures of the two worlds.

O unlucky lover ! do not grieve so much,—on the Day of the Creation hast thou not drunk a cup from Our hand ?

How many wordly misfortunes have befallen thee ! day and night hast thou been boiling on the fire of love to Me.

Thou hast stamped many times the seal of love to Me on thy wounded heart, and, drowned in the blood of thy heart, thou hast donned the shroud.

O Elder Anṣār ! when thou diest in longing for Me in thy life, I shall attach Myself to thee, if thou hast relinquished everything.

<sup>1</sup> B خدیده

<sup>2</sup> B چ

<sup>3</sup> C ب.

<sup>4</sup> Thus B and C; A ا

## XX

A, fol. 46v; B, fol. 99v; C, fol. 83r.

تا بکی کبر و عناد تا چه وقت این بی رهی  
 با چنین فعل<sup>۱</sup> از عتاب تاب دوزخ کی رهی  
 عاقبت با خاک خواری سر نهی بی هیچ ریب  
 گر چو ذوالقرنین تاج مملکت بر سر نهی  
 خواب خرگوش ترا گر میدهد غول امل  
 پنجه شیر اجل را<sup>۲</sup> تا بکی این رو بهی  
 ای گرفته راه شیطان مرد کویم نه زنی  
 چون نیازرد از تو رحمان عاقلی نه ابلهی<sup>۳</sup>  
 قصد تو دارند نفس و شهوت و حرص و امل  
 عاقلا این مشو زین دشمنان گر آگهی  
 توبه باید ز عصیان تاکه در جنت شوی  
 بی سر تینی مسلم<sup>۴</sup> کی شود تخت شهری  
 گر بها در آستین آماده بود خواجه را  
 از نخاس او<sup>۵</sup> کی تو اند برد ترک خرگهی  
 هر کسی در عز و ناز و سروری انصاریا  
 کیستند با من بگوئی<sup>۶</sup> مبتدی یا منتهی

<sup>۱</sup> C فعل<sup>۲</sup> B and C اجل بین<sup>۳</sup> Thus B and C; A غافلی نه آگهی<sup>۴</sup> میسر C<sup>۵</sup> از نجاش C<sup>۶</sup> نگوئی C

For how long this pride and obstinacy, till what time this deviation from the right way? With such actions, how canst thou escape being punished by the fire of hell?

Without any doubt whatever, at the end, thou shalt lay down thy head in the dust of abasement, even shouldst thou wear a crown of empire like that of Zū-l-Qarnayn.

If the demon of hope giveth thee a hare's sleep (*i.e.* negligence), for how long wilt thou be able to play the fox in the claws of the lion of death?

O thou, who hast followed the ways of Satan, do not pretend to be a man of My street: how should the Merciful not be aggrieved with thee, thou art intelligent, not a fool.\*

In league against thee are thy lower soul, lust, covetousness and cupidity: O intelligent man! beware of these enemies, if thou art aware.

Repentance of sins is needed to enter Paradise: without the point of the sword, how can the royal throne be safe?

If money is not ready in his sleeve, how can a nobleman get from the slave-seller a lovely Turk? \*\*

Everybody seems to possess rank, comfort or a post of command, O Anṣārī! who are they, do tell me, whether beginners, or those who have attained the end?

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These stern, but fervent, exhortations to turn towards Truth, these bitter lamentations over the general decline of Sūfi principles amongst the masses, must be considered as quite sincere from the lips of Anṣārī. The decline, of which he speaks, was clearly recognized by certain of his contemporaries as well. Thus, Jullābī, on the very first pages of his work says<sup>1</sup>: 'Know thou that in this our time this science has in truth vanished, especially in this country, where the people have given themselves

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\* Zhukovsky translates the first hemistich: 'O thou who hast stopped the way for Satan, thou art a man, I say, not a woman', taking *rāh giriftan* to mean here 'to arrest the progress of somebody', and reading *gūyam* instead of *kūyam*. *Na-zānī*, however, is here the Subjunctive form of the verb *zādān* with the negative particle, used instead of the imperative, not the noun *ūj* with the *verbum substantivum*. I translate accordingly.—The Translator.

\*\* Zhukovsky reads, 'tark-ī khargahā' and translates the hemistich: 'How can he from the market-place bring a rope for the tent', obviously overlooking the possibility of dropping the *tashdīd* in *nakhkhās* ('slave-seller'), either as a poetical licence on part of Anṣārī, or as a current vulgar form of speech in Herat of his time. I read also 'turk-i-khargahi'.—The Translator.

<sup>1</sup> كشف المحووب Univ. Library No. 548 fol. 5r (= Zhukovsky's post-mortem edition, Leningrad, 1926, p. 7; Samarqand edition, 1914, p. 11; Lahore edition, p. 6.—T.)

بدانکه اندرين زمانه ما اين علم بحقیقت up entirely to their passions'\*

مندرس گشته است خاصه اندرين ديار که خلق جمله مشغول هوا گشته اند

With regard to his style, Anṣārī is, for the Vth century of the Hijra, an author of outstanding merit: az-Zahabī speaks of its elegance (.....کان بارعا ف اللغة), and Baiqarā of its terseness

bordering on what one may call the enigmatic. The above recorded 'songs' of Anṣārī sufficiently show him to be a past master in literary composition, having hardly any equal among his contemporaries. For the sake of completeness, however, we may be allowed to quote below a specimen from his pen in prose<sup>1</sup>, it being the latter which made his name so popular in the East: there is hardly any literate person in Persia or Central Asia who does not know by heart a whole series of sayings or pious invocations due to the authorship of 'Khāja 'Abdullāh'.

ای درویش بدانکه دنیا جهان غرور است و شهرستان  
 شرور است، غداره غریشه است و مکاره غدر اندیشه است،  
 رباطیست بی اقامت و ساباطیست دور از استقامت، زخم نیش  
 بی مرهم است مطلقه ابراهیم ادhem است، کریمجه<sup>2</sup> غفلت و بدنامیست  
 رانده حضرت بسطامیست، خانه مخت و بیدادیست انداخته جنید  
 بغدادیست، جرعه جان سوز تلخی است پشت پا زده شقیق بلخی  
 است، خود پرستان دون همت را دیر است مردود ابوسعید  
 ابوالخیر است، بگذاشته اتقیاست برداشته اشقیاست، هر که طالب  
 آن ذلیل است و زبان عنز کلیل است و اهل عبرت را آیست

\* But cf. what Zhukovskiy has to say in that respect in the Introduction to his above-mentioned edition of the *Kashfū-l-Mahjūb* (p. 483 of the English translation in vol. V of the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies).

<sup>1</sup> Univ. Library Ms. No. 386, fol. 352v-353v; cf. also the Indian edition, pp. 13-16.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. and edition گریخته

دلیل قُل مَتَاعُ الدُّنْيَا قَلِيلٌ ای سالک اگر از حضرت الهی طمع  
داری و خواهی زیستی در زهادت رفتی بر کلمه شهادت،  
در شب گور خوابی در روز قیامت ثوابی، برگ فزای از عملها  
و ترک نمای از املها، که امل آکسون تبلیس است و افسون  
ابلیس است، خصوصاً بوعظ بی اشتباه الدنيا ساعه، و لفظ پر انتباه  
فاجعلها طاعة، گذری کن بشورستانها و نظری کن بگورستانها،  
تاببیتی چندین مقابر و مزار و خفقه نازنیها صد هزار، که جهد  
کردن و کوشیدن و در تاب حرص و امل جوشیدند، و برگ  
غایم و انفال فریفته شدند چون اطفال، و بدراها درآمدند  
و بکوهسار برآمدند، و از جواهر درها برミان بستند صرها،  
و بزر و سیم و شور و یتیم حیله نمودند و نقده ربوند، عاقبت  
مردن و حسرتها بردن، القصه ابارها اباشتند و غم دنیا بر دل  
بگذاشتند، ناگاه از کنار امل شان کشانیدند و جمله را شربت اجل  
چشانیدند، دنیا چیست خسی پس وای بر کسی، که غافل ماند از فردا  
و آتَيَّ هَوَاهُ فَتَرَدَى، نه بینی چندین هزار امین و نقیاء روی  
زمین، و هنرمندان متنوع و خردمندان متضرع، که عالمی عتبه ایشان  
بوسیدند عاقبت مردن و پوسیدند، آری سرانجام همانست و پیان  
این جام همانست، که ای نفس از مرگ بیندیش و امل بردار از  
پیش، و اگر نه وای تو دوزخ جا و مأوای تو، به بین که دوستان

پاک و عزیزان خاک، که دعاء ترا جویانند و بزبان گویانند که ای  
جوانان غافل و پیران بی حاصل، دیوانه اید که چنین در خوابید  
و بیگانه اید که در نمی یا بید، که در خاک و خون خفته ایم  
و چهره در نقاب چون نهفته ایم، و هر یکی ماه دو هفته ایم  
و بهفته از یاد شما رفته ایم، ما نیز پیش از شما بر بساط کامرانی  
بودیم و انساط جهانباف نمودیم، و پستان دنیا مکیدیم و عاقبت  
تلخی<sup>۱</sup> مرگ چشیدیم و از زندگانی وفا ندیدیم، تا خبر شد هر یکی

را علیحده *مَا يَنْظُرُونَ إِلَّا صِحَّةً وَاحِدَةً*، بباد فنا برداده و بخاک  
عنا افتاده، نه از اهل و عیال دیدیم مرحمتی و نه مال و منال  
یافتیم منفعتی، هم قانعیم با این همه ندامت اگر درپیش نبودی روز  
قیامت، اکنون مارا نه بالشی نه فراشی نه نقده نه قاشی، نه حرّه  
نه حرّی نه صرّه نه درّی، نه وجوهی نه جباھی نه شکوھی  
نه سپاھی، نه امکان صوت و صدائی نه سامان نطق و ندائی حال  
کیستیم مشت گدائی، حظ ما از دنیا حرمانست و ششم و لحم ما  
نصیب کرمانست، وقتی که ما را امکان و جوهر در کان بود،  
و می یافتیم فراغ بالی و داشتیم خوش حالی، نکردیم هنری  
و نجستیم خبری در پریشانی افتادیم و برهمان جان دادیم،  
اگر ندارید جنون بر ما نگردید کنون، که روح هر یک می زارد  
و اشک بحسرت می بارد و مصیبت حال خود می دارد، حاصل  
ما پژمانیست در بردها و پشیمانیست بر کردها، ای مژده یافتگان

لَهْمَ الْبَشَرِيَّ چه میکنید این گنده پیر شوهرکشرا، روی  
آورید براه و در ما کنید نگاه، که نه از نام ما خبریست و نه  
از اجسام ما اثربود، ابدان ما ریزیده و اشخاص ما پوسیده،  
گلهای ما کوفته و مقبره ما نا روپته، خان و مان ما خراب منزل  
و مکان ما تراب، در بستر ما دیگری نائب یتیمان ما از خانه غائب،  
طرء طرار ما باد برد و لاله رخسار ما خاک خورده، ابروی خمیده  
ما هلاک نرگس دو دیده ما چاک، عقیق لبان ما گرد آمیخته  
و در دندان ما در لحد ریخته، بلبل فصیح زبان ما فروپسته  
حَقَّهُ يَا قَوْتَيْنِ دَهَانِ مَا دَرَهْمٌ شَكْسَتَهُ، وَ جَوَارِحَ چَابَكَ مَا وَاعْصَنَى  
نَازِكَ مَا، زَخْمَ خَورَدَهُ شُورَسْتَانَ وَ خَاكَ تُودَهُ گُورَسْتَانَ،  
مرغ روح از ما پریده و خار حسرت از خاک ما دمیده،  
عربت زایندگانیم و موعظت آیندگانیم، بباد دهانی در بندهیم  
و بیاد زبانی خرسندیم، و آن هم بمحیلیست نامفسر و دولتیست  
نامیسر، ما در خاک تیره و شما در خواب إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَعِبْرَةً

لَأَوْلَى الْأَلْبَابِ ۝

O dervish ! know that this lower world is a world of deceit and a city of wicked people. It is a fornicating traitress, a perfidious schemer. It is an inn where one cannot stay and an unstable passage-way. It is a wound caused by a sting, for which there is no salve, it is the wife divorced by Ibrâhîm-i Âdham. It is a hovel of carelessness and ill-fame, which was relinquished by His Holiness Bastâmi. It is a house of calamity and iniquity, which was renounced by Junayd-i Baghdaðî. It is a soul-burning bitter drink, which was trampled under foot by

Shaqq-i Balkhi. For low-minded self-seekers it is a temple, which was scorned by Abū-Sa‘id-i Abū-l-Khayr. It is what the God-fearing refuse, and what the unfortunate accept. Whoever seeketh it is contemptible, and the tongue of his excuses is stammering, but for the exemplary people guidance is found in the verse: ‘*Say: the good of the world is small*’<sup>1</sup>. O traveller! if thou art seeking and longing for God, thou must live in asceticism and proceed in accordance with the confession of faith. In the night of the grave there is sleep, and on the Day of Resurrection there is reward: increase the stock of good actions and abandon hope, for hope is the brocade of personation and a charm of the devil, especially according to the true admonition: ‘*The world is one hour*’, and to the encouraging saying: ‘*Fill it (i.e. that hour) with obedience*’. Pass through the salt-marshes and look at the graveyards: thou wilt see so many graves and tombs, and a hundred thousand beautiful ones sleeping in them. They tried and made efforts, and burned in the fire of cupidity and hope. They were deceived by riches and spoils like children. They dived into seas and ascended mountains. They wore belts adorned with precious pearls, and for gold and silver they deceived the weak and the orphans and robbed them of their money.\* Ultimately they died and carried with them many regrets. In one word, they filled their storehouses and brought into their hearts the sorrows of this world. Suddenly they were torn away from the side of hope and all were given to taste of the drink of death. What is the world? a piece of litter. Then, woe to him who has remained careless of to-morrow and ‘*He followed his passions,—mayest thou not perish!*’<sup>2</sup> Dost thou not see so many thousands of trusted men and chiefs on the face of the earth, and every kind of talented people and humble sages, whose threshold the whole world used to kiss: in the end they died and rotted away. Yea, such is the end, and such are the dregs of that cup! O soul! think of death and do away with hope, otherwise, woe to thee, for hell will be thy place of abode. Look: thy true friends and thy dear ones who are buried under earth are seeking for thy prayers and are speaking the following language: ‘O careless youths, and O useless old men! are you insane to remain asleep in this way, or are you from another world that you do not understand that we are sleeping in dust and blood and covering our faces with the veil [of the shroud]. Each of us was like unto a moon

<sup>1</sup> Qur’ān, IV, 79.

\* Zhukovsky needlessly corrects شور و نیم سود into ‘for gold and silver, profit and goods, they had recourse to subterfuge and amassed cash’. The meaning is, however, clear without that correction.—The Translator.

<sup>2</sup> Qur’ān, XX, 17.

of two weeks' \*, and in one week's time you have forgotten us. We also, before you, have been seated on the carpet of happiness enjoying the delight of owning the world. We sucked the breast of the world, but ultimately we tasted of the bitterness of death, and did not see good faith on the part of the world. When, for each of us separately there came the message: '*They expect nothing but one single calamity*'<sup>1</sup>, we were given up to the winds of annihilation and thrown in the dust of distress. No kindness did we see from our relatives and family, no profit did we derive from wealth and property. We would agree to all that bitterness, were it not for the Day of Judgment which is looming ahead! We have neither pillow nor carpet, neither cash nor goods, neither a wife, nor a concubine, neither purse nor coin, neither chiefs nor troops \*\*, neither grandeur nor army, neither voice nor possibility of [emitting a] sound, no capacity either of speaking or calling. Who are we now? a handful of beggars \*\*\*. We are prevented from enjoying worldly pleasures, our fat and flesh have fallen to the lot of worms. At the time when we had the possibility and the precious stone was in the mine, when we enjoyed peace of mind and a merry disposition, we did not display any virtue and did not seek information, we fell into [the habit of] dissipation, and in that state we left this life. If you are not mad, look at us now: the spirit of every one of us is moaning, and shedding tears of regret, and deplored its present situation. Our profit is regrets of what has been taken away from us and repentance for what had been done by us. O you! who have received the message, contained in the words: '*For them there are glad tidings*'<sup>2</sup>, what have you in common with that stinking husband-killing old hag? Turn your faces towards the road, and look at us: there is no mention of our names, and there is no trace of our bodies. Our frames have fallen to dust and our bodies have rotted away. Our dust is trampled under foot and our graves are unswept. Our establishment has been destroyed, and our place of abode is dust. On our couch somebody else takes our place, and our orphans have left their home. Our bewitching locks have been blown away by the wind, and the

\* i.e., as beautiful as the full moon.—The Translator.

<sup>1</sup> Qur'an, XXXVI, 49.

\*\* Zhukovsky translates 'جهانی نہ وجہی نہ' 'neither faces, nor foreheads'.—The Translator.

\*\*\* Zhukovsky translates 'گدائی مشت' 'the hand of a beggar'.

But *musht* is not 'hand', least of all, the outstretched hand of a beggar, but a 'closed hand; a fist; a handful (also for persons, in the meaning of "some", a few).—The Translator.

<sup>2</sup> Qur'an, X, 65; XXXIX, 19.

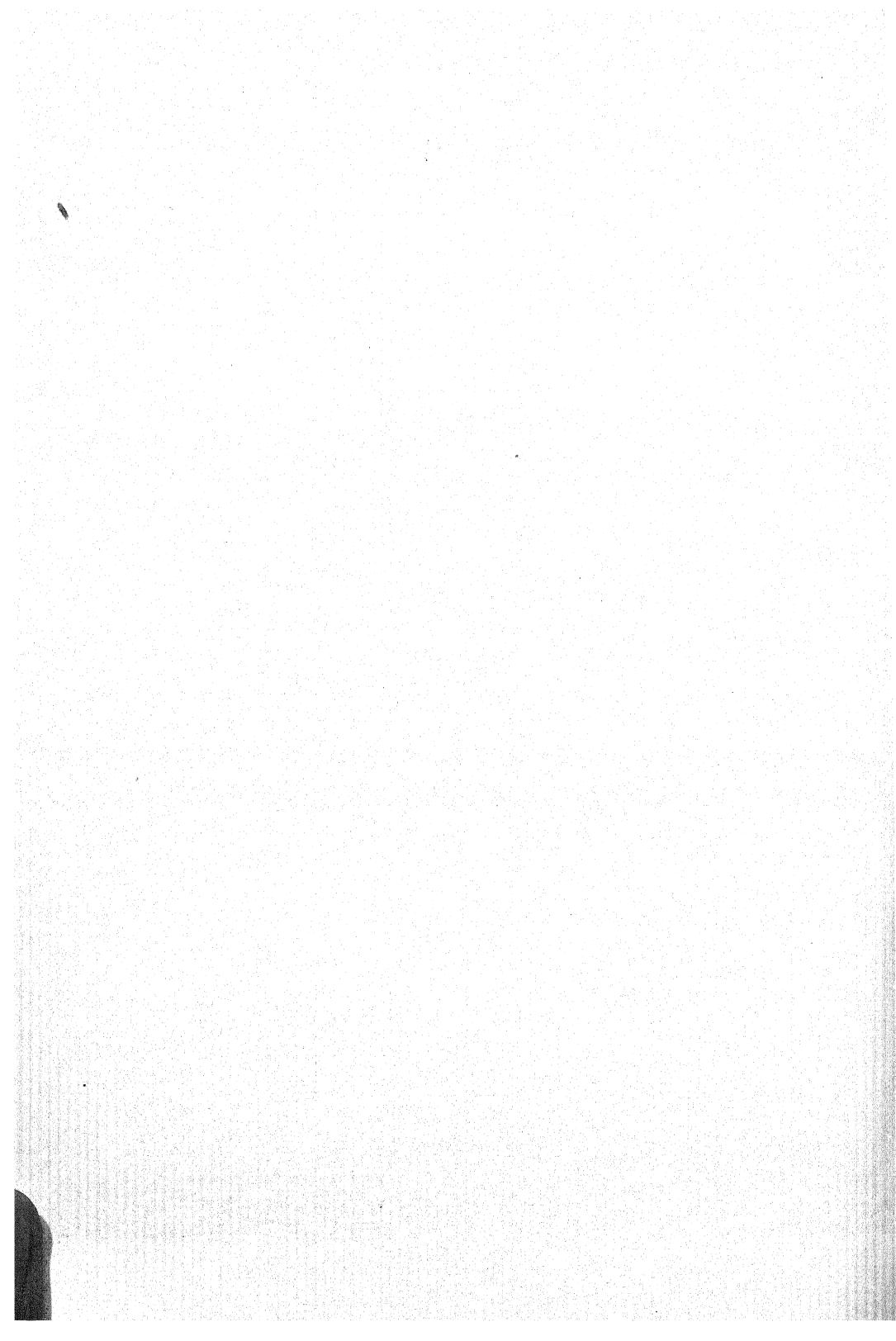
tulips of our cheeks have been eaten up by the earth. Our curved eyebrows have perished, and the narcissi of our two eyes have burst. The corals of our lips have been mixed with dust, and the pearls of our teeth have been scattered in the grave. The eloquent nightingale of our tongue has become silent, and the ruby-casket of our mouth has fallen to pieces. Our nimble limbs and our fine members have been wounded by the [earth of the] salt-marsh and have become a heap of earth in the graveyard. The bird of the spirit has flown away, and thorns of regret have grown from our dust. We are a warning to those who are born, and an admonition for those to come. We are in need of a breath of a mouth, and we are content with being mentioned by a tongue. All that is a summary, not an explanation, and happiness is inaccessible. We are under the dark earth, and you are asleep,—‘*Verily, there is a warning for those who are reasonable*’<sup>1</sup>.

It may be mentioned in conclusion that the Elder of Herat is, from the literary point of view, a most prominent personality. A more close study of his works would be a most interesting and profitable task for research workers: it would help to define the exact place of these works among Persian literary monuments and would yield invaluable data for a critical study of the text of the quatrains of Abū-Sa‘id b. Abī-l-Khayr\* in the unique and over-estimated edition by Dr. H. Ethé, as well as of the quatrains of Omar Khayyām, who, in spite of the many editions and articles devoted to him, is still remaining a riddle. Such a study of the works of Anṣārī has been absorbing my attention for a long time, and the results of my work, which are being prepared for publication, shall, in good time, be submitted to the attention of, and consideration by Orientalists.\*\*

<sup>1</sup> Qur’ān, III, 11, where the correct reading of the two last words is *لَوْلَيْمَلَّ بَصَار*

\* Cf. my note on p. 1.—*The Translator.*

\*\* No further publication by Z hukov s k y on Anṣārī has, however, to my knowledge, appeared during his lifetime.—*The Translator.*



*Challis-Ghutia* and its degenerate variants.

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.)

The present writer observed the following game described as *Challis-Ghutia* (the game of forty pieces) by the men playing them in the streets of Calcutta near Ultadanga. They all hail from Jaunpur in the United Provinces; and they told him that this game is also played in their home district.

The diagram of the game is shown in Fig. 1. One player occupies the points marked with  $\times$ 's with his 40 pieces—tiny bits

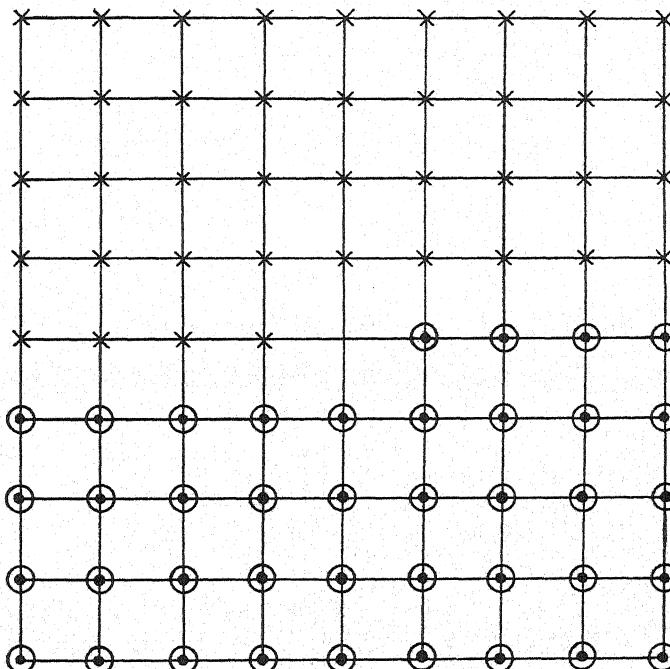


FIG 1.

of coal; his opponent places his 40 pieces—tiny bits of potsherd at the points enclosed by  $\circ$ 's. The pieces move one place at a time either vertically or horizontally, if it is vacant; and they capture the opponent's pieces by jumping over the same in a straight line to a vacant point opposite. Successive captures

are allowed. The winner is to capture all the pieces of his opponent.

A similar game *Ratti-chitti-Bakri* (Red-White Goats) has been described by the late Prof. Hem Chandra Das Gupta in 'Sedentary Games prevalent in the Punjab' in *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXII, (1926), p. 146.

At Tittagarh, some 13 miles north of Calcutta, the population is heterogeneous and consists mainly of mill-hands coming from the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, and Madras. There we have found several *degenerate* forms of *Challis-Ghutia* played by men and boys, some of whom are born there and some come from their native districts in the U.P. and Madras. The diagram used is somewhat different from that shown in Fig. 1. It is shown in Fig. 2. Though the game is described by the players

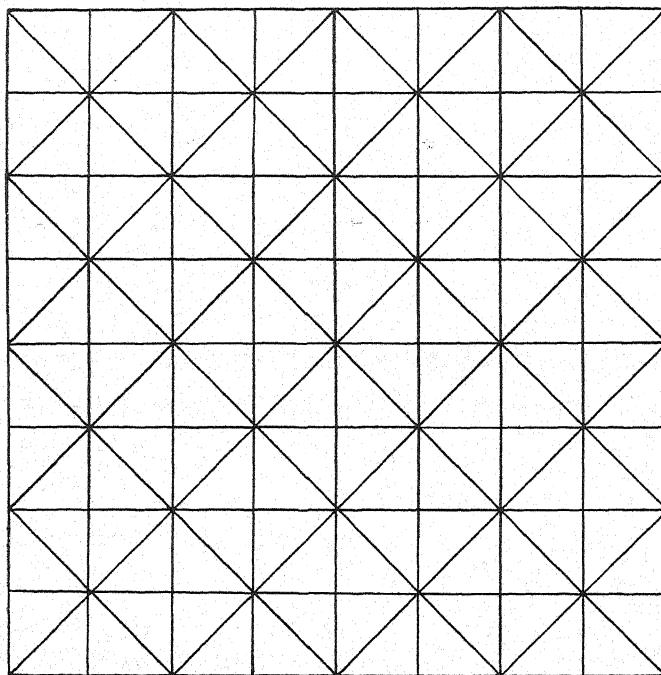


FIG. 2.

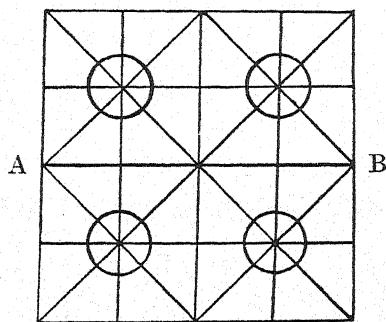
as *Challis-Ghutia*, it is generally played with pieces far less in number than 40. Sometimes 16, 18, 24, and 32 pieces are used by each player; 24 being the most frequent number. The pieces are arranged along the horizontal lines; and any excess over multiples of 9 are placed along the right-hand side of the next line. The usual rules of capture and successive captures are followed.

*Bagh-Chal* at Kamakhya.

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.)

In March 1939 we visited Kamakhya (5 miles to the west of Gauhati) in Assam. There are two stone-flagged slopes or ascents to the Temple on the top of the hills—the Eastern one much broader and the one used by the pilgrims and others; and the Western one steep and in some places very narrow, sometimes used in descent, but never used in ascent on account of a supposed prohibition or curse, according to which it brings ill-luck to the pilgrim ascending by it. Down the Western descent there is a stone wall, traditionally supposed to have been built by Narak Asura—now a protected monument. A few yards outside this wall, on the stone-flagging we found the following diagram chiselled; and two local Nepali boys playing



Tigers at A and B.  
Five goats at each of the points enclosed in a circle.

the game of *Bagh-Chal*, with two tigers and 20 pieces of goats. The usual rule of capture by jumping over the piece to the next vacant point in a straight line is followed. They described the game as *Bagh-Chal*.

Though perhaps not strictly pertinent we would like to draw the attention of the reader to the fact that Sedentary Games were popular in the time of Emperor Akbar. Prof. Md. Sanaullah has translated *Tazkirat-ul-Ulama* from Persian. He quotes a passage from Jehangir's own writing (*Tuzuk-i-Shazade*) in which the Emperor speaks of his disinclination to read and failure of several teachers to teach him the alphabet.

At last came Mulla Farrhi from Janpore who joined the prince in his play with *ghalula* (pellets), and within a few days turned his mind from play towards reading and writing.

*Bagh-Chal* is nothing but *Bagh-bandī*. The game has been described in *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXIX, 1933, p. 169. See also *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, II, 1906, pp. 123-124; *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, XXIII, 1927, p. 297; *Quart. Journ. Bangiya Sahitya Parisad*, XIV, pp. 240-241, 1314 B.S.; *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXIII, 1926, p. 145; *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 407-408.

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Ten Folk-stories in Sema Naga.

By C. R. PAWSEY.

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FOLK-STORIES.

1. THE STORY OF THE OWL'S AND THE WEAVER BIRD'S SPEECHES IN COUNCIL.

(*Sema Naga Version.*)

Akakho-ngo Liliti pama asheshuke 'tsa.

Kaghelomi ayeghingo atsütsü pama dolo *lokhu* akuchopu kumkono akakhongo liliti pama polo asheshupe pike. Ike akakho paghino asheshupeke "Ampe ampeno tsütho. Ampe ampeno tsütsülo" pike. Tigheunguno timi kumtsüno akakho 'tsa allomo pi, pa 'kutsülo hetsükegheunguno akakho 'kutsü kizhe shiuve, pike. Ipuzüno liliti polo asheshupeke. Lilitiye "Lilili, mta tsütho, lilili, mta tsütsü" pike. Tigheunguno timi kumtsüno "Te allo" pi liliti 'gi kuhnhtüsükeloye kunhu pahape lilitiye kitila shiuve pike.

(*Sema Naga and English word for word Translation.*)

Akakho-ngo Liliti pama asheshuke 'tsa.  
Owl and Weaver bird the two held forth words.

Kaghelomi ayeghingo atsütsü pama dolo  
Men of old earth and sky the two between  
*lokhu* akuchopu kumkono akakhongo  
living creatures all assembled having owl

liliti pama polo asheshupe pike. Ike  
 weaver bird the two on hold forth caused said. But  
 akakho paghino asheshupeke "Ampe ampeno tsütho.  
 owl first held forth "Yearly light.  
 Ampe ampeno tsüzülo" pike. Tigheunguno timi  
 Yearly darkness" said. This for men  
 kumtsüno akakho 'tsa allomo pi, pa 'kutsülo  
 all owl's words good not saying, his head  
 hetsükegheunguno akakho 'kutsü kizhe shiuve, pike.  
 beating because of owl's head big became, said.  
 Ipuzüno liliti polo asheshupeke. Lilitiye  
 Then weaver bird on hold forth caused. Weaver bird  
 "Lilili, mta tsütho, lilili, mta tsüzü" pike.  
 "Lilili, quickly light, lilili, quickly darkness" said.  
 Tigheunguno timi kumtsüno "Te allo" pi  
 And so men all "That's good" saying  
 liliti 'gi kuhutsükeloye kunhu pahape  
 weaver bird's face stroking stroking completely  
 lilitiye kitila shiuve pike.  
 weaver bird small became said.

*(English Translation.)*

Once upon a time all the animals that dwelt between  
 heaven and earth assembled and told the owl and the weaver  
 bird to hold forth. But they made the owl speak first. And  
 he said "Let there be light for one year and darkness for one  
 year". And so everyone said that the words of the owl were  
 not good and because they hit him on the head, his head  
 became big, so it is said. Then they commanded the weaver  
 bird to give tongue and he said "Let day come quickly, let  
 night come quickly". And so everybody said "That is good"  
 and because they stroked the face of the weaver bird they  
 stroked it till there was nothing left, and thus the weaver bird  
 became small, so it is said.

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2. THE STORY OF THE TWO BROTHERS WHO KILLED  
THE TIGERS.

Athayu mi kini angshu keitsa.

Kaghe timi lakino anu kepitimi kini punuvepuzüno anu  
 kumano itimi shiapolono apuye angshuno pfewuveke. Tilehino  
 anu kumano azavilo inzhuke "Ipuye kilau wuvea kya?" pike.  
 Azano "Opuye alulo huvia" pike. Kuthoughe anu kumano  
 azavilo inzhuke. Azano pamavilo "Opuye izuwuvia" pike.

Tilehino anu kumano apumi shikethiuno azavilo inzhuke. Azano "Opuye angshuno pfewuviake" pike. Tilehino azano pamavilo "Okuzhoye azhta chüghi angu chüghi ishipuzüno nilu'balo ashe aghau 'pa azhtano shosüghelo" pike. Pamanu akhu 'nyepa shosüwo piye ashe 'nyepa shosüwo aza piye ishike. Azano "Ihi kumoke" tipike. Kuthoughe anga kumano aghalo wupuzüno angshu 'nyepa kizhe aghike. Tipau shosüwo aza piyeke. Azano pamavilo "Thino opu tsüveke" pike. Tilehino aitiuno pazavilo "Kishi shin kya ?" pike. Azano pavilo "Noye itiani mo ?" pike. Aitiuno "Niyeghi itiani" pike. Tilehino aitiuno pamu sastü aghülo laki aghatsa khownu, aghülo laki akwo ghe, aghülo laki akwo chu. Ishipuzüno akhe süwu akwo tsüpukupuzüno aghatsa tsüke, ishipuzüno aitiuno akwolo ikupuzüno "Kizhehino ipu she chupa'keno eghelo" pike. Tilehino angshu kuthomo eghepuzüno akhe zumili iku cheaye azhtano akhe khüthapfe angshu akwolo vesüpuzüno ashu kitiviakelono aghatsa ikipfe angshu 'melo vephovetsü. Kuthoughe angshuno ikucheaye akhe khüthapfe khüthapfe akwolo vesüveke. Ishipuzüno angshu ashu kitiavekelono kuthoughe aghatsa ikipfe angshu 'melo vephoveke. Ishipuzüno angshu kizhe kini atükauno egheke.

Aitiuno pamuvilo "Imu, ino akizheu chen kya ? Noye akitilau chelonhye" tipike. Akicheuye müsano angshu chemove. Aitiuno akizheu chekhivepuzüno kuthoughe akicheu angu ikipfe akitilau cheke. Teghi aitiuno chekhive. Ishipuzüno pama aghü'le ku süsüwocheke. Akutolo iolaye akicheughi aitiu 'gholo aghü'le ku süche, eno atolo ipeaye akicheuye timi 'zü kuzhoye aitiu 'gholo aghü'le kusümonocheke. Timino pamavilo "Kiuno yi kya ?" pike. Aitiuno amu müsayeno "Imughi, niyeghi yike" ti pi azavilo pike. Azano "Oko kiuno yikeno mtakeke, ino agha 'chomhi aki 'molelo shotsünke. Oko kini-kuzho alikano kazhulo" pike. Akicheuye kakumono kititi amughono kiyepuzüno wuve. Aitiuye alikano kaye agha 'chomhi awoghilono kathaveke. Tilehino azano tipike. "Aitiuno apu 'mkü lukena", tipipuzüno aitiuvilo "Nono opu 'mkü lutsüke". I pi aitiuvilo ti pe pike.

Athayu mi kini angshu keitsa.

Brothers men two tiger killing-story.

Kaghe timi lakino anu kepitimi kini punuve-  
Formerly man one children males two born

puzüno anu kumano itimi shiaphilono apuye  
been having children both small becmoe having father  
angshuno pfewuveke. Tilehino anu kumano  
tiger carrying went. Then children both  
azavilo inzhuke "Ipuye kilau wuvea kya ?"  
mother to asked "Our father where went what ?"

pike. Azano "Opuye alulo huvia" pike.  
 said. Mother "Your father fields to went down" said.  
 Kuthoughe anu kumano azavilo inzhuke.  
 Again children both mother to asked.  
 Azano pamavilo "Opuye izuwuvia" pike.  
 Mother them to "Your father travelling went" said.  
 Tilehino anu kumano apumi shikethiuno  
 Then children both youths becoming after  
 azavilo inzhuke. Azano "Opuye angshuno  
 mother to asked. Mother "Your father tiger  
 pfewuviake" pike. Tilehino azano pamavilo  
 carrying went" said. Then mother both to  
 "Okuzhoye azhta chüghi angu chüghi  
 "You two dao sharpening spear sharpening  
 ishipuzüno nilu'balo ashe aghau 'pa  
 thus having done our fields below animals jungle tracks  
 azhtano shosüghelo" pike. Pamano akhu  
 dao by lifting up bring" said. Both sambhur  
 'nyepa shosüwo piye ashe 'nyepa  
 tracks picking up bringing showing animals tracks  
 shosüwo aza piye ishike. Azano  
 picking up bringing mother showing thus did. Mother  
 "Ihi kumoke" tipike. Kuthoughe anga  
 "This not this said. Again children  
 kumono aghalo wupuzüno angshu 'nyepa kizhe  
 both jungle to gone having tiger tracks big  
 aghike. Tipau shosüwo aza piyeke.  
 were. This lifting up bringing mother showed.  
 Azano pamavilo "Ihino opu tsüveke"  
 Mother both to "This your father bit and killed"  
 pike. Tilehino aitiuno pazavilo "Kishi  
 said. Then younger mother to "What doing  
 shin kya?" pike. Azano pavilo "Noye itiani  
 do will what?" said. Mother him to "You know  
 mo?" pike. Aitiuno "Niyeghi itiani" pike.  
 not?" said. Younger "I too know" said.  
 Tilehino aitiuno pamu sasü aghülo laki  
 Then younger his elder brother with day one  
 aghatsa khowu, aghülo laki akwo ghe,  
 fruit gathering, day one machan cutting,  
 aghülo laki akwo chu, ishipuzüno akhe  
 day one pit digging, thus having done cane  
 süwu akwolo tsüpukupuzüno aghatsa tsüke.  
 bringing machan to fastened having fruit fastened.

Ishipuzüno aitiuno akwo ikupuzüno  
 Thus having done younger machan ascended having  
 "Kizhehino ipu she chupa'nkeno eghelo" pike.  
 "As many as my father flesh eat having come" said.  
 Tilehino angshu kuthomo eghepuzüno akhe zumili  
 Then tiger many come having cane clawing  
 iku cheaye azhtano akhe khüthapfe angshu  
 mounting going dao with cane cutting tiger  
 akwolo vesüpuzüno ashu kitivakelono aghatsa  
 pit in fallen having panji pierced having fruit  
 ikipfe angshu 'melo vephovetsü. Kuthoughe  
 taking up tiger's heart broke. Again  
 angshuno ikucheaye akhe khüthapfe khüthapfe akwolo  
 tiger ascending cane cutting cutting pit in  
 vesüveke. Ishipuzüno angshu ashu kitavakelono  
 fell. Thus having done tiger panji pierced having  
 kuthoughe aghatsa ikipfe angshu 'melo vephoveke.  
 again fruit lifting tiger's heart broke.  
 Ishipuzüno angshu kizhe kini atükauno egheke.  
 Thus having done tigers big two afterwards came.

Aitiuno pamuvilo "Imu, ino akizheu  
 Younger his elder brother to "Brother I big one  
 chen kya? Noye akitilau chelonhye" tipike.  
 spear what? You little one spear please" this said.  
 Akicheuye müsano angshu chemove. Aitiuno  
 Elder feared having tiger speared not. Younger  
 akizheu chekhivepuzüno kuthoughe akicheu angu  
 big one speared having again elder's spear  
 ikipfe akitilau cheke. Teghi aitiuno chekhive.  
 taking little one speared. This too younger speared.  
 Ishipuzüno pama aghü'le ku  
 Thus having done both war song singing  
 süsüwocheke. Akutolo iloaye akicheughi  
 together went continued. Hollow in entering elder  
 aitiu 'gholo aghü'le ku süche, eno atolo  
 younger with war song singing with went, and hill to  
 ipeaye akicheuye timi 'zü kuzhoye aitiu 'gholo  
 emerging elder men before shame younger with  
 aghü'le kusümonocheke. Timino pamavilo "Kiuno  
 war song singing not went. Men them to "Who  
 yi kya?" pike. Aitiuno amu müsayeno  
 killed what?" said. Younger elder feared having  
 "Imughi, niyeghi yike" ti pi azavilo  
 "My elder brother too, I too killed" this saying mother to

pike. Azano "Oko kiuno yikeno mtakeke, said. Mother "You two who killed having not knowing, ino agha 'chomhi aki 'molelo shotsünke. Oko I hornbill tail house top in fix keep will. You two kinikuzho alikano kazhulo" pike. Akicheuye both bow with shoot and see" said. Elder kakumono kititi amughono kiyepuzüno shot not at all having little arrow feather touched having wuve. Aitiuye alikano kaye agha 'chomhi went. Younger bow with shooting hornbill's tail awoghilono kathaveke. Tilehino azano tipike. middle in hit. Then mother this said. "Aitiuno apu mküü lukena", tipipuzüno "Younger father's skill taken has", this said having aitiuvilo "Nono opu 'mküü lutsüke." younger to "You your father's skill taken have." Ipi aitiuvilo ti pe pike. This saying younger to this saying said.

Once upon a time a man had two sons born to him, and while they were both small a tiger carried off their father. Then the two children asked their mother where their father had gone. The mother replied "Your father has gone to his fields". Again they asked their mother and she replied "Your father has gone on a journey".

Later when they were youths they asked their mother, who replied "A tiger carried off your father" and added "Sharpen your daos, and sharpen your spears, and go and dig up with your dao and bring the tracks of the beasts of the jungle from below our fields". They then went and brought the tracks of sambhur and other beasts and showed them to their mother. Their mother said "I don't want those". Again the children went into the jungle and there was there the track of a large tiger. They brought it and showed it to their mother who said "This killed your father". The younger one then said "What are we to do?" The mother replied "Don't you know?" The younger one answered "Well, I know".

Then the younger one with his brother one day collected some large fruit, and one day cut the materials for a machan and one day dug a pit, and then tied together the machan, and fastened up the fruit. Then he got into the machan and said "Come all you who ate my father's flesh". Many tigers then came and while they were clawing and climbing up the cane, he cut it and one tiger fell into the pit and was pierced by the panjis. He then took up the fruit and threw it and broke the tiger's heart. Again while a tiger was climbing up he cut the

cane so that it fell into the pit and was pierced by the panjis and again he broke its heart by throwing the fruit.

When he had done this two big tigers came.

The younger then said "Brother shall I spear the big one ? You spear the little one please". The elder was frightened and didn't spear his beast, but the younger killed the big one, and then with his brother's spear killed the little one as well.

They then went away singing the war song. While they were in the valleys the elder sang with his brother, but when they came out on the hill tops the elder was ashamed before men, and did not sing. When men asked them who had killed the tigers, the younger one for fear of his brother said "We were both successful". And he told his mother this. The mother replied "As you don't know who was successful, I will fix a hornbill's tail to the top of the house. Both of you must shoot at it with your bows". The elder one because he had not shot at all grazed the mark with the arrow feather, but the younger one hit it in the centre. Then their mother said "The younger has inherited his father's skill" and said to the younger "You have inherited your father's skill". Thus she spake to the younger one.

### 3. NISAPA AND NISALA.

Nisapa-ngo Nisala.

Nisapango Nisala pama alozhi ilakike. Pano aghülo laki timi 'lulo huke. Pano 'kwomi alu ithena 'mlakhaveno aghokilo achuwo koniaye pino wuke. Küthamino azüuno achuwo koveke. Nisapano athükashi achuwo kacheke. Nisalano idewo Nisapa hezhuke. Timino achuwo kokhavekethiuno Nisapano achuwo 'kilo aou chukhosüaye achuwo kini küthu keghaluke. Nisapano achuwo 'kilo aou chukhosüaye aghi i pero pa aou 'lobalo hepeyepe ipegheke Nisalano ti itulupuzüuno Nisapavilo pike. "Ikuzho alelu akwoshini" pike. Nisapano "Niye meghemi keke. Ikuzho alelu akwoshimoi" pike. Nisalano pavilo "Ikuzho tangui akwoshini" pike.

Tipino kuma alelu akwoshike. Aluzhimi kuchopu wuni-kelauye aghokilo azü kuchuke. Nisapano azü kuchukelono Nisalano Nisapa 'kiche nutsüke. Nisapa 'kichelo ati nupeluke. Nisalano ti ituluno Nisapa 'kilo wuniye pike. Kumstücheke. Avelao Nisapango Nisala kuma achuwo kizheke. Nisalano Nisapavilo ti pike "Heno ino luni, heno nono lulo" ti pike. "Akilo süwono i'pungo i'za pama akelono achuwo ghopesüsü". Nisala pa'pungo pa'za pamano ti pike "Atsükulono Nisapa ana tsülo, aou'kumtsüzukubolono Nisapa azhi zheni" ti pino ana tsü, azhi zhe, ishike.

Nisapano Nisala luniye picheke. Apuazano Nisapa 'kilo puomo picheke. Nisapano meghemike. Nisalano apu aza

kinimike. Nisapano meghemikegheunguno Nisala lumlano acheke. Aghülo lakino Nisalano Nisapavilo pike "Noye i 'chiku süwo alhi shino, alhi shisügheno, ame küghalo" pike. Nisapano Nisala 'chi süwo alhi shiwoke. Nisapa eghempilono timino Nisala luveke. Timino ame küghaniye pino, Nisala pa'pu pa'zavilo pike. Nisalano "Apfo süani", pino "Ame küghamo" pike. Aghülo lakiloye timino egheno ame küghaveke. Nisalano womoniye amelolono süani ti pike. Nisala 'kiminono "Ishiyekishekisshemo sasü woveni" pike. "Akachegheno Nisala kuhope wuni" pike. Tilehino Nisalano pa'kimi 'kilo wuke. Alalono Nisalano timivilo ti pike "Niye Nisapa keakemu Nisapa kemlano külauveke. Ti pilonhye". Tilehino timino Nisapavilo "O'niyu Nisalaye külauveke". Nisapavilo ti pike. Tilehino Nisapano amishi 'shomhi chüghipeno, akumtho shou ikwono poegheke. Nisalaye külauchegheke. Nisalano Nisapavilo ti pike "Niye o'keamu, o'kemlano külauveke".

Aghülo lakino Nisala 'kimino Nisapa ghikhiveniye Nisapa kuke. Nisapano pano'pfulo kezhiliuno ipegheke. Nisapano pa'mhyemogha küsüveno Nisala 'kimi 'pfulo ipegheke. Pa'naghaminoo kumtsüno Nisapa akevi keghashikethiuno "Nisapa alhokesa keke. Zhumoi", ti pino thoghoye alulo huniye pike. Pa'naghamsi tishi küghäke. Thanauye Nisapano pa'nyhemogha kuchopu pfepuke. Tilehina kumtsüno Nisapa zhuniye ti pino nguake. Pa'naghaminoo 'khuchuhabo süwo aye gihlo azhoshikhavetsüno Nisapavilo "Tipashouno akhe shizhulo" pike. Pa'naghaminoo Nisapa iveniye kuluchuhabo süwo aye gihlo khavetsüke. Nisapano kuluchuhabo neki pepe vekhivelakelono keghaluvenciye küghäke. Nisapano vekhiemono akhe shiveke. Kumtsüno Nisapa zhunishino zhuake. Nisapano akhesi ide eghekkelono Nisalano anga khapuapuzüno anga kilhe pukukelono Chophei 'khamunu pekhitsüke. Nisapano pa'khamunu pekhiva pino ikipfe kyegheke. Ti kyeghekethiuye alaushi Nisapa ituluke. Nisapano akheshisü, alioküdau shilono, alio toku ikacheiloveno poveke. Pa'naghamsi kumtsü alulo huniye pino, hukhaveke.

Nisalango Nisala 'kimi kumano alaghungulo alu chiake. Nisapano wochekke. Nisala 'kimino Nisalavilo ti pike "Huno kiu kya?", ti pike. Nisalano küthami 'zheye kumtsü 'zhe pikhaveno Nisapa 'zhe pitsümoke. Nisala 'kimino Nisalavilo "Hupaye kiu kya?", ti pino inzhuke. Nisalano pimoke. Amimino küghüpaäke, alhealo yeilogheke, Nisalano tilehino pa'kimivilo "Niye thosülo ishi kichemike" ti pike. Nisala 'kimino itiveno Nisalavilo "Alhealo nguaghilo. Ino abalo akhe thasügheni". Ti pino akhe thasüghheke. Akhe buno Nisala 'ou phevetsü Nisala 'kupu pevetsü. Alhea aketsü kucholo phedaveno Nisala 'kimino woveke. Nisala 'kimino amini khaluvetsü aphi khaluvetsüno ampiu kumsa alhea ketsükucholo phedaveno woveke. Nisalano ahuno akhe mikithaveno Nisapa hawuveke. Nisalano atho lakilono Nisapa kuke. Nisapano

aghümi kegħashi atho lakilono agha gheveno ami phoveno woveke. Nisalano kutoughi tipa'tolo ipegheno Nisapa kuke. Nisapano Nisala mtano aghümi kegħashi müsano woveke. Nisalano Nisapa 'naghħami 'pfulo epegħeke. Nisapano anhye kuküdhu pfulili keghape apukilono egħaäke. Nisalano ti chiluno Nisapa kuke.

Nisapano tilehino Nisala itino aliolo ilogħeke. Nisalano amini kaha, api kahano agħeke. Nisapano pa 'phi "Atakuvepi" sūla kinishino Nisala laki sü, 'mini pe, laki sü upeke. Tishino kuma aliolono akwoshiveke. Kuma aliolono kumtsa züveke-għeungħu Nisala tilehi ighwono süwu veke. Nisala pa 'pu pa 'zano houshi heuħħino chiniamu vimoke. Nisalano apu azavilo ti pike "Niye kulħube an'ke. Tilehi akichepi shitsilu". Apuazano akichepi shitsüke. Puthouno Nisapano egheno akichepilono aou chukħosünu Nisala 'melolo inapeaye, Nisalaye viake. Apuazano Nisalano eghamoaye akulu kokħupeye, zhuaye Nisapano pa'ou suzhope ipeve. Apuazano zhumono akeloye, Nisapano pa'ou süwu Nisala 'melo inapetsü ishiacheke. Tipa kusüldu Nisala tiveke.

Aghħiolo lakino Nisapano Nisala pa 'pungo pa 'za pamavilo pike. "Ni kütħu asü ghewuni". Ti pino pana kütħu asü ghewuke. Nisapano athegħushino, pamano atükashi Nisapano asakheli khouno ipusüsü wuveke. "Okuzhoghi ipapelo" ti pino sacheke. Nisapano asü gheno kuma akinianipfu pupeke, Nisapano athegħushino, laküħu akisü peno asakhelilō ala għesüsü woveke. Kezhiliu Nisala pa 'pungo pa 'za kumano atsa kegħa ake. Akimino anipuvilo "Ino Nisapa 'kilo pouniye pike, nono moke". Tipi kegħa aghħike. Nisapano mekħiake. Ti chiluno thanauye Nisala pa 'pungo pa 'za kumavilo pike "Ino tiwuaye i'kumo kütħa kwotsükkevelo. Nisala kumophivilo kwotsilu. Kumtsa kwotsüaye kitilawwuye Nisala ikuzho kūghħunālunani". Ti pike. Tipathiuno Nisapa tiuveke. Kuma 'kumo kumtsa kwotsükke.

Nisala pazaño thumomi ke. Asamouno Nisala pa'zano "Nisapango Nisala kuma kūghuna lua ma ?" Ti pi inzhuke Nisapano ti pike "Ikuzho dolo asükumo aħnno, kūghtinamlaphi" pike. Thānau Nisala pa'zano zü ithoughen kuma dolo asü heżzuke. Timino ayegħu zhesüpagaheke. Nisala pa'zano ayegħu sūzħovetsükke tipathiuno Nisala pa'zano asamouno inzhuke. "Kūghuna a ma ?" pike. Tithiuno "Kūghuna a" pike.

**Nisapa-ngo Nisala.**

Nisapa and Nisala.

**Nisapango Nisala pama alozhi ilakike.**  
Nisapa and Nisala the two field gang one was.

**Pano aghħiolo laki timi 'lulo huке.** Pano  
They day one man field to went down. Their

'kwomi alu ithena 'mlakhaveno aghokilo  
 companions field quickly work completed having stream to  
 achuwo koniaye pino wuke. Küthamino azüno  
 crabs catch to said having went. Other men in front  
 achuwo koveke. Nisapano athükashi achuwo  
 crabs caught. Nisupa after crabs  
 kochek. Nisalano idewo Nisapa hezhuke.  
 caught kept on. Nisala back coming Nisapa saw.  
 Timino achuwo kokhavekethiuno Nisapano  
 Men crabs catching completely after Nisapa  
 achuwo 'kilo aou chukhosüaye achuwo kini  
 crabs' hole in hand inserting crabs two  
 küthu keghaluke. Nisapano achuwo 'kilo aou  
 three catch able was. Nisapa crabs hole in hand  
 chukhosüaye aghi 'peno pa 'ou 'lobalo hepeyepe  
 inserting grain ears his hand finger roots sticking out  
 ipegeheke. Nisalano ti itulupuzüno Nisapavilo pike.  
 came out. Nisala this seen having Nisapa to said.  
 "Ikuzho alelu akwo shini" pike. Nisapano  
 "We two fields together do will" said. Nisapa  
 "Niye meghemi keke. Ikuzho alelu akwoshimoi"  
 "I poor man am. We two field together do will not"  
 pike. Nisalano pavilo "Ikuzho tangui akwoshini"  
 said. Nisala him to "We two certainly together do will"  
 pike.  
 said.

Tipino kuma alelu akwoshike. Aluzhim.  
 This said having the two fields together did. Gang men  
 kuchopu wunikelauye aghokilo azü kuchukei  
 all going stream in water bathed.  
 Nisapano azü kuchukelono Nisalano Nisapa 'kiche  
 Nisapa water bathed having Nisala Nisapa's back  
 nutsüke. Nisapa 'kichelo ati nupeluke.  
 rubbed. Nisapa back seed rub cause able was.  
 Nisalano ti ituluno Nisapa 'kilo wuniye  
 Nisala this seen having Nisapa house to go to  
 pike. Kumsücheke. Avelao Nisapango Nisala  
 said. Thinking kept on. Evening Nisapa and Nisala  
 kuma achuwo kizheke. Nisalano Nisapavilo ti  
 the two crabs divided. Nisala Nisapa to this  
 pike "Heno ino luni, heno nono lulo" ti  
 said "This I take will, this you take" this  
 pike. "Akilo süwono i'pungo  
 said. "House to bringing gone having my father and

i'za pama akelono achuwo ghopesüsü."  
 my mother the two stopping crabs wrapping."  
 Nisala pa'pungo pa'za pamano ti pike  
 Nisala her father and her mother the two this said  
 "Atsükulono Nisapa ana tsülo, aou 'kumtsüzu-  
 "Dog's dish from Nisapa rice give, hand washing  
 kubolono Nisapa azhi zheni" ti pino ana  
 basin from Nisapa drink give" this said having rice  
 tsü, azhi zhe, ishike.  
 gave, drink gave, thus was.

Nisapano Nisala luniye picheke. Apuazano  
 Nisapa Nisala take to saying kept on. Father mother  
 Nisapa 'kilo puomo picheke. Nisapano  
 Nisapa house to send on saying kept on. Nisapa  
 meghemike. Nisalano apu aza kinimike.  
 poor man was. Nisala father mother rich men were.  
 Nisapano meghemikegheunguno Nisala lumlano  
 Nisapa poor man being for Nisala take not having  
 acheke. Aghülo lakino Nisalano Nisapavilo pike  
 remained. Day one Nisala Nisapa to said  
 "Noye i 'chiku süwo alhi shino,  
 "You my beads taking going trade made having,  
 alhi shisügheno, ame küghalo" pike.  
 trade making brought having, price settle" said.  
 Nisapano Nisala 'chi süwo alhi shiwoke.  
 Nisapa Nisala beads taking trade making went.  
 Nisapa eghempilono timino Nisala luveke. Timino  
 Nisapa came not having man Nisala took. Man  
 ame küghaniye pino, Nisala pa'pu pa'zavilo  
 price settle to said having, Nisala her father her mother to  
 pike. Nisalano "Apfo süani", pino  
 said. Nisala "Stomach aches", said having  
 "Ame küghamo" pike. Aghülo lakiloye timino  
 "Price settle will not" said. Day one man  
 egheno ame küghaveke. Nisalano womoniye  
 come having price settled. Nisala go not to  
 amelolono süani ti pike. Nisala 'kiminono "Ishiyé  
 heart from ill is this said. Nisala husband "Thus if  
 kishekishemo sasü woveni" pike. "Akache gheno  
 nevertheless together go will" said. "Machan cut having  
 Nisala kuhope wuni" pike. Tilehino Nisalano  
 Nisala carrying go will" said. Then Nisala  
 pa'kimi 'kilo wuke. Alalono Nisalano timivilo  
 her husband's house to went. Road from Nisala men to

ti pike "Niye Nisapa keakemu Nisapa  
 this said "I Nisapa waiting although Nisapa  
 kemlano külauveke. Ti pilonhye ".  
 wait not having been able married. This say please ".  
 Tilehino timino Nisapavilo "O'niyu Nisala külauveke ".  
 Then men Nisapa to "Your wife Nisala married is ".  
 Nisapavilo ti pike. Tilehino Nisapano amishi  
 Nisapa to this said. Then Nisapa cow's  
 'shomhi chüghipeno, akumtho shou ikwono  
 tail a twisting, strong one on mounting  
 poegheke. Nisalaye külauchegheke. Nisalano  
 fleeing went. Nisala married went. Nisala  
 Nisapavilo ti pike "Niye o'keamu,  
 Nisapa to this said "I you waiting although,  
 o'kemlano külauveke ".  
 you wait not having been able married ".

Aghülo lakino Nisala 'kimino Nisapa ghikhiveniye  
 Day one Nisala's husband Nisapa kill in order to  
 Nisapa kuke. Nisapano pano'pfulo kezhiliuno  
 Nisapa called. Nisapa their village to in the evening  
 ipegheke. Nisapano pa'mhyemogha küsüveno  
 came out. Nisapa his clothes hidden having  
 Nisala 'kimi 'pfulo ipegheke. Pa 'nagharnino  
 Nisala's husband village at came out. His villagers  
 kumtsüno Nisapa akevi kegashikethiuno "Nisapa  
 all Nisapa good thinking after "Nisapa  
 alhokesa keke. Zhumoi ", ti pino thoghoye  
 bad is. See will not ", this said having to-morrow  
 alulo huniye pike. Pa 'nagharni tishi küghäke.  
 fields to go down to said. His villagers this thought.  
 Thanauye Nisapano pa'nyhemogha kuchopu pfepuke.  
 In the morning Nisapa his clothes all wore.  
 Tilehina kumtsüno Nisapa zhuniye ti pino  
 Then all Nisapa see to this said having  
 nguake. Pa 'nagharnino 'khuchuhabo süwo ayeghilo  
 stopped. His villagers ekra bringing ground on  
 azhoshikhavetsüno Nisapavilo "Tipashouno akhe  
 spread having Nisapa to "This on dance  
 shizhulo " pike. Pa'nagharnino Nisapa iveniye  
 do see " said. His villagers Nisapa kill to  
 kuluchuhabo süwo ayeghilo khavetsüke. Nisapano  
 ekra bringing ground on spread. Nisapa  
 kuluchuhabo nekipepe vekhiveakelono  
 ekra slipping fallen having

|                           |            |                    |                        |
|---------------------------|------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| keghaluveniye             |            | küghaake.          | Nisapano               |
| catch be able in order to |            | thought.           | Nisapa                 |
| vekhivemono               | akhe       | shiveke.           | Kumtsüno Nisapa        |
| fallen not having         | dance      | did.               | All Nisapa             |
| zhunishino                | zhuake.    | Nisapano           | akheshi                |
| seen having wished        | saw.       | Nisapa             | dance doing            |
| ide eghekelonono          | Nisalano   | anga               | khapuapuzüno anga      |
| returning                 | Nisala     | child              | carried having child   |
| kilhe pukukelonono        | Chophei    | 'khamunu           | pekhitsüke             |
| shifting                  | Chophei    | flower             | threw down             |
| Nisapano pa               | 'khamunu   | pekhiva            | pino                   |
| Nisapa                    | his flower | threw down         | said having picking up |
| kyegheke.                 | Ti         | kyeghekethiuye     | alaushi                |
| wore.                     | This       | wearing afterwards | fine                   |
| ituluke.                  | Nisapano   | akheshisüsü,       | alioküdau              |
| saw.                      | Nisapa     | dancing while,     | defence towards        |
| shilono,                  | alio       | toku               | ikacheiloveno poveke.  |
| danced having,            | ditches    | nine               | jumped having fled.    |
| Pa'naghambi               | kumtsü     | alulo              | huniye                 |
| His villagers             | all        | fields to          | pino, go down to       |
| hukhaveke.                |            |                    | said having,           |
| went down completely.     |            |                    |                        |

Nisalango Nisala 'kimi kumano alaghunguloo  
Nisala and Nisala's husband both path opposite  
alu chiake. Nisapano wocene. Nisala 'kimino  
fields doing were. Nisapa go continued. Nisala's husband  
Nisalavilo ti pike "Huno kiu kya?", ti pike.  
Nisala to this said "That who what?", this said.  
Nisalano küthami 'zheye kumtsü 'zhe pikhaveno  
Nisala others' names all names said completely  
Nisapa 'zhe pitsümoke. Nisala 'kimino Nisalavilo  
Nisapa's name said not. Nisala husband Nisala to  
"Hupaye kiu kya?", ti pino inzhuke. Nisalano  
"That who what?" this said having asked. Nisala  
pimoke. Amimino küghüpaake, alhealo  
said not. Butterflies embraced, field house to  
yeilogheke, Nisalano tilehino pa'kimivilo "Niye thosülo  
flying entered, Nisala then her husband to "I always  
ishi kichemike" ti pike. Nisala 'kimino itiveno  
thus alone lived" this said. Nisala's husband known having  
Nisalavilo "Alhealo nguaghilo. Ino abalo akhe  
Nisala to "Field house in remain. I below fields cane  
thasügheni". Ti pino akhe thasüghike.  
cutting bring will". This said having cane cut brought.

Akhe buno Nisala 'ou phevetsü  
 Cane cut having Nisala's hands bounds  
 Nisala 'kupu pevetsü. Alhea aketsü kucholo  
 Nisala's legs bound. Field house post king  
 phedaveno Nisala 'kimino woveke. Nisala 'kimino  
 tied to Nisala's husband went. Nisala's husband  
 amini khaluvetsü aphi khaluvetsü ampiu kumsa  
 dress opened cloth opened having body naked  
 alhea ketsükucholo phedaveno woveke. Nisalano  
 field house post king to bound having went. Nisala  
 ahuno akhe mikithaveno Nisapa hawuveke. Nisalano  
 teeth with cane bitten having Nisapa chased. Nisala  
 atho lakilono Nisapa kuke. Nisapano aghümi  
 hill one from Nisapa called. Nisapa evening  
 keghashi atho lakilono agha gheveno ami phoveno  
 thinking hill one from jungle cut having fire smoked  
 woveke. Nisalano kütoughi tipa'tolo ipegheno Nisapa  
 went. Nisala again this hill at coming out Nisapa  
 kuke. Nisapano Nisala mtano aghümi keghashi  
 called. Nisapa Nisala not knowing enemy thinking  
 müsano woveke. Nisalano Nisapa 'naghamsi  
 feared having went. Nisala Nisapa's villagers  
 'pfulo epegeheke. Nisapano anhye kuküdhu pfulili  
 village to came out. Nisapa eyes cut out flute  
 keghape apukilono eghääke. Nisalano ti chiluno  
 holding Morung noise made. Nisala this having  
 Nisapa kuke.  
 Nisapa called.

Nisapano tilehino Nisala itino ailo  
 Nisapa then Nisala known having gate at  
 ilogheke. Nisalano amini kaha, aphi kahano  
 entering came. Nisala dress not, cloth not  
 agheke. Nisapano pa 'phi "Atakuvepi" süla  
 was. Nisapa his cloth "Atakuvepi" tearing  
 kinishino Nisala laki sü, 'mini pe, laki sü  
 two making Nisala one bringing, dress made, one bringing  
 upeke. Tishino kuma aliolono akwoshiveke.  
 wearing caused. Then both gate from came together.  
 Kuma aliolono kumtsa züvekegheunguno  
 Both gate from together sleeping for  
 Nisala tilehi ighwono süwuveke. Nisala pa 'pu  
 Nisala then very ill became Nisala her father  
 pa 'zano houshi heushino chiniamu  
 her mother that this doing gennahs although

vimoke. Nisalano apu azavilo ti pike "Niye good not was. Nisala father mother to this said "I kulhube an'ke. Tilehi akichepi shitsülo". Apuazano feverish am. Then house hole make". Father mother akichepi shitsüke. Puthouno Nisapano egheno house hole made. At night Nisapa come having akichepilono aou chukhosüno Nisala 'melolo house hole from hand inserting Nisala's heart on inapeaye, Nissalaye viake. Apuazano Nisalano resting Nisala good remained. Father mother Nisala eghamoaye akulu kokhupeye, zhuaye Nisapano pa'ou crying not if torch kindling seeing Nisapa his hand süzhope ipeve. Apuazano zhumono akeloye, withdrew. Father mother seen not having continuing Nisapano pa'ou siwo Nisala 'melo inapetsü Nisapa his hand putting Nisala heart pressing on ishiacheke. Tipa kusülono Nisala tiveke. thus continued. This illness from Nisala died.

Aghülo lakino Nisapano Nisala pa 'pungo pa Day one Nisapa Nisala her father and her 'za pamavilo pike "Ni küthu asü ghewuni". mother the two to said "We three wood cut go will". Ti pino pana küthu asü ghewuke. Nisapano This saying they three wood cutting went. Nisapa atheghushino pamano atükashi Nisapano asakheli in front gone having the two after Nisapa thicket khouno ipusüti wuveke. "Okuzhoghi ipapelo" below stooping went. "You two too follow" ti pino sacheke. Nisapano asü gheno this saying went. Nisapa wood cut having kuma akinianipfu pupeke, Nisapano the two husband wife caused to carry, Nisapa atheghushino, laküthu akistü peno asakhelilo in front gone having has three beam carrying thicket in ala ghesüsü wuveke. Kezhiliu Nisala pa 'pungo pa road cutting went. Evening Nisala her father and her 'za kumano atsa kegha ake. Akimino mother the two words disputing were. Husband anipfuvilo "Ino Nisapa 'kilo pouniye pike, nono wife to "I Nisapa house to send to said, you moke". Tipi kegha aghike. Nisapano disagreed". This saying disputing continued. Nisapa mekhiakte. Ti chiluno thanauye Nisala hid and watched. This heard having morning in Nisala

pa 'pungo pa 'za kumavilo pike "Ino  
 her father and her mother both to said "I  
 tiwuaye ikumo kütha kwotsükevelo. Nisala  
 dying we two separate bury don't. Nisala's  
 kumopevilo kwotsülo. Kumtsa kwotsüaye kitilawuye  
 grave near bring. Together burying little in  
 Nisala ikuzho küghünlunani". Ti pike.  
 Nisala we two live together will be able". This said.  
 Tipathiuno Nisapa tiuveke. Kuma 'kumo kumtsa  
 Thereafter Nisapa died. Both corpses together  
 kwotsüke.  
 buried.

Nisala pazano thumomi ke. Asamouno Nisala  
 Nisala her mother witch was. Dream in Nisala  
 pa'zano "Nisapango Nisala kuma küghüna  
 her mother "Nisapa and Nisala the two live together  
 lua ma?" Ti pi inzhuke Nisapano ti pike  
 able what?" This saying asked Nisapa this said  
 "Ikuzho dolo asükumo anino, küghünamlaphi"  
 "We two between wood corpse being, live together can't"  
 pike. Thanau Nisala pa'zano zü ithougheno  
 said. In the morning Nisala her mother sleep getting up  
 kuma dolo asü hezhuke. Timino ayeghü  
 the two between wood saw. Man ekra  
 zhesüpagheke. Nisala pa'zano ayeghu süzhovetsüke  
 putting kept Nisala her mother ekra pulled out  
 tipathiuno Nisala pa'zano asamouno inzhuke.  
 thereafter Nisala her mother dream in asked.  
 "Küghüna a ma?" pike. Tithiuno "Küghüna  
 "Living together what?" said. Then "living together  
 a" pike.  
 are" said.

Nisapa and Nisala belonged to the same field gang. One day they went to a man's fields. Their companions finished the work quickly and decided to go and catch crabs in a stream. The others caught crabs in front. Nisapa went on catching them behind. Nisala on her return caught sight of Nisapa. After the others had finished catching the crabs, Nisapa put his hand inside a crabs' hole and got two or three more, and when he put his hand inside the crabs' hole, the stalks of paddy emerged from the roots of his fingers. Nisala saw this and said to Nisapa "We two will do our fields together". Nisapa replied "I am a poor man. We two will not do our fields together". Nisala replied "We will certainly be companions in work".

Thereafter the two went to the fields together. All their companions when they were going home bathed in a streamlet. When Nisapa was bathing, Nisala rubbed his back. And from his back she rubbed forth seeds of grain. And when Nisala saw this, she said she would marry him. This she kept on thinking. In the evening Nisapa and Nisala divided the crabs. Nisala said to Nisapa "I will take these, and you take those, then bring them along and in the presence of my father and mother wrap them up and take them away". But her father and mother said "Give Nisapa food from the dog's dish and drink from the hand basin" and thus did they give him food and drink.

Nisapa kept on saying that he would marry Nisala, but her parents kept on saying that they would not send her to his house, as he was a poor man, and her parents were wealthy. And because he was poor he remained unable to marry her. One day she said to him "Take my beads and trade with them, and with the sale proceeds settle my marriage price". Then Nisapa took her beads, and went to trade with them. But before he came back another man took Nisala. This man kept on saying to her parents that he would settle the price but Nisala kept on saying that her stomach was aching and would not settle the price. But one day he came and settled the price. Nisala still said that her heart was aching so as to avoid going. But her husband said "Whether that is true or not you will come with me. Cut a machan and carry her off". And so she went to her husband's house. When going off she said to those near by "Tell Nisapa that I waited for him till I could wait no more, and am now married". And they told him that his wife Nisala was married. Nisapa then seized the tail of a cow, mounted a lusty animal and went off with all speed. But Nisala had got married and said to him "I waited and waited for you, and am now married".

One day her husband called Nisapa to kill him. He reached the village in the evening. He hid his dress and thus arrived. The villagers had all thought that he was a warrior, but seeing him they said "Nisapa is no good, we won't look at him" and said that they would go to the fields next day. They decided thus but next morning Nisapa put on all his ornaments. Then all the villagers decided they would stop to see him. They brought ekra and spread it on the ground and said to him "See if you can dance on that". They had brought the ekra and spread it like this so as to be able to kill him. They intended to kill him after he had slipped and fallen on the ekra. But he did not fall and danced. All took pleasure in watching him. As he was doing the return dance Nisala, who was carrying her baby, when she shifted it on her back, dropped a Chophei flower. Nisapa thinking the flower was meant for him, picked it up and put it in his ear. After wearing it they considered Nisapa better than ever. Nisapa during his dance danced

towards the village door, jumped over nine fences and fled. Then all the villagers went to their fields.

Nisala and her husband had their field on a slope opposite the path. Nisapa went on his way. Nisala's husband said to Nisala "Who is that?" Nisala went through everybody else's name, but did not say that of Nisapa. Again her husband said "Who is that?" But Nisala gave no reply. Butterflies embraced came into the field house and then Nisala said to her husband "Before I was married I was always thus". Her husband understood and said "Stop here, I will cut and bring cane from down below". He went and brought the cane and with it bound her hands and legs. He then tied her to the main post and went away. Her husband had stripped her of her skirt and clothes and left her naked bound to the post. Nisala then bit through the cane with her teeth and went in pursuit of Nisapa. She called him from a hill, but Nisapa thought it was an enemy and cut jungle from another hill, made a smoky fire and went on his way. Nisala, when she got to this hill, again called him. But he knew her not, and thinking she was an enemy went on his way for fear. Finally she arrived at his village. Nisapa was playing in the Morung on a flute made from throwing away the eyes of a small bamboo. Nisala heard him and called him.

Then Nisapa recognized her and came to the village gate. Nisala had no skirt, no clothes. Then Nisapa tore his cloth, called *Atakuvepi*, into two and gave her one part for a skirt and one part to wear. The two then embraced each other at the village gate. But because they had thus embraced at the village gate Nisala was stricken with a deadly illness. Although her parents did this and that ceremony she did not recover. Nisala said to her parents "I am feverish. Make a hole in the wall". They made the hole and at night Nisapa came and put his hand through the hole and laid it on her breast. When he did this Nisala got relief. When her parents, because she made no sound, kindled a torch and came to see, Nisapa withdrew his hand. When they were not looking he kept pressing her breast. From this illness Nisala died.

One day Nisapa said to Nisala's parents "We three will go and cut wood". And they went to do so. Nisapa was in front, the others following him, and he went crawling underneath a thicket. "You two follow me" he said as he went ahead. He cut wood and gave it to the husband and wife to carry, and then went on carrying a beam eighteen feet in length and cutting the path. In the evening the husband and wife quarrelled. The husband said to his wife "I wanted to send her to Nisapa's house, but you stopped it". They disputed thus while Nisapa hid and watched. Next morning he said to them "When I die don't bury my corpse separately, but near Nisala. If you bury us together a little after we shall be able to live together".

He spoke thus and thereafter died and the two corpses were buried together.

Nisala's mother was a witch. In a dream Nisala's mother asked if Nisapa and Nisala were together. Nisapa replied "There is a tree trunk between us and we can't come together". In the morning Nisala's mother got up from sleep and saw that there was wood between them. A man had put ekra between them. She moved the ekra. Thereafter she asked Nisala in a dream if they were together. The reply came "We are together".

#### 4. THE STORY OF THE ELEPHANT AND THE PORCUPINE.

Akaha ngo Achechu pama 'tsa.

Kaghe akahano azü yeniye aghokilo iloghiaye ahuno azü kunei ikighi cheke. Aghülo lakiye akahano anyenguvilo pike "Kiuno i 'pahi? Kiuno azü pukochenikeo. i 'pahi kumoi. Kiuno azü pukochedenikeno, ilau ikighilo pilopi".

Anyenguvilo aghinishi aghoki hu, ikhwo peke. Ikhwo achenku sholuke. Anyenguno achenkuvilo pike "Akahano pike, pa 'pahi kiuno? Azü pukochedenikeu pa 'pahi kumo. Kiuno pa 'zü pukochedenikeno palau ikighilo". Pa 'ni pi, achenkuvilo pike. Ike achenkuugi pa 'mhi zhuapuzü, akizheu süzhosüo anyenguvilo pi "I 'mhi 'pahi pukeuno i ku ani keo? I 'mhi 'pahi pumokeuno i ku ani, keno? I 'lau ikhwogihilo pilo" pi pa 'mhi laki anyengu tsü pike. Ike anyenguno akahavilo achenku 'tsa pi amhi akaha piyekeloye, akahaye pa 'mhi zhupahavepuzü müsano pove pike.

Akahango Achechu pama 'tsa.  
Elephant and Porcupine the two words.

Kaghe akahano azü yeniye aghokilo iloghiaye  
Once elephant water to drink stream to entering  
ahuno azü kunei ikighi cheke. Aghülo lakiye  
above water dirty flowed. Day one  
akahano anyenguvilo pike "Kiuno i 'pahi? Kiuno  
elephant wild cat to said "Who my equal? Who  
azü pukochedenikeno i 'pahi kumoi. Kiuno azü  
water having dirtied my equal is not. Who water  
pukochedenikeno ilau ikighilo pilopi".  
having dirtied me to come say".

Anyenguvilo aghinishi aghoki hu,  
Cat to messenger doing stream going down to,  
ikhwo peke. Ikhwo achenku sholuke. Anyenguno  
ascended. Ascending porcupine met. Cat

achekuvilo pike "Akahano pike, pa 'pahi kiuno ? porcupine to said "Elephant said, his equal who ? Azü pukochenikeu pa 'pahi kumo. Kiuno pa Water dirtied who his equal is not. Who his 'zü pukochenikeno palau ikighilo ". Pa 'ni water dirtied having him to come ". His message pi, achekuvilo pike. Ike achekughi pa 'mhi saying, porcupine to said. But porcupine too his quills zhuapuzü, akizheu süzhosüo anyenguvilo pi "I seeing, big one extracting cat to said "My 'mhi 'pahi pukeuno, i ku ani keo ? I quills equal carrying who, me calling is what ? My 'mhi 'pahi pumokeuno i ku ani, keno ? I quills equal carrying not who me calling, what ? Me 'lau ikhwoghilo pilo " pi pa 'mhi laki to come up say " saying his quills one anyengu tsü pike. Ike anyenguno akahavilo cat gave to said. But cat elephant to acheku 'tsa pi amhi akaha piyekeloye, akahaye porcupines words saying quill elephant showing to, elephant pa 'mhi zhupahavepuzü müsano pove his hairs looked in vain having having feared fled pike. it is said.

Once when an elephant went to drink water at a stream the water was coming down dirty from up above. One day the elephant said to the wild cat "Who is equal to me ? The person who keeps on making the water dirty is not my equal. Go and tell the person who is dirtying the water to come to me ". He gave this message to the wild cat who started going up stream. He met the porcupine and said to him "The elephant says 'who is his equal ? The person who dirties his water is not his equal. Let the person who dirties the water go to him ' ".

He thus delivered the message to the porcupine. But the porcupine looked over his quills carefully and pulling out a big one said to the wild cat "Does he who calls me possess quills like mine ? If he does not possess quills like mine tell him to come to me ". Saying this he gave a quill to the wild cat. The wild cat then repeated the words to the elephant and showed him the quill. Whereupon the elephant fled for fear, so it is said.

## 5. THE STORY OF THE WILD CAT WHO ASKED ABOUT THE CHICKENS' BEDROOM.

Anyengungo Awu züa inzhuke 'tsa.

Anyengungo awuti 'pu aza kahathilono awutivilo inzhuke "Kekhino o 'pu 'lupa? Kekhino o 'za 'lupa? Kekhino o 'mu 'lupa? Kekhino o 'fu 'lupa? Eno kekhino o 'lupa kya?" I pi inzhuke. Awutino pi "Hehino i 'pu 'lupa. Hehino i 'za 'lupa. Hehino i 'mu 'lupa. Hehino i 'fu 'lupa. Eno hehino i 'lupa" kepi, pivepuzü nguakelono awuti pa 'za egheke. Awutino "Kishekulu?" pike. "I 'za kiukeno agi mukhokhoi, anhyeti koghoi, ishipuzüni i vilo ni 'limi akuchopu 'kuzulupa inzhuanu wuvea?" pike. Ike awukuno pike "Tipau ni 'tsükuchumi 'ke" pi. Awutivilo pivepuzüni, pano mtazü saluba bape, panongo 'zü 'a lo paävetsü. Laki ikhupe amiphokilo phuvetsü. Ake ikipteacheulo piyevetsü. Akhi keghape azühulo paävetsü. Ashekhu keghape awotsanaghulo paävetsü. Ipuzüni alhaku keghape akupulo paävetsüni pana 'limiye ketau zü 'a pike.

Ike tilehino anyengu puthono eghepuzü awu 'zü 'a lo kuka-  
keloye saluba chine pholuke. Acheulo istüveniye akeno pa 'ou  
ghathavekeloye ami fukhino zhuniye ami fukeloye awukhuno  
mpawo pa 'nyeti vephovetsüke. Azü lesüwo khuveniye  
azühulo akhino pa kukegheunguno aki kalalo awotsanaghulo  
iheniye ashekhuso pa mikikeloye poniye akupulo pokukelono,  
akupu nyechepa vekhi piti iye pike.

Anyengungo Awu züa inzhuke 'tsa.  
Wild cat chickens sleeping place asked words.

Anyengungo awuti 'pu aza kahathilono  
Wild cat chicken small father mother not having been  
awutivilo inzhuke "Kekhino o 'pu 'lupa?  
chicken small to asked "Which your father's bed?  
Kekhino o 'za 'lupa? Kekhino o 'mu  
Which your mother's bed? Which your elder brother's  
'lupa? Kekhino o 'fu 'lupa? Eno kekhino o  
bed? Which your sister's bed? And which your  
'lupa kay?" I pi inzhuke. Awutino pi  
bed what?" This saying asked. Small chicken saying  
"Hehino i 'pu 'lupa. Hehino i 'za  
"This my father's bed. This my mother's  
'lupa. Hehino i 'mu 'lupa. Hehino i  
bed. This my elder brother's bed. This my  
'fu 'lupa. Eno hehino i 'lupa" kepi,  
elder sister's bed. And this my bed" saying,

pivepuzü n̄guakelono awuti pa 'za  
 said having waiting having small chicken's its mother  
 egheke. Awutino "Kishekulu?" pike. "I 'za  
 came. Small chicken "What?" said. "My mother  
 kiukeno agi mukhokhōi, anhyeti koghoi ishi-  
 who face short, eyes prominent thus  
 puzüno i vilo ni 'limi akuchopu 'kuzülupa  
 being me to my family all sleeping bed  
 inzhuanō wuvea?" pike. Ike awukuno pike  
 asked having went?" said. But hen said  
 "Tipau ni 'tsükuchumi 'ke" pi. Awutivilo  
 "This us biting eating man was" said. Small chicken to  
 pivepuzüno, pano mtazü saluba bape, panongo  
 said having, she quickly dung defecating, their  
 'zü 'a lo paävetsü. Laki ikupe amiphokilo  
 sleeping place on put. One egg laid fireplace in  
 phuvetsü. Ake ikipeacheulo piyevetsü. Akhi  
 put. Knife picking up wall in inserted. Bees  
 keghape azühulo paävetsü. Ashukhu  
 catching bamboo water carrier in put. Ants  
 keghape awotsanaghulo paävetsü. Ipuzüno alhakhu  
 catching short grass in kept. Thus having white ants  
 keghape akupulo paävetsüno pana 'limiye ketau  
 catching bridge on put having her family different  
 zü 'a pike.  
 sleeping place said.

Ike tilehino anyengu puthono eghepuzü awu  
 But then wild cat by night come having chickens  
 'zü a lo kukakeloye saluba chine pholuke.  
 sleeping place in groping dung grasping broke took.  
 Acheulo isüveniye akeno pa 'ou ghathavekeloye  
 Wall on wipe off to knife his hand cutting  
 ami fukhino zhuniye ami fukeloye awukhuno mpawo  
 fire blown see to fire blowing hen's egg bursting  
 pa 'nyeti vephovetsüke. Azü lesüwo khuveniye  
 his eyes broke. Water pouring wash to  
 azühulo akhino pa kukegheunguno akikalalo  
 bucket in bees him stinging for verandah by  
 awotsanaghulo iheniye ashekuno pa mikikeloye  
 grass on roll to ants him biting  
 ponye akupulo pokukelono, akupu nhyechepe pa  
 flee to bridge to fled having, bridge breaking he  
 vekhi piti iye pike.  
 falling died it is said.

After the father and mother of a small chicken had gone away, the wild cat said to the small chicken "Which is father's bed? Which is mother's bed? Which is big brother's bed? Which is sister's bed? And which is your bed?" The little chicken replied "This is father's bed. This is mother's bed. This is big brother's bed. This is sister's bed. And this is my bed". After he had thus replied while waiting there his mother came. The little chicken said "What was it? Mother, what is it that has a short mouth and prominent eyes?" But mother hen replied "That will kill and eat us". She told the little one this and then quickly having made some dung she put it in her children's sleeping place. Then she laid an egg and put it in the fireplace. Then she took a knife and stuck it into the wall behind the bed. Then she caught some bees and put them in the water buckets. Then she caught some ants and put them in the short grass. Then when she had caught some white ants and put them on the bridge she made her family sleep elsewhere.

Later on at night time the wild cat came, and while groping about in the hen's bedroom he got hold of the dung and it spread over his fingers. When he tried to wipe it off on the wall the knife cut his hand. He blew the fire so as to be able to see, and while blowing the egg burst and broke his eyes. When he went to pour out water to clean himself the bees bit him, and so he went to roll on the short grass outside the house. And then ants bit him. To escape from them while he was running up on to the bridge, the bridge broke and he fell and died.

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#### 6. TSEIPU AND KAWULIPU.

Tseipu-ngo Kawulipu.

Kaghelomi Tseipu ngo Kawulipu pama pavi pike. Tseipuno pa'pfu kūtha, Kawulipuno 'pfu kūtha. Tishi pike. Tseipuno Kawulipu luke. Panango ame keghake. Kawulipu pa'pungo pa'za pamano Tseipuvilo ti pike "Nono Kawulipu sasü wuniaye, akau ghopuzüno Kawulipu akaulo sūno khapu wolo" pike. "Nono alalo khiviaye, sawo o'ki 'tomlai'" pike. Tseipuno pumlaveno alalo khike. Tseipuno Kawulipu hezhuke. Kutoyue Kawulipu khapu wuniye pino khapuzhuke. Kawulipu pumlaiveke. Tilehino Tseipuno pa'mu kuke. Tseipuno pa'mu sasü eghempilono Muchupilino azü puegheno Kawulipu ituluke. Muchupilino Kawulipu hekhiye pheveno Kawulipu 'nyemogha akuchopu pepuno Kawulipu alo nguake. Tilehino pa'mu pama egheke. Ike pa'muno Tseipuvilo pike "Nono hekitipu saä kepuke" pike. Pa'muno Tseipu allomi pike. Tipeno pa'muye Tseipu kemono woveke. Muchupilino Tseipuvilo ti pike "Ino

o'hezhunikelono i 'nhyeti kizhe shiveke. Ino o putsanikelono i 'kichi mutsüsüveke. Ino ikaänikelono, ikupu ichouve". Tishi Muchupilino Tseipuvilo ti pike. Tseipuye Muchupili mtano Kawulipu keghashi saäke.

Aghülo lakino Tseipuno akutu luke. Kawulipu 'kumolono akutu laki ipeghe aghike. Tseipuye mtano akuthu süwoke. Muchupili tsüke. Muchupilino akutu lhoakelono akulholilono akutuno atsa pike. "Muchupili nhapiti" pike. Muchupilino Tseipuvilo pike "Ayekulholono Muchupili nhapiti" pike. Tseipuno "Tangui ti piaye ayekulho pelevelo" pike Muchupilino ayekulho pe ayepubolo peleveke. Ayekulholono mushitibo laki ipeghike. Tipabolono mushiti kuthomo pitike. Tseipuno pa'naghami kumtsü tsüke. Topumi laki tsümono ake. Topumino Tseipuvilo "Nighe mushiti laki i tsülo" pike. Tseipuno topumivilo ti pike. "Kitila laki anike. Lulo" pike. Topumino süwo, akaulo paäke. Aghülo lakino topumino alulo huveketiuno mushitino Kawulipu ilhono topumi kumla shitsücheke. Topumino egheno pana kitoimivilo pike "Kuno i kumla shitsükeno ino chumomu pa tsüni. Eghelo" pike. Pana kitoimino "Kunomo o'kumla shitsümoke" pike Topumino pa'kumla shitsüchekeu mtano acheke. Aghülo lakino topumino alulo huke ghelishino mikhiake. Mushitino Kawulipu ilhono akaulono ipegheno, "I 'puno, i 'zano wocheniye peno. Aki kuveke". Tilehino topumino egheno Kawulipu küghaluveke. Kawulipuno topumivilo pike. "Niye ghotu kini küthu tiuveno ithoughe kemike. Ighwono i bukevelo" pike.

Tilehino Kawulipungo topumi pama kumtsaacheke. Topumino Kawulipu kalacheu pipemono sheloku sasüacheke. Aghülo lakino Tseipuno itimiko sasü aketsü kiveake. Kawulipuno aki shelokuno api ghoake. Itimiko 'ketsüno aki sheloku iloghiaye Kawulipuno lupe, eno Tseipu 'ketsü sheloku iloghiaye ikihipe veipipevetsü. Ishi ake Kawulipuno aye itaveye kumkhoakelono Tseipu 'ketsü sheloku iloghiye mtano ake. Tilehino Tseipuno aketsü luniaye iloghike. Tilehino Tseipuno Kawulipu ituluke. "Hipauye kaghe inipfu Kawulipu toi kena". Ishi topumivilo ti pike. "Hipauye ino luni" peno, topumivilo "Noye kiu ku'ni kya?" ti pike. Topumino pavilo ti pike. "Shohusükhumuno shohusüpkhilo thesü tsülo. Tishi aye lulo" pike. Tseipuno shohusüpkhi laki, shohusü akhumu laki ishi topumi tsüni, Kawulipu süäke.

Aghülo lakino Tseipuno Kawulipu 'sü keghela küthashi ala ghevetsü, Muchupili 'sü keghela küthashi ghevetsü. Tishike Kawulipungo Muchupili pama asü ghewuke. Kawulipu paghi egheveke. Muchupili atükauno asü ghepu egheke. Tseipuno Muchupili ghikhiveniye Muchupilivilo "Shoteuno akilo iloghilo" pike. Kawulipuno Muchupilivilo "Azuno iloghilo" pike. Muchupilino totimi 'tsaye lumoi, kipitimi 'tsa luni peno shoteuno iloghike. Tilehino Tseipuno Muchupili ghikhiveke. Muchupili kumolono Thumsü laki ipeghike. Tipau 'süwo akala shike.

Aghülo lakino Tseipuno aghü lauveke. Tseipuno Kawulipu vilo "Ino kahakeloye abilo ilo ao lukevelo" pike. Kawulipu Tseipu 'tsa iniphe abilo ao lumono ake.

Aghülo laki pa'naghaminu kumtsüno "Tseipuye aghü ipu wochenike, abilo ilono ao luno azhi beno Tseipu kelo" pike. Kawulipu abilo ilokelono akalalo ikukelono vekhivéke. Tilehino pa'nipu tiuveke. Tseipu egheno pa'zavilo pike "Ino kahakeloye Kawulipu abilo ilopekevelo" pike "Kushiye ilopekya?" Tishi pa'zavilo ti pike. Pa'zano ti pike "Aghamino kumtsü 'ilopelo' pikegheunguno ilopeke". Tishi Tseipuvilo ti pike.

Aghülo laki Tseipuno Kawulipu pa'pu pa'zano 'kilo egheke. Kawulipuye kutoghi apa'za 'kilo aghike. Tseipuno ituluno Kawulipu luniye pike. Apuazano "Kawulipuye okilo paämo" pike. "Eno nono aghüghalho süaniaye, paye lulo" pike. Apuazano Tseipuvilo ti pike. "Tsüni akeloye kalacheu süapekevelo" pike. Aghülo lakino Tseipuno akumla shiakelono aghüghalhono kalacheu ipegheke. "Niyeghi ketsünhyeno kiu toiyé keno ipezhuni" peno ipegheke. Ketsünhyeno paphukelauye aghüghalho azü ilhoveke. Tseipuno egheno zhukelaoye azü sheno kutoghi akhamunu ilhove aghike. Timino ilhokeu akhamunu pa'zhe "Napunaru 'khamunu" anike.

**Tseipu-ngo Kawulipu Pama Tsa.**  
Tseipu-and Kawulipu the two words.

Kaghelomi Tseipu ngo Kawulipu pama pavi  
Men of old Tseipu and Kawulipu the two good  
pike. Tseipuno pa 'pfu kütha, Kawulipuno 'pfu  
said. Tseipu his village different, Kawulipu's village  
kütha. Tishi pike. Tseipuno Kawulipu luke. Panango  
different. So said. Tseipu Kawulipu took. They  
ame keghake. Kawulipu pa'pungo pa'za  
price settled. Kawulipu her father and her mother  
pamano Tseipuvilo ti pike "Nono Kawulipu sasü  
both Tseipu to this said "You Kawulipu with  
wuniaye, akau ghopuzüno Kawulipu akaulo süno  
going, basket having made Kawulipu basket in putting  
khabu wolo" pike. "Nono alalo khiviaye,  
carrying go" said. "You road by putting down,  
sawo o'ki 'tomlai'" pike. Tseipuno  
going your house reach unable" said. Tseipu  
pumlaveno alalo khike. Tseipuno  
to carry having been unable road by put down. Tseipu  
Kawulipu hezhuke. Kutoye Kawulipu khabu  
Kawulipu looked upon. Again Kawulipu carrying

wuniye pino khapuzhuke. Kawulipu pumlaiveke.  
 to go saying carrying tried. Kawulipu carrying unable was.  
 Tilehino Tseipuno pa'mu                            kuke. Tseipuno  
 Then Tseipu his elder brother called. Tseipu  
 pa'mu                                                    sasü eghempilono Muchupilino azü  
 his elder brother with come not having Muchupili water  
 puegheno                                                Kawulipu ituluke. Muchupilino Kawulipu  
 carrying coming Kawulipu saw. Muchupili Kawulipu  
 hekhipe pheveno                                        Kawulipu 'nyemogha  
 killing having thrown away Kawulipu's things  
 akuchopu pepuno Kawulipu alo                    nguake. Tilehino  
 all carrying Kawulipu's place in stayed. Then  
 pa'mu                                                    pama egheke. Ike pa'muno  
 his elder brother the two came. But his elder brother  
 Tseipuvilo pike "Nono hekitipu saä kepuke"  
 Tseipu to said "You like this take should have"  
 pike. Pa'muno                                        Tseipu allomi pike. Tipeno  
 said. His elder brother Tseipu abused. This saying  
 pa'muye                                                Tseipu kemono woveke. Muchupilino  
 his elder brother Tseipu awaiting not went. Muchupili  
 Tseipuvilo ti pike "Ino o'hezhunikelono i  
 Tseipu to this said "I you having gazed on my  
 'nyeti kizhe shiveke. Ino o putsanikelono  
 eyes big have become. I you to talked having  
 i 'kichi mutsüsüveke. Ino ikaänikelono, ikupu  
 my mouth pointed has become. I sat having my legs  
 ichouve". Tishi Muchupilino Tseipuvilo ti pike.  
 crooked are". Thus Muchupili Tseipu to this said.  
 Tseipuye Muchupili mtano                        Kawulipu keghashi  
 Tseipu Muchupili not knowing Kawulipu thinking  
 saäke.  
 took along.

Aghülo lakino Tseipuno akutu                    luke.  
 Day one Tseipu bamboo shoot look.  
 Kawulipu 'kumolono akutu                        laki ipeghe aghike.  
 Kawulipu corpse from bamboo shoot one emerging was.  
 Tseipuye mtano akuthu süwoke. Muchupili  
 Tseipu not knowing bamboo shoot took away. Muchupili to  
 tsüke. Muchupilino akutu                        lhoakelono  
 gave. Muchupili bamboo shoot cooking  
 akulholilono akutuno atsa pike. "Muchupili  
 stew pot from bamboo shoot words said. "Muchupili

nhapiti" pike. Muchupilino Tseipuvilo pike  
 die apotia" said. Muchupili Tseipu to said  
 "Ayekulholono Muchupili nhapiti" pike. Tseipune  
 "Stew from Muchupili die apotia" said. Tseipu  
 "Tangui ti piaye ayekulho pelevelo" pike.  
 "Certainly this saying if stew throw away" said.  
 Muchupilino ayekulho pe ayepubolo pelevete.  
 Muchupili stew throwing dirt heap on threw away.  
 Ayekulholono mushitibo laki ipeghike. Tipabolono  
 Stew from orange tree one came out. This tree from  
 mushiti kuthomo pitike. Tseipuno pa'naghami  
 oranges many were born. Tseipu his villagers  
 kumtsü tsüke. Topumi laki tsümono ake.  
 all gave. Woman one giving not having was.  
 Topumino Tseipuvilo "Nighe mushiti laki i tsülo"  
 Woman Tseipu to "I too orange one me give"  
 pike. Tseipuno topumivilo ti pike. "Kitila laki anike.  
 said. Tseipu woman to this said. "Small one is.  
 Lulo" pike. Topumino süwo, akaulo paäke. Aghülo  
 Take" said. Woman taking, basket in kept. Day  
 lakino topumino alulo huveketiuno mushitino  
 one woman fields to going down after orange  
 Kawulipu ilhono topumi kumla shitsücheke.  
 Kawulipu becoming woman's work did kept on.  
 Topumino egheno pana kitoimivilo pike "Kuno  
 Woman coming her neighbours to said "Who  
 i kumla shitsükeno ino chumomu pa  
 my work having done I eating not although him  
 tsüni. Egheho" pike. Pana kitoimino "Kunomo  
 will give. Come" said. Her neighbours "No we  
 o'kumla shitsümoke" pike. Topumino pa'kumla  
 your work done not has" said. Woman her work  
 shitsüchekeu mtano acheke. Aghülo lakino  
 doing continuing who not knowing stayed. Day one  
 topumino alulo huke ghelishino mikhiake.  
 woman fields to went down pretending hid.  
 Mushitino Kawulipu ilhono akaulono ipegheno,  
 Orange Kawulipu becoming basket from coming out,  
 "I 'puno, i 'zano wocheniye peno. Aki  
 "My father, my mother come to saying. House  
 kuveke". Tilehino topumino egheno Kawulipu  
 swept out. Then woman coming Kawulipu  
 küghaluveke. Kawulipuno topumivilo pike. "Niye  
 catch able was. Kawulipu woman to said. "I

ghotu kini      küthu      tiuveno      ithoughe      kemike.  
 twice              thrice              having died              again              lived.  
 Ighwono i      bukevelo"      pike.  
 Roughly me      don't handle"      said.  
 Tilehino      Kawulipungo      topumi      pama      kumtsa  
 Then              Kawulipu and              woman              the two              together  
 acheke.              Topumino      Kawulipu      kalacheu  
 continued.              Woman              Kawulipu              outside  
 pipemono      sheloku      sasü      acheke.      Aghülo  
 said caused not having inside      together continued. Day  
 lakino      Tseipuno      itimiko      sasü      aketsü      kiveake.  
 one              Tseipu              boys              with              tops              span.  
 Kawulipuno aki      shelokuno api      ghoake.      Itimike  
 Kawulipu              house inside              cloth weaving was. Boys  
 'ketsüno aki      sheloku iloghiaye Kawulipuno lupe, eno  
 tops              house inside              entering if Kawulipu took, and  
 Tseipu 'ketsü sheloku iloghiaye ikhipe      vepipevetsü.  
 Tseipu's top              inside              entering if picking up threw outside.  
 Ishi ake Kawulipuno aye      itaveye kumkhoakelono  
 Thus was Kawulipu              thread breaking knotting while  
 Tseipu 'ketsü sheloku iloghiike mtano ake.  
 Tseipu's top              inside              entered not knowing was.  
 Tilehino Tseipuno aketsü luniaye iloghiike. Tilehino  
 Then Tseipu top              take to entered. Then  
 Tseipuno Kawulipu ituluke. "Hipauye kaghe inipfu  
 Tseipu Kawulipu saw. "This formerly my wife  
 Kawulipu toi kena". Ishi topumivilo ti pike.  
 Kawulipu like is" This woman to this said.  
 "Hipauye ino luni" peno, topumivilo "Noye  
 "This I take will" saying, woman to "You  
 kiu ku'ni kya?" ti pike. Topumino pavilo  
 what asking what?" this said. Woman him to  
 ti pike. "Shohusü-khumuno shohusüpikhilo  
 this said. "Shohusü pounding stick shohusü pounder in  
 thesü tsülo. Tishi aye lulö" pike. Tseipuno  
 placing give. Thus being take" said. Tseipu  
 shohusüpikhilaki, shohusü akhumu laki ishi  
 shohusü pounder one, shohusü pounding stick one thus  
 topumi tsüno, Kawulipu süake.  
 woman giving, Kawulipu took.

Aghülo lakino Tseipuno Kawulipu 'sü keghela  
 Day one Tseipu Kawulipu's wood cutting path  
 küthashi ala ghevetsü, Muchupili 'sü keghela  
 different path cutting, Muchupili wood cutting path

küthashi ghevetsü. Tishike. Kawulipungo Muchupili different cutting. This was. Kawulipu and Muchupili pama asü ghewuke. Kawulipu paghi the two wood cutting went. Kawulipu first egheveke. Muchupili atükauno asü ghepu came. Muchupili afterwards wood cutting carrying egheke. Tseipuno Muchupili ghikhiveniye Muchupilivilo came. Tseipu Muchupili kill to Muchupili to "Shoteuno akilo iloghilo" pike. Kawulipuno "Backwards house in enter" said. Kawulipu Muchupilivilo "Azuno iloghilo" pike. Muchupilino Muchupili to "Forwards enter" said. Muchupili totimi 'tsaye lumoi, kipitimi 'tsa luni woman's words won't take, man's words will take peno shoteuno iloghike. Tilehino Tseipuno Muchupili saying backwards entered. Then Tseipu Muchupili ghikhiveke. Muchupili kumolono Thumsü laki killed. Muchupili's corpse from Thumsü one ipeghike. Tipau 'süwo akala shike. came out. This taking ladder made.

Aghülo lakino Tseipuno aghü lauveke. Tseipuno Day one Tseipu war went to. Tseipu Kawulipuvilo "Ino kahakeloye, abilo ilo ao Kawulipu to "I not being, dhuli in entering grain lukevelo" pike. Kawulipuno Tseipu 'tsa iniphe don't take" said. Kawulipu Tseipu's words obeying abilo ao lumono ake. dhuli in grain not taking continued.

Aghülo laki pa'naghamino kumtsüno "Tseipuye Day one her villagers all "Tseipu aghü ipu wochenike, abilo ilono ao enemy killing carrying coming is, dhuli in entering grain luno azhi beno Tseipu kelo" pike. Kawulipuno taking liquor making Tseipu await" said. Kawulipu abilo ilokelono akalalo ikukelono dhuli in entered having ladder from mounted having vekhiveke. Tilehino pa'nipfu tiuveke. Tseipu egheno fell. Then his wife died. Tseipu coming pa'zavilo pike "Ino kahakeloye Kawulipu abilo his mother to said "I being about Kawulipu dhuli in ilopekevelo" pike "Kushiye ilope to enter don't cause" said "Why enter to caused kya?" Tishi pa'zavilo ti pike. Pa'zano ti what?" Thus his mother to this said. His mother this

pike "Aghamino kumtsü 'ilopelo' pikegheunguno said "Villagers all 'enter cause to' saying for ilopeke". Tishi Tseipuvilo ti pike. enter caused". Thus Tseipu to this said.

Aghülo laki Tseipuno Kawulipu pa'pu Day one Tseipu Kawulipu her father pa'zano 'kilo egheke. Kawulipuye kutoghi apa'za her mother house to came. Kawulipu again parents 'kilo aghike. Tseipuno ituluno Kawulipu luniye house in was. Tseipu seen having Kawulipu to take pike. Apuazano "Kawulipuye okilo paämo" said. Parents "Kawulipu your house in keep not" pike. "Eno nono aghüghalho süaniaye, paye lulo" said. "And you wax creation keeping if, her take" pike. Apuazano Tseipuvilo ti pike. "Tsüni akeloye said. Parents Tseipu to this said. "Sun being kalacheu süapekevelo" pike. Aghülo lakino Tseipuno outside keep don't" said. Day one Tseipu akumla shiakelono aghüghalhono kalacheu ipegeheke. work doing wax creation being outside came out. "Niyeghi ketsünhyeno kiu toiyé keno ipezhuni" "I too sun what like is see will" peno ipegeheke. Ketsünhyeno paphukelauye aghüghalho saying came out. Sun shining wax creation azü ilhoveke. Tseipuno egheno zhukelaoye azü water became. Tseipu coming seeing water sheno kutoghi akhamunu ilhove aghike. Timino becoming again flower became was. Men ilhokeu akhamunu pa'zhe "Napunaru becoming which flower its name "Napunaru 'khamunu" anike. flower" is.

Once upon a time Tseipu and Kawulipu were good people it is said. And they were of different villages it is said. Tseipu took Kawulipu to wife. He settled the marriage price. Her parents said to Tseipu "If you want to take her away, weave a basket and put her in it and carry her. If you put her down by the roadside you won't be able to reach your house in her company". But Tseipu couldn't carry her and put her down by the path. And Tseipu gazed upon Kawulipu. Again he tried to carry her. It was in vain. Then he called his brother. But before he came Muchupili who was carrying water saw Kawulipu. Then Muchupili killed Kawulipu and threw her away and put on all her clothes and waited in her place. Then Tseipu

and his brother came, but his brother said "It is right indeed to take a woman like that" and he abused him, and went off without waiting for Tseipu. Then Muchupili said to Tseipu "Because I have looked upon you my eyes are big. Because I have spoken to you my mouth is pointed. Because I have waited for you my legs are crooked". Thus spoke Muchupili to Tseipu. Tseipu did not know Muchupili and took her away thinking she was Kawulipu.

One day Tseipu took a bamboo shoot. The bamboo shoot had grown up from Kawulipu's corpse. He did not know this and took it and gave it to Muchupili. While she was cooking it the bamboo shoot spoke from the stew pot "May Muchupili die in childbirth" it said. Muchupili said to Tseipu "The food told me to die in childbirth". He replied "If it really said that, throw it away". Muchupili then threw it on to the dirt heap. An orange tree grew up from the dirt heap. On this tree much fruit was born. Tseipu divided the fruit amongst the villagers. One woman got none, and said to Tseipu "Give me an orange". He replied "There is one little one left; take it". The woman took it and kept it in her basket. One day after she had gone to her fields the orange became Kawulipu and did the woman's work for her. The woman returned and said to her neighbours "Even if I had nothing to eat I would give food to the person who has done my work—come". The neighbours replied that no one had done her work, and the woman remained ignorant of the person who had done her work. One day she pretended to go to her fields, but hid and watched. The orange became Kawulipu and got out of the basket and said "My father and mother are coming". And swept the house. Then the woman came and caught Kawulipu who said "Twice or thrice have I died and again I live. Don't handle me roughly".

Then Kawulipu and the woman stayed together. She didn't allow Kawulipu outside the house, but kept her within.

One day Tseipu was spinning tops with the boys. Kawulipu was weaving inside the house. When the boys' tops came inside the house Kawulipu took them, but when Tseipu's top came inside she threw it outside. And it happened that Kawulipu had broken her thread and was knotting it and so did not see that Tseipu's top had come inside. Then Tseipu came inside to fetch it. He saw Kawulipu and said "She is like my wife Kawulipu". And he told the woman he would marry her. "What do you want for her?" he said. The woman said "Give me a pounding stick of shohusu and a pounding table of shohusu and then take her". Tseipu gave her the stick and the pounding table and took Kawulipu.

One day Tseipu made a different path for Kawulipu to cut wood and a different path for Muchupili to cut wood. He did this and both went to cut wood. Kawulipu returned first. Muchupili came afterwards carrying her wood. Tseipu in order

to kill Muchupili said to her "Enter the house backwards". But Kawulipu said "Enter the house frontwards". Muchupili heeded not the woman's words but obeyed her husband and entered backwards. Then Tseipu killed her, and from her corpse a Thumsü tree grew up. From this a ladder was made.

One day Tseipu went on an expedition. Tseipu said to Kawulipu "While I am away don't enter the dhuli to take grain". She obeyed his words and refrained from taking grain from the dhuli.

But one day all the villagers said "Tseipu has taken a head and is coming back. Go into the dhuli and get grain and brew liquor and wait for him". Kawulipu entered the dhuli but while climbing the ladder (of Thumsü) she fell. And thus she died. When Tseipu came he said to his mother "I told you not to let her enter the dhuli while I was away. Why did you do so?" To these words his mother replied "All the villagers told her to, and so she went inside the dhuli". Thus she answered Tseipu.

One day Tseipu went to the house of Kawulipu's father and mother. Kawulipu was again in her parents' house. Tseipu wanted to take her away but her parents said they would not let him keep her in his house. "If you want to take away a wax figure, then take her", they said, "But if the sun is out, don't let her stay outside". One day while Tseipu was at work the wax figure went outside. "I too will see what the sun is like", she said as she went outside. But when the sun shone the wax became water. When Tseipu came he saw she had melted and had turned into a flower.

And the name of this flower arisen from a human being is Napunaru.

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#### 7. THE STORY OF THE DOVE AND THE GREEN PIGEON.

Amikhi-ngo Achui pama 'tsa.

Kaghe amikhingo achui pama pa 'za Kutuli keacheke. Amikhino akicho 'nu achuino amishiu 'nu ishi pike. Ike aza tiunichekelono, anu amikhivilo "Niye tiunicheake. O'phi aou yetsüni. Thanau ithena ichoeghelonye" pike. Ike achui-no tipa 'tsa chiluvepuzüno thanau inaputhono ichoegheke. Achui 'phi aou yevetsüpuzü "Noye akhati nikethulo kino akhati meghi, i 'zhe Kutuli 'zhe ku, asü akelo, i ghachelonye" pi. Achivilo pivekethiuno, amikhiye khetsünhye ipeghethiuno, pa 'nyeba miti miti egeke. Ike amikhivilo pi "Nono ithena eghemoa. Achuino 'yeluvea. Noye apu 'zhe ku, timi 'ti meghi ghi, timi puzokhu meghi. Ishi apu 'zhe ku eghachelonye" pike.

Amikhi-ngo Achui pama 'tsa.  
Dove and green pigeon the two words.

Kaghe amikhingo achui pama pa 'za  
Once dove and green pigeon the two their mother  
Kutuli keacheke. Amikhino akuchu 'nu achuino  
Kutuli awaiting were. Dove real son green pigeon  
mishiu 'nu ishi pike. Ike aza  
second son thus it is said. But mother  
tiunichekelono, anu amikhivilo "Niye  
die going-continuing-having been son dove to "I  
tiunicheake. O'phi aou yetsüni. Thanau  
die go continuing am. Your body hands paint will. Morning  
ithena ichoeghelonye" pike. Ike achuino tipa  
early arise come please" said. But green pigeon these  
'tsa chiluvepuzüno thanau inaputhono ichoegheke.  
words heard having morning before dawn arose came.  
Achui 'phi aou yevetsüpuzü "Noye akhati  
Green pigeon body hands painted having "You fruit  
nike 'ghülo kino akhati meghi, i 'zhe  
ripening day awaiting fruit picking, my name  
Kutuli 'zhe ku, asü akelo, i ghachelonye"  
Kutuli name calling, tree top at, me call keep on please"  
pi. Achuivilo pivekethiuno, amikhiye khetsünhye  
said. Green pigeon to saying after, dove sun  
ipeghekethiuno, pa 'nyeba miti miti egheke.  
arising after, his eyes cleaning cleaning came.  
Ike amikhivilo pi "Nono ithena eghemoa.  
But dove to said "You early came not.  
Achuino 'yeluvea. Noye apu 'zhe ku,  
Green pigeon painted. You father's name calling,  
timi 'ti meghi ghi, timi puzokhu meghi.  
men's grain peck even, men's urine peck.  
Ishi apu 'zhe ku eghachelonye" piye.  
Thus father's name calling cry keep on please" said.

Once the dove and the green pigeon were waiting for their mother Kutuli. The dove was the elder and the green pigeon the second one. So it is said. When their mother was about to die she said to her son the dove "I am on the point of death. I will paint all your body. Get up early in the morning and come to me please". But the green pigeon heard this conversation and while it was yet dark rose and went to his mother. When she had painted his body she said "Wait for the day when the berries ripen and when you peck them call my name, the name Kutuli, from the tree top, I beg you call me". She spake thus

to the green pigeon and after sunrise the dove came cleaning his eyes. Then his mother said "You didn't come early. The green pigeon has been painted. You must call your father's name, you must feed on the grain of man and peck where he has made urine. And while you do this call your father's name, I beg you".

### 8. THE STORY OF THE CAPTURE OF A MAGIC BIRD.

Azozhi Kügha khutsa.

Kaghe timi lakino anipu lupuzü, anipuye pakilo paäveno, paye ashou alozhilimi sasü wuvepuzüno akhi küthu pa'ipu 'kilo wumoveke. Aghülo lakino pana lozhimi alulo huake. Pa'ipu 'lu ngo pana lozhimi 'lu küghungo huake. Pa 'nipfuno alu mulachekelono Azozhi akimi anipfu kicheghisüsü pa'shelo ilogheke. Pa 'nipfu azozhi hekhüvepuzüno amhi phisüwo, ayeghi chuno ayeku 'kwolo kwoveke. Ike pakimino tipathiye, pa'ipfuno Azozhi keghalukegheunguno, pa'ipfu 'lau zhuni-shiake. Pano bawuni pipuzüno wucheaye pa'lozhilipfughi "Nighi bawuni" ipipuzü pa sasü wuve. Pano puzho wuni pipuzüno pa sasü wuve. Pano "Azü ye wuni" pipuzüno, wucheaye pa'lozhilipfughi "Niye azü yewuni" pa 'papfe sasü wuveke. Tohu, pa'lozhilipfumi asü ghewupuzüno, asü laki akwolo shesü, atu laki ikisü ishipuzüno pa 'kwo chitoi paatsüke. Tishi puzüno paye angu pesüsü azouno powucheke. Alozhilip-funo poeghepuzüno akwomi eghempilono akwo khalevepuzü pa 'lozhipfu hake. Pa 'lozhipfu halunichekelono pa'lozhipfuno ilhei iloveke. Tilehino pa 'lozhilipfuno pavilo amti musüke. "Aghüsü no kügha lupeni" ti pipuzüno pa 'lozhilipfuye wuveke.

Akilo eghepuzüno pana 'nu laki ake. Tipauvilo "O'za okuzhoye kiuye lho aní kya"? Ti piake. Tilehino pa'ipfu eghepuzüno pa 'kimivilo ti pike "Nono tostülo nikilo eghechenke sha?" ti pike. Tilehino pano pa'ipfuvilo "Nighe henguno hilauye ishi moake. 'Ikuzho akevishi küghünacheni ake' ivilo pilo". Ti pike. Pa 'ipfuno "Tishiaye, wuno alu mulaye 'kwo ashe kichilo ayeku kwolo ayeghi chuno paan'ke, hupuzüno lulo". Ti pike. Pano hugheke. Azozhi 'mhi kuchopu azhino pewuvepuzüno laki aghike. Pano süwupuzüno awo kukhuke. Awono pa papeke. Awokhu ilhecheveke.

Aghülo laki akekaono aina saäke. Tilehino azozhi showü aghothu kukhuvepuzü agha lono mikheake. Timi kuchopuno ti pike "Issinaye nighthu kushi kegheungno ishi zhukevi anike la?" ti pipuzüno timi kumtsüno aghothusü bupuzüno huake. Akekaao 'ipfuno timi lozhipuzüno atükauno hucheke. Veche-huvepuzüno kuthoughe idewo aghothu 'sü vilo "Issinaye nighthu 'zhukevi" ti pipuzüno panaghami totimi kumtsüno pano sazükhave pike.

Azozhi      kügha      khutsa.  
 Magic bird      catching story.

Kaghe      timi      lakino      anipfu      lupuzü,      anipfuye  
 Once      man      one      wife      taken having,      wife  
 pakilo      paäveno,      paye      ashou      alozhilimi      sasü  
 his house in      kept having,      he      outside lover      with  
 wuvepuzüno      akhi      küthu      pa'nipfu      kilo      wumoveke.  
 gone having      months three      his wife's      house to      went not.  
 Aghülo      lakino      pana      lozhimi      alulo      huake.  
 Day      one      their      gang's      field to      went down.  
 Pa'nipfu      'lu      ngo      pana      lozhimi      'lu      küghungo      huake.  
 His wife's      field and      their gang's      field opposite      were.  
 Pa      'nipfuno      alu      mulachekelono      Azozhi      akimi  
 His wife      field work doing having      magic bird      husband  
 anipfu      kicheghisüü      pa'shelo      ilogheke.  
 wife      struggling      her unhold part of field      entered.  
 Pa      'nipfuye      azozhi      hekhivepuzüno      amhi      phisüwo,  
 His wife      magic bird      killed having      feather's plucking.  
 ayeghi      chuno      ayeku      'kwolo      kwoveke.  
 earth      dug having      field embankment      below      buried.  
 Ike      pakimino      tipathiuye,      pa'nipfuno      Azozhi  
 But      her husband      this after,      his wife      magic bird  
 keghalukegheunguno,      pa'nipfu      'lau      zhunishiake.      Pano  
 catching for,      his wife      to      see wanted.      He  
 bawuni      pipuzüno      wucheaye      pa'lozhilipfughi  
 defecate go will      said having      going if      his lover too  
 "Nighi      bawuni"      i      pipuzü      pa      sasü      wuve.  
 "I too      defecate will go"      this said having      him with      went.  
 Pano      puzho      wuni      pipuzüno      pa      sasü      wuve.  
 He      urinate go will      said having      him with      went.  
 Pano      "Azü      ye      wuni"      pipuzüno,      wucheaye      pa  
 He      "Water drink go will"      said having,      going if      his  
 'lozhilipfughi      "Niye      azü      yewuni"      pa      'pa  
 lover too      "I      water drink will"      his tracks  
 pfe      sasü      wuveke.      Tohu,      pa      lozhilipfumi  
 picking up with      went.      In the morning,      his lover  
 asü      ghewupuzüno,      asü      laki      akwolo      shesü,      atu  
 wood cut having,      wood one load in      putting,      stone  
 laki      ikisü      ishipuzüno      pa      'kwo      chitoi  
 one picking up bringing      thus having done her load full  
 paätsüke.      Tishi      puzüno      paye      angu      pesüsü      azouno  
 kept.      Thus having done he      spear taking in front  
 powucheke.      Alozhilipfuno      poeghepuzüno      akwomi  
 fled went.      Lover      fleeing come having      companions

eghempilono akwo khalevepuzü pa 'lozhipfu  
come not having load thrown away having her lover  
hake. Pa 'lozhipfu halunichekelono  
chased. Her lover chase able going having  
pa'lozhipfuno ilhei iloveke. Tilehino pa 'lozhilipfuno  
her lover dancing entered. Then his lover  
pavilo amti musüteke. "Aghüsü no kügha lupeni"  
him to spittle spat at. "Enemy you catch take"  
ti pipuzüno pa 'lozhilipfuye wuveke.  
this said having his lover went.

Akilo eghepuzüno pana 'nu laki ake. Tipauvilo  
Home come having his son one was. Him to  
"O'za okuzhoye kiuye lho ani kya?" Ti  
"Your mother you two what cooking are what?" Thus  
piake. Tilehino pa'nipfu eghepuzüno pa 'kimivilo ti  
said. Then his wife come having her husband to this  
pike "Nono tosülo nikilo eghechenke sha?"  
said "You formerly our house to came what?"  
ti pike. Tilehino pano pa'nipfuvilo "Nighe  
this said. Then he his wife to "I too  
henguno hilauye ishi moake. Ikuzho akevishi  
henceforth thus not. We two well  
küghünacheni ake ivilo pilo". Ti pike. Pa  
live together will continue me to say". This said. His  
'nipfuno "Tishaiye, wuno alu mulaye 'kwo  
wife "Thus being, gone having field hoed above  
ashe kichilo ayeku kwolo ayeghi chuno  
not hoed part mouth in boundary beneath earth dug having  
paan'ke, hupuzüno lulo". Ti pike. Pano  
kept what is, gone having take". This said. He  
hughuke. Azozhi 'mhi kuchopu azhino  
went down. Magic bird feathers all rats  
pewuvepuzüno laki aghike. Pano süwupuzüno  
thrown away having one remained. He brought having  
awo kukhuke. Awono pa 'pa peke. Awoku  
pig touched. Pig his tracks picked up. Sow  
ilhecheveke.  
passed by.

Aghülo laki akekaono aina saäke. Tilehino  
Day one chief all village took down. Then  
azozhi showü aghothu kukhuvepuzü agha lono  
magic bird taking boundary touched having jungle from  
mikiake. Timi kuchopuno ti pike "Issinaye  
hid. Men all this said "The morn

nighothu kushi kegheungno ishi zhukevianike la?"  
 our boundary why thus beautiful is what?"  
 ti pipuzüno timi kumtsüno aghothusü  
 this said having men all boundary wood fence  
 bupuzüno huake. Akekao 'nipfuno timi  
 touched having went. Chief's wife men  
 lhozhipuzüno atükauno hucheke.  
 entertained having afterwards went continued.  
 Vechehuvepuzüno kuthoughe idewo aghothu 'sü  
 Crossed gone having again returning boundary wood  
 vilo "Issinaye nighothu 'zhukovila" ti  
 to "This morning our boundary beautiful is" this  
 pipuzüno panaghami totimi kumtsü pano  
 said having his villagers women all he  
 sazükhave pike.  
 enticed completely it is said.

Once a man who had taken to himself a wife kept his wife in his house and himself went abroad with his lover, and for three months did not go to his wife's house. One day their gang went down to the fields. His wife's field and that of the gang were opposite each other. While his wife was doing her cultivation a magic bird, for which the husband and wife struggled, entered the part of the field not hoed by the wife. The wife killed the bird, and plucked its feathers. She then dug, and buried them underneath the field embankment.

Thereafter the husband desired his wife because she had caught the bird. But his lover, even if he wanted to answer Nature's call would not leave him. If he said "I am going to get a drink of water", on his way to get it his lover would say "I, too, will get a drink of water", and would follow in his footsteps.

To stop this one morning when his lover had gone to cut wood, he put wood in her basket and then filled it up with a stone. He then picked up his spear and ran off. His lover returned hurriedly before her companions, but soon threw away her basket and chased him. While chasing him, he appeared dancing. The woman then spat at him and said "May an enemy capture you and take you away". And with these words she left him.

The man went to his house where his son was. To him he said "What are you and your mother cooking?" Then his wife came and said to her husband "You have always come to my house before this, haven't you?" The husband replied "From now on, I will reform. Say to me 'We will live together'". The wife answered "If that is the case, go and dig below the embankment, at the beginning of the unhoed part of the field,

above the part which has been hoed. Go and bring what you find there". The man then went down to the field. Rats had destroyed all the feathers except one. He brought this and touched a boar with it. The boar followed in his footsteps. It even passed by a sow.

One day the Chief took the whole of the village to his fields. Then the man took the charm and touched the boundary with it, and hid and watched from the jungle. Everyone said "Why is our boundary so beautiful to-day?" And thereafter all touched the fence as they passed by. The Chief's wife went by after entertaining her guests later on. She passed the fence, and then came back and said "To-day our fence is indeed beautiful".

Thereafter the man was able to seduce all the women in the village, it is said.

## 9. THE TIME OF SOWING.

Aghipiti 'Khi.

Kaghelomi ni Simi 'tsa pinike. Inzhulo. Ni Simi aghipiti khi mtapuzüno, aghi khusüke. Aghi aloti süsümonoacheke. Tipathiuno Kivighono tiniye akelono, pa 'nu Kashovilo ti pike. "Niye tiniake. Timino aghi khusü amu noye aghi khusükevelo. Ino aghothukwolo eghanike. Tilehino aghi khusülo." Ti pipuzüno tiveke.

Timino alu ivakhivepuzüno ami su alu sapuzüno, aghi khusüpuzüno amo za, tishi mu paye "I'puno ivilo piketsa luni" ti pipuzüno keake. Kezhupahano "I'puye pano tivenike-gheunguno i pishike kya?" ti pipuzüno aghipite pusüsü aghonolo ilocheke. Tilehino pa 'pu 'ghungno aghau ilhopuzüno "Shoka pa 'pu Kivigho" ti pu egha ipegheke. Kuchokeno ti pipuzüno aghi khuke. Kuthamino azhouno süvekeke aghi aloti süsümono amu u liki pitike. Tigheunguno ni Simino Kasho aghi piti 'khi kihipuzüno aghi khusüchenike.

Aghipiti 'Khi.  
Seed time.

Kaghelomi ni Simi 'tsa pinike. Inzhulo.  
Men of old we Semas words seek will. Listen.  
Ni Simi aghipiti 'khi mtapuzüno, aghi  
We Semas seed time not knowing having, rice  
khusüke. Aghi aloti süsümonoacheke.  
sowed. Rice grains formed not having continued.  
Tipathiuno Kivighono tiniye akelono, pa 'nu Kashovilo  
Thereafter Kivigho die to being, his son Kasho to

ti pike. "Niye tiniake. Timino aghi khusü amu, this said. "I dying am. Men rice sowing although noye aghi khusükevelo. Ino aghothukwolo eghanike. you rice sow don't. I boundary below cry will.

Tilehino aghi khusülo". Ti pipuzüno tiveke. Then rice sow". This said having died.

Timino alu ivakhivepuzüno, ami sü, alu Men fields cut having, fire giving, fields sapuzüno, aghi khusüpuzüno, amo za, cleaning, rice sown having, heaps of jungle throwing away, tishi mu paye "I'puno ivilo piketsa thus although he "My father me to spoken words luni" ti pipuzüno keake. take will" thus said having watching continued.

Kezhupahano "I'puye pano tivenikegheunguno Watched in vain having "My father he dying because of i pishike kya?" ti pipuzüno aghipiti pusüsü me deceived what?" this said having seeds carrying going aghonolo ilocheke. Tilehino pa 'pu 'ghungno resting place at came out. Then his father's soul aghau ilhopuzüno "Shoka, pa 'pu Kivigho" bird become having "Shoka, his father Kivigho" ti pi egha ipegheke. Kuchokeno ti pipuzüno this saying crying emerged. True being this said having aghi khuke. Küthamino azhouuno süvekeke aghi aloti rice sowed. Other men before sowed rice grain süsumono amu u liki pitike. Tigheunguno come out not having empty only germinated. This for ni Simino Kasho aghi piti 'khi kihipuzüno we Semas Kasho rice seeds time counted having aghi khusüchenike. rice sow keep on.

I will tell you a story of our Sema ancestors. Listen. We Semas did not know the time to sow and in spite of this sowed. The rice seeds kept on failing to form. Thereafter one Kivigho when he was about to die said to his son Kasho "I am dying. Although others may sow, don't do so. I will call from below the boundary. Then sow". He spake thus and died.

Men cleared their fields, burnt them, cleaned them, sowed, and weeded them but in spite of this Kasho said "I will obey the words my father spake" and saying thus he waited. No sign came. "Has my father because he died deceived me?" he said and carrying the seeds came to resting place. Then his

father's soul which had become a bird said "Shoka, his father Kivigho", and thus speaking came calling. Then indeed he sowed. Other men—the ones who had sown before—got grainless husks which did not open. And so we Semas continue to sow after counting the month when Kasho's grain germinated.

#### 10. THE STORY OF THE WERE TIGERS' VILLAGE.

Angshukogholhomi naghami 'tsa.

Kaghelomi apu tive, aza tiveno atazu 'mi kini acheke. Akicheuye anipfu luveno aitiuye anipfu lumono pa'mu kilo acheke. Aghülo lakino pama atazu ale shiake. Pa 'muno pa 'tüküzuviwo wono "Akikhi süghelo" pike. Pa 'tüküzuno wono pa'mu 'nipfuvilo pike "Imuno tipau süghelo" pike. Pa'mu 'nipfuno "Noye kiu kua'n kya ?" "Imuno tipau süghelo" pike. Pa'mu 'nipfuno anhyemogha kumtsü piyeke. "Hipau kuanike sha ?" i pino anhyemogha kumtsü piyezhuke. Kumtsü "Ti kumoi" pike. Tilehino pa'mu 'nipfuno 'melo ideveke "Hi kuanike sha ?" tipeno pa 'mo kukutsüke. "He ti kuanike" pike. Tilehino pa'chino pa 'kimivilo ti pike "Nono O'tüküzu sasü ani piaye, ikuzho kumtsü amoi" pike.

Tilehino pa 'nipfu 'tsa inpesüsü pa 'tüküzu sasü amoniye, pa 'tüküzuviwo ti pike "Noye hupa 'tho itiani kya ?" pike. Pa 'tüküzu ti pike "Hupause kaghe i 'pu ikuzho aküghü keghe 'la ke". Kuthoughi pa'muno atho laki kicheno "Noye hupau 'tho itiani ma ?" pike "Hughi i 'pu ikuzho akikhi dauke 'la ke" ti pike. Atho kumtsü kiche piyeke. Kumtsü itiyeno atho lakiye mtake. Tilehino pa'muno pa 'tüküzu sasü aghalo itsu wuke. Pama ala mtake lau sasü wuno, pama alhe chuke. Pa'muno pa 'tüküzuviwo "Noye mtazü ana chualo" pike.

Pa 'tüküzuno pa 'muvilo "Noye kushiye ana chumono ani kya ? Noghi chulo" ti pike. Pa'muno "Niye chumoi. O likino chulo" ti peno kaake. Pa tüküzuno pa 'muvilo "Imu, noye kushiye kaani kya ? ti pike. Pa'muno "Niye kumo shimomu kaanishiye kaanike". Ti peno nguake. Tilehino pa'muno aküzügha sowü pa 'tüküzu kukhuveke. Pa 'tüküzu tilehi züawuveke. Pa'muno akhuku kügha pesü asü 'zunglo paävetsuke. "I 'tüküzuno zü ithougheno i kuaye nono pa putsalo" pike. Tipeno woveke. Pa 'tüküzuno zü ithougheno pa'mu zhupahaveke. Tilehino pa 'zhta pa 'ngu kuchopu ikizhuke. Pa 'zhta 'laghi pa 'ngu su kumtsü alhakuno chukhavetsüno azhta liki, angu 'loti liki ikiluke. Tilehino pa'mu kuke "O i 'mu", ti pike. Akhukuno pa kwoke. Timino ti pike "Tiye i 'muno 'le kumo" ti pike. Kuthoughi pa'mu kuzhuke. Akhukuno pa kwoke. "Tiye i 'muno 'le kumo". Tipeno pa liki aghasalo itsücheke.

Itsüwo angshu 'khatibo ituluke. Timino angshu 'khatibolo ikuno, akhati khochuake. Tilehino angshuno azhta küghapfe angusü kumügnü pesüsü pa 'khatibolo egheke. Timi itulono angshuno atsa pike "Kuno i'khatibolo iku akhati kho chuan 'kyä?" ti pike. Timino angshuvilo ti pike "Küthamino o'khati kho chaughikegheunguno ino atsa peno o'khati khetsüanike". Ti pike. Timino angshuvilo "O i'sü ino akhati kho khütsüniye o'ngu iki pukutsülo" ti pike. Angshuno pa'ngu iki pukutsüke. Timino angshuvilo "Ino akhati kho pie o'bakhalo vesütsüni. O'bakha kizhie mukulo. O'nyeti imivelö" pike. Angshuno abakha mukuno, anhyeti imiveke. Timino angu süwo pa cheke. Chezüveke. Tilehino angshuno timivilo "Noye kiushiye angu süwo ichea'n kya?" ti pike. Timino ti pike "Isü angupa muduli" ti pike. "Itaghe ina khoakelo akhati mushu laki anike. Ina anguno hekhütsüniye angu iki pukulo" pike. Angshuno pa'ngu iki puku tsüke. Timino angshuvilo itaghe "O'bakha mukulo o'nyeti imivelö" ti pike. Angshuno abakha mukuno, anhyeti alloke imimono ake. Timino angshuvilo "O i'süye o'bakha kizhie muku mtano ani. Yale. Oh i'süye, anhyeti imi mtano ani. Yale" ti pike. Tilehino angshuno pa'nyeti alloke miveno pa 'bakha kizhie mukuke. Timino angu süwo angshu 'bakhalo chesütsüke. Angshuye tive. Timiye müsano asü kungu nguake. Timino powuniye, angshu 'pi viro illukighike. Timino angshu ti'mpi kegħashi "O isü ino kumoi" ti pike. Angshuno tivekeke pa putsamo.

Tilehino angshu 'zhta angshu 'ngu süsü Kolaou naghami 'pfulo ipegheke.

Azü kikilo timino angshu 'ngu süwo azükiki shokhavetsüke. Pa naghamino azü phuniye hughepuzüno, azü kikilo azü kahano anike. Panaghami aina wuno angu lhapeke. Lhapemla. Timino itsüake. Timino panaghavivilo "Panaghami aina isü 'ngu lhapemlano ani. Yalo. Kolaouno ti pike "Nono kiu kuano o tsüni. Lhapevetstülo" ti pike. Tipeno kumtsü tipau phuzhuke. Itumla. Kuthoughi panaghami ainano angu lhapeke. Lhapemla. Timino ti pike "Panaghami ainano isü 'ngu lhapemla ani Yale" ti pike. Tilehino akekaono "I'nu totimi kini anike. Nono kiukiu lunishino luppenhye" pike. Tilehino timino egheno angu lhapevetstüke.

Akekaono amkü sheno pa'nu akicho 'nyemogha kumtsü süwo pa 'kheu tsüno pa'nu akuchoye anhyemogha pumono apeke. "Nono kiukiu lunisheno, lulo" ti pike. Timino "Niye meghemi keke, i toikeu alhokesau luni" peno akekao 'nu akicho lueke. Tilehino "Tishiaye, nono i'makeshiu shiniake" ti pike.

Pa 'nipfuno akhwono pa kimivilo piveke. "Ipuno, izano nono avo hekhilo piaye awo kumono, amini ke. Azhta kuthomo anike. Kizhezhe akeuye lukeno, akitilau süwo ghikhilo. Atsü

hekhilo piaye ava ke. Azhta akitilauno ghikhilo. Awu hekhilo piaye, aghacho ke, asü kübano chochileveno azhta akitilauno ghikhivelo" pike.

Panguno pavilo "Awo ghikhilo" pike. "Azhta hekumtsü akevi liki anike, kiukiu lunisheno luno ghikhilo" pike. Panguno azhta kizhie ikipfe pa 'makeshiu tsüke "Heno ghikhilo" pike. Pa 'makeshiuno ti pike. "Niye azhtachi akitilau luni" peno akitilau luke. Panguno awo ghikhilo ayikaduno amini lhakha-veno paghike. Timino azhtachi süwo ayikadu micheveno amini ghikhiveke. Panguno "Tino i'makeshiu shikepfu" pike.

Tilehino avango aghachongo ishi kumtsü ghikhiveke. Tilehino pa 'nguno "Heno i'makeshiu shikepfu" ti pike.

Eno aghülo laki pa 'nguno aki shiake. Pa 'makeshiuvilo "Noye asakililo aküghü anike, kitilamu sükhukeveno ghesü-ghelo" pike. "Eno wochekeloye ami phono eghelo" pike. Pa 'makeshiuno aküghü ghepesüsü wogheno akübalu lono mikezhuke. Pa'nguno 'ghamino kumtsüno angshu ilhono aki shiaghike. Ti ituluno aghau ide huno, ami pho piyeveno egeheke. Kumtsü timi ilhoveno muchomi lakino pa 'shomhi kusümlano aghike. Tilehino Kolaou 'makeshiuno ituluveno nguake. Akekaono panaghami amuchouvilo ti pike. "Nono i 'makeshiu shiputha ani" tipino amuchou ghikhive pike. Pa 'makeshiuno aküghü akhe laki ghesüveke. Kolaouno pavilo "Aküghü khe kitila anike" ti pike. Pa 'nguno 'kilo pa 'make-shiuno aki molelo ikupuzü "Tishi piaye, naghami akuchopu egheno akughu lupelo" ti pipuzüno aküghü khe kokwotsüke. Pa 'naghhamino lukhamoveke. Tilehino akekaono ti pike "Heno i 'makeshiu shikepfuke" pike.

Tipathiuno apu azano angshu sheno timi tsüno aou akupu loti akukhuno ghono pano nu tsücheke. Pa 'kimivilo pimono kusuwono chucheke. Aghülo lakino pa 'makeshiuno pa 'nguno 'kilo izüwuke. Tilehighi timi aou 'loti akupu 'loti akukhuno ghono tsüphuwuke. Pa 'makeshiuvilo ti pike. "Noye alalo hezhukeveno süwo ni 'nga tsülo" pike. Pano alalono hezhuke, timi 'ou 'lotingo 'kupu 'loti ishi aghike. Tilehino ituluno pa 'nipfu tsüke. Pa 'nipfuno timi kupuloye timi 'ou 'loti ikipfe süsü "Ipuno agholi ghumüghü, i 'zano 'gholi ghumüghü" tishi tipeno chuake. Pakimino itiveno pa 'nifuvilo ti pike. "Angshu ilho i piyelo" ti pike. Pa 'nipfuno "Niye ilhomoi" pike. Kuthoughi pa 'kimino panipfvilo "Angshu ilhono i piyelo" pike. Tilehino pa 'nipfuno pa 'kimivilo "Tishiaye shohusü küba ape laki, thumsü küba laki ishi phueghelo" pike. Pa 'kimino pa 'nipfu 'tsa inimono thumsü ape laki shohusü küba laki ishi phuegheke. Pa 'nipfuno pa 'kimivilo ti pike. "Ino angshu ilhokeloye, noye amkhalo ikhwono, ino ilhei küghaye noye asü küba süwo i chochilelo pike. "Eno attükauye akuu paghe i'bakhalo vesütsülo, tipathiuno awuti süwo i 'bakhalo vesütsülo" pike.

Pakimino panipfu'tsa inimono, awuti paghe pa 'nipfu'bakhalo vesütsüke. Akuuno atükashi tsüke. Awuti chupustü ashi chuni shiwuveno pa 'kimi tsüchuve pike. Tisheno atotiu pa 'pu pa 'za 'kilo wuve pike.

Angshukogholhomni naghami 'tsa.  
Tiger becoming men's villagers words.

Kaghelomi apu tive, aza tiveno atazu  
Men of old father died, mother died having brothers  
'mi kini acheke. Akicheuye anipfu luveno  
men two were. Elder wife taken having  
aitiuye anipfu lumono pa'mu kilo  
younger wife taken not having his elder brother's house in  
acheke. Aghülo lakino pama atazu ale  
was. Day one the two brothers granary  
shiake. Pa 'muno pa tüküzuvilo  
making were. His elder brother his younger brother to  
wono "Akikhi süghelo" pike. Pa  
gone having "Tying bamboo bring" said. His  
'tüküzuno wono pa'mu 'nipfuvilo  
younger brother gone having his elder brother's wife to  
pike "Imuno tipau süghelo" pike.  
said "My elder brother this bring" said.  
Pa'mu 'nipfuno "Noye kiu kua'n kya?"  
His elder brother's wife "You what asking are what?"  
"Imuno tipau süghelo" pike. Pa'mu  
"My elder brother this bring" said. His elder brother's  
'nipfuno anhyemogha kumtsü piyeke. "Hipau kuanike  
wife things all showed. "This asking are  
sha?" i pino anhyemogha kumtsü piyezhuke.  
what?" this said having things all showed.  
Kumtsü "Ti kumoi" pike. Tilehino pa'mu  
All "This not" said. Then his elder brother's  
'nipfuno 'melo ideveke "Hi kuanike sha?"  
wife's mind turned "This asking are what?"  
tipeno pa 'mo kukutsüke. "He ti  
this said having her nakedness exposed. "This  
kuanike" pike. Tilehino pa'chino pa  
asking am" said. Then his sister-in-law her  
'kimivilo ti pike "Nono o'tüküzü sasü  
husband to this said "You your younger brother with  
ani piaye, ikuzho kumtsa amoi" pike.  
are saying, we two together stop will not" said.

Tilehino pa 'nipfu 'tsa inpesüsü pa 'tüküzu  
 Then his wife's words heeding his younger brother  
 sasü amoniye, pa 'tüküzuvilo ti pike "Noye  
 with stop not to, his younger brother to this said "You  
 hupa 'tho itiani kya?" pike. Pa 'tüküzu  
 that hill know what?" said. His younger brother  
 ti pike "Hupauye kaghe i 'pu ikuzho aküghü  
 this said "That once my father we two leaves  
 keghe 'la ke." Kuthoughi pa'muno atho  
 cutting road was." Again his elder brother hill  
 laki kicheno "Noye hupau 'tho itiani ma?"  
 one pointing out "You that hill know what?"  
 pike "Hughi i 'pu ikuzho akikhi dauke  
 said "That too my father we two tying bamboo cutting  
 'la ke" ti pike. Atho kumtsü kiche piyeke.  
 road was" this said. Hills all pointing out showed.  
 Kumtsü itiyeno atho lakiye mtake. Tilehino  
 All known having hill one knew not. Then  
 pa'muno pa 'tüküzu sasü aghalo  
 his elder brother his younger brother with jungle to  
 itsü wuke. Pama ala mtake lau sasü  
 stooping went. The two road not known direction together  
 wuno, pama alhe chuke. Pa'muno  
 gone having, the two cold food ate. His elder brother  
 pa 'tüküzuvilo "Noye mtazü ana chualo"  
 his younger brother to "You quickly rice eat"  
 pike.  
 said.

Pa 'tüküzuno pa 'muvilo "Noye  
 His younger brother his elder brother to "You  
 kushiye ana chumono ani kya? Noghi  
 why rice eaten not having are what? You too  
 chulo" ti pike. Pa'muno "Niye chumoi.  
 eat" this said. His elder brother "I eat won't.  
 O likino chulo" ti peno kaäke. Pa  
 You only eat this said having wept. His  
 tüküzuno pa'muvilo "Imu, noye kushiye  
 younger brother his elder brother to "Brother, you why  
 kaäni kya?" ti pike. Pa'muno "Niye  
 crying are what?" this said. His elder brother "I  
 kumo shimomu kaänishiye kaänike".  
 nothing done not although cry to wishing crying am".  
 Ti peno nguake. Tilehino pa'muno  
 This said having sat. Then his elder brother

aküzügha sowü pa 'tüküzu kukhuveke.  
sleeping charm bringing his younger brother touched.

Pa 'tüküzu tilehi züawuveke. Pa'muno  
His younger brother then sleep went. His elder brother  
akhuku kügha pesü asü 'zunglo paävetsüke.  
lice catching carrying tree fork in kept.

"I 'tüküzuno zü ithougheno i kuaye nono  
"My younger brother sleep getting up me calling you  
pa putsalo" pike. Tipeno woveke. Pa  
him answer" said. This said having went. His

'tüküzuno zü ithougheno pa'mu  
young brother sleep getting up his elder brother  
zhupahaveke. Tilehino pa 'zhta pa 'ngu kuchopu  
saw was not. Then his dao his spear all

ikizhuke. Pa 'zhta 'laghi pa'ngu sü kumtsü  
seized saw. His dao handle his spear shaft all  
alhakuno chukhavetsüno azhta liki, angu 'loti liki  
ants eaten all having dao only, spear head only

ikiluke. Tilehino pa'mu kuke "O  
pick up was able. Then his elder brother called "O  
i 'mu", ti pike. Akhukuno pa kwoke. Timino  
my brother", this said. Lice him answered. Man

ti pike "Tiye i 'muno 'le kumo" ti  
this said "This my brother's voice not" this  
pike. Kuthoughi pa'mu kuzhuke. Akhukuno pa  
said. Again his brother called. Lice him

kwoke. "Tiye i 'muno 'le kumo".  
answered. "This my brother's voice not".

Tipeno pa liki aghasalo itsücheke.  
This said having he alone jungle in hiding went.

Itsüwo angshu 'khatibo ituluke. Timino  
Hiding going tigers fruit tree got. Man

angshu 'khatibolo ikuno, akhati khochuake.  
tiger's fruit tree up ascended having, fruit plucking ate.

Tilehino angshuno azhta küghapfe angusü kumüghü  
Then tiger dao seizing spear decorated

pesüsü pa 'khatibolo egheke. Timi itulono  
carrying his fruit tree to came. Man got having

angshuno atsa pike "Kuno i'khatibolo  
tiger words spake "Who my fruit tree up

iku akhati kho chuan 'kya?" ti pike.  
ascending fruit plucking eating is what?" this said.

Timino angshuvilo ti pike "Küthamino o'khati  
Man tiger to this said "Others your fruit

kho chuaghikegheunguno ino atsa peno  
 plucking eating because of I words spoken having  
o'khati khetsüanike". Ti pike. Timino angshuvilo  
 your fruit guarding am." This said. Man tiger to  
 "O i'sü ino akhati kho khütsüniye  
 "O my grandfather I fruit plucking give to  
 o'ngu ikipukutsülo" ti pike. Angshuno  
 your spear hand up" this said. Tiger  
 pa'ngu ikipukutsüke. Timino angshuvilo "Ino akhati  
 his spear handed up. Man tiger to "I fruit  
kho pie o'bakhalo vesütsüni. O'bakha  
 plucking taking your open mouth in throw will. Your mouth  
 kizhie mukulo. O'nyeti imivelö" pike. Angshuno  
 big open. Your eyes close" said. Tiger  
 abakha mukuno, anhyeti imiveke. Timino angu  
 mouth opened having, eyes closed. Man spear  
 süwo pa cheke. Chezüveke. Tilehino angshuno  
 taking him pierced. Missed. Then tiger  
 timivilo "Noye kiushiye angu süwo i chea'n  
 man to "You why spear taking me piercing are  
 kya?" ti pike. Timino ti pike "Isü  
 what?" this said. Man this said "My grandfather's  
 angupa muduli" ti pike. "Itaghe ina  
 spear slippery" this said. "Again I  
 khoakelo akhati mushu laki anike. Ina anguno  
 plucking place at fruit small one is. I spear with  
 hekhütsüniye angu ikipukulo" pike. Angshuno  
 hit to spear hand up" said. Tiger  
 pa'ngu ikipukutsüke. Timino angshuvilo itaghe  
 his spear handed up. Man tiger to again  
 "O'bakha mukulo, o'nyeti imivelö" ti pike.  
 "Your mouth open, your eyes close" this said.  
 Angshuno abakha mukuno, anhyeti alloke imimono  
 Tiger mouth opened having, eyes well closed not  
 ake. Timino angshuvilo "O i'süye o'bakhala  
 was. Man tiger to "O my grandfather your mouth  
 kizhie muku mtano ani. Yale, Oh i  
 big open not knowing are. Booh, Oh my  
 'süye, anhyeti imi mtano ani. Yale"  
 grandfather, eyes close not knowing are. Booh"  
 ti pike. Tilehino angshuno pa'nyeti alloke  
 this said. Then tiger his eyes well  
 miveno pa 'bakha kizhie mukuke. Timino angu  
 closed having his mouth big opened. Man spear

süwo angshu 'bakhalo chesiütsüke. Angshuye tive.  
taking tiger's mouth in threw. Tiger died.  
Timiye müsano asü kungu nguake. Timino  
Man feared having tree above sat. Man  
powuniye, angshu 'pi vilo illukighike. Timino  
flee to, tiger's body in direction of fell. Man  
angshu ti'mpi keghashi "O isü  
tiger died not having thinking "O grandfather  
ino kumoi" ti pike. Angshuno tivekeke pa  
I not" this said. Tiger died having him  
putsamo.  
answered not.

Tilehino angshu 'zhta angshu 'ngu süsü Kolaou  
Then tiger's dao tiger's spear taking Kolaou's  
naghami 'pfulo ipegheke.  
men village to came out.

Azü kikilo timino angshu 'ngu süwo azükiki  
Spring in man tiger's spear taking spring  
shokhavetsüke. Pa 'nagharnino azü phuniye  
blocked up. His villagers water carry to  
hughepuzuno, azü kikilo azü kahano anike.  
gone down having, spring in water not was.

Panaghami aina wuno angu lhapeke.  
His villagers all gone having spear drew out.

Lhapemla. Timino itsüake. Timino panagharnivilo  
Draw out could not. Man watched. Man his villagers to

"Panaghami aina isü 'ngu  
"His villagers all my grandfather's spear

lhapemlano ani. Yalo. Kolaouno ti pike  
drawn out not having are. Booh. Kolaou this said

"Nono kiu kuano o tsüni. Lhapevetsülo"  
"You what asked having to you give will. Draw out"

ti pike. Tipeno kumtsü tipau phuzhuke.  
this said. This said having all this attempted.

Itumla. Kuthoughi panagharni ainano angu lhapeke.  
Couldn't. Again his villagers all spear drew out.

Lhapemla. Timino ti pike "Panagharni ainano  
Draw out couldn't. Man this said "His villagers all

isü 'ngu lhapemla ani. Yale" ti  
my grandfather's spear draw out can't are. Booh" this

pike. Tilehino akekaono "I'nu totimi kini  
said. Then chief "My children women two

anike. Nono kiukiu lunishino luppenhye"  
are. You whichever take wished having take please"

pike. Tilehino timino egheno angu  
said. Then man come having spear  
Ihapevetsüke.  
drew out.

Akekaono amkü sheno pa'nu akucho  
Chief plan made having his daughter real  
'nyemogha kumtsü süwo pa 'kheu tsüno  
clothes all taking his servant given to having  
pa'nu akuchoye anhyemogha pumono  
his daughter real clothes worn not having  
apeke. "Nono kiukiu lunisheno, lulo" ti  
was. "You whichever take wished having, take" this  
pike. Timino "Niye meghemi keke, i toikeu  
said. Man "I poor man am, me like which is  
alhokesau luni" peno akekao 'nu akucho  
bad one take will" said having chief's daughter real  
luveke. Tilehino "Tishiaye, nono i'makeshieu  
took. Then "Thus being, you my son-in-law  
shiniake" ti pike.  
become will" this said.

Pa 'nipfuno akhwono pa kimivilo piveke.  
His wife secretly her husband to said.  
"Ipuno, izano nono awo hekhilo piaye  
"My father, my mother you pig kill saying if  
awo kumono, amini ke. Azhta kuthomo anike.  
pig not, wild boar is. Daos many are.  
Kizhezhe akeuye lukeno, akitilau süwo  
Big ones which are taken not having, little one taking  
ghikhilo. Atsü hekhilo piaye ava ke. Azhta  
kill. Dog kill saying bear is. Dao  
akitilauno ghikhilo. Awu hekhilo piaye,  
little with kill. Fowl kill saying,  
aghacho ke, asü kübano chochileveno azhta  
hornbill is, stick forked propped off having dao  
akitilauno ghikhivel" pike.  
small with kill" said.

Panguno pavilo "Awo ghikhilo" pike.  
His father-in-law him to "Pig kill" said.  
"Azhta hekumtsü akevi liki anike, kiukiu  
"Daos all these good only are, whichever  
lunisheno luno ghikhilo" pike.  
take wished having taken having kill" said.

Panguno azhta kizhie ikipfe pa 'makeshieu  
His father-in-law dao big picking up his son-in-law to

tsüke "Heno ghikhilo" pike. Pa 'makeshiuno gave "This with kill" said. His son-in-law ti pike. "Niye azhtachi akitilau luni" this said. "I small dao little one take will" peno akitilau luke. Panguno awo ghikhilo said having little one took. His father-in-law pig kill piaye ayikaduno amini lhakhaveno paghike. saying iron bar with wild boar shut up having kept. Timino azhtachi süwo ayikadu micheveno amini Man little dao taking iron bar cut having wild boar ghikhiveke. Panguno "Tino i'makeshiu killed. His father-in-law "This my son-in-law shikepfu" pike. make is fit" said.

Tilehino avango aghachongo ishi kumtsü Then bear and hornbill thus all ghikhiveke. Tilehino pa 'nguno "Heno i'makeshiu killed. Then his father-in-law "This my son-in-law shikepfu" ti pike. make fit to" this said.

Eno aghülo laki pa 'nguno aki shiake. And day one his father-in-law house making was. Pa 'makeshiuvilo "Noye asakililo aküghü anike, His son-in-law to "You thicket in leaves are, kitilamu sükhukeveno ghesüghelo" pike. "Eno little although torn not having cut bring" said. "And wochekeloye ami phono eghelo" pike. going fire caused to smoke having come" said. Pa 'makeshiuno akiüghü ghepesüsü wogheno His son-in-law leaves cutting bringing come having akübalia lono mikezhuke. Pa'nguno below village from hid watched. His father-in-law 'ghamino kumtsüno angshu ilhono aki villagers all tiger become having house shiaghike. Ti ituluno aghau ide huno, making were. This seen having jungle returning gone having, ami pho piyeveno egheke. Kumtsü timi fire cause to smoke shown having came. All men ilhoveno muchomi lakino pa 'shomhi become having old man one his tale kusümlano aghike. Tilehino Kolaou hid not having been able was. Then Kolaou's 'makeshiuno ituluveno nguake. Akekaono panaghami son-in-law seen having sat. Chief his villager

amuchouvilo ti pike. "Nono i 'makeshiu  
 old man to this said. "You my son-in-law  
 shiputha ani" tipino amuchou **ghikhive**  
 shaming are" this said having old man killed  
 pike. Pa 'makeshiuno aküghü akhe laki  
 said. His son-in-law leaves load one  
 ghesüveke. Kolaouno pavilo "Aküghü khe kitila  
 cutting brought. Kolaou him to "Leaves bundle small  
 anike" ti pike. Pa 'nguno 'kilo pa  
 is" this said. His father-in-law's house in his  
 'makeshiuno aki molelo ikupüzu "Tishi  
 son-in-law house top on climbed having "This  
 piaye, naghami akuchopu egheno aküghü lupelo"  
 saying, villagers all come having leaves open"  
 ti pipuzüno aküghü khe kokwotsüke. Pa  
 this said having leaves load opened. His  
 'naghamino lukhamoveke. Tilehino akekaono ti  
 villagers take all could not. Then chief this  
 pike "Heno i'makeshiu shikepfuke" pike.  
 said "This my son-in-law make fit was" said.  
 Tipathiuno apu azano angshu sheno  
 This after father mother tigers become having  
 timi tsüno aou akupu loti **akukhuno**  
 man bitten having hands toes raw  
 ghono pano nu tsücheke. Pa  
 wrapped having their daughter gave kept on. Her  
 'kimivilo pimono kusüwono chuchake. Aghülo  
 husband to said not having hiding ate kept on. Day  
 lakino pa 'makeshiuno pa 'nguno 'kilo  
 one his son-in-law his father-in-law's house to  
 izüwuke. Tilehighi timi aou 'loti akupu 'loti **akhhuno**  
 travelled. Then too men's fingers toes raw  
 ghono tsüphuwuke. Pa 'makeshiuvilo  
 wrapped having give carrying went. His son-in-law to  
 ti pike. "Noye alalo hezhukeveno süwo  
 this said. "You road by gazed on not having taking  
 ni 'nga tsülo" pike. Pano alalono hezhuke,  
 our daughter give to" said. He road from gazed on,  
 timi 'ou 'lotingo 'kupu 'loti ishi aghike. Tilehino  
 man's fingers and toes thus were. Then  
 ituluno pa'nipfu tsüke. Pa'nipfuno timi  
 seen having his wife gave to. His wife man's  
 kupuloye timi 'ou 'loti ikipfe süsü "Ipuno  
 toes man's fingers taking while "My father's

agholi ghumüghü, i 'zano 'gholi ghumüghü''  
 gifts crunchable, my mother's gifts crunchable"  
 tishi tipeno chuake. Pakimino itiveno  
 thus said having ate. Her husband known having  
 pa 'nipfuvilo ti pike "Angshu ilho i  
 his wife to this said. "Tiger become having me  
 piyelo" ti pike. Pa 'nipfuno "Niye  
 show to" this said. His wife "I  
 ilhomoi" pike. Kuthoughi pa 'kimino  
 become will not" said. Again her husband  
 panipfuvilo "Angshu ilhono i piyelo"  
 his wife to "Tiger become having me show to"  
 pike. Tilehino pa 'nipfuno pa 'kimivilo "Tishiaye  
 said. Then his wife her husband to "Thus being  
 shohusü küba ape laki, thumsü küba  
 shohusü forked sticks load one, thumsü forked stick  
 laki ishi phueghelo" pike. Pa 'kimino pa 'nipfu  
 one thus carrying come" said. Her husband his wife's  
 'tsa inmono thumsü ape laki shohusü  
 words heeded not having thumsü load one shohusü  
 küba laki ishi phuegheke. Pa 'nipfuno pa  
 forked stick one thus carrying came. His wife her  
 'kimivilo ti pike. "Ino angshu ilhokeloye, noye  
 husband to this said. "I tiger becoming, you  
 amkhalo ikhwono, ino ilhei küghaye noye  
 ceiling to ascended having, I jumping catching you  
 asü küba süwo i chochilelo pike. "Eno  
 stick forked taking me prop off said. "And  
 atükauye akuu paghe i'bakhalo vesütsülo,  
 first ginger first my mouth in throw,  
 tipathiuno awuti süwo i 'bakhalo vesütsülo"  
 thereafter small fowl taking my mouth in throw"  
 pike.  
 said.

Pakimino panipfu'tsa inmono,  
 Her husband his wife's words heeded not having,  
 awuti paghe pa 'nipfu 'bakhalo vesütsüke.  
 small fowl first his wife's mouth in threw.  
 Akuuno atükashi tsüke. Awuti chupusü ashi  
 Ginger after gave. Small fowl eating flesh  
 chuni shiwuveno pa 'kimi tsüchuve pike.  
 eat wished having her husband bite ate said.

Tisheno atotiu pa 'pu pa 'za 'kilo  
 Thus woman her father her mother's house to  
 wuve pike.  
 went said.

Long ago there were two brothers whose father and mother had died. The elder took unto himself a wife, and the younger remained unmarried in his brother's house. One day the two brothers were making a granary. The elder went to the younger and said, "Bring tying bamboo". Accordingly the younger went to his brother's wife and said, "My brother told me to bring this". His wife said, "What are you asking for?" "My elder brother told me to bring this" was the reply. The wife showed him all her goods, saying "Is it this that you want indeed?" To all "It is not" was the answer. Then the wife got angry, and said, "Is it this you want?" and exposed her nakedness. "That is what I am asking for" replied the younger. Thereupon his sister-in-law said to her husband, "If you and your brother live together, we two must separate."

Thereupon the elder heeded his wife's words and said to his brother, "Do you know that hill?" "That is the path by which our father and I used to go to cut jungle leaves" was the reply. Again the elder pointing out a hill said, "Do you know that hill?" "That too is the path by which my father and I used to cut bamboo for tying" was the reply. The elder brother pointed out all the hills, and there was one that the younger knew not. Then the elder went with his brother into the jungle and they together took the road that the younger knew not, and the two ate their cold meal. The elder said to his brother, "Eat up your rice quickly". The younger replied, "Why are you not eating yourself? You too eat your rice." The elder said, "I will not eat. You only eat" and saying this he wept. The younger said, "Brother, why are you weeping?" The elder replied, "Though I have done nothing, I am weeping for the sake of weeping" and saying this he remained sitting.

Then the elder took a charm to cause sleep and touched his brother, whereupon his brother fell asleep. Then the elder caught and brought lice, and put them in the fork of a tree and said, "Should my brother awake from slumber and call me, you are to answer". Whereupon he departed.

The younger awoke, and, behold, his brother was not. Then he took up and examined his dao and his spear, and the handle of his dao and the shaft of his spear had been all eaten by ants. Only the dao itself and the head of the spear was he able to lift up. Then he called "Oh, my brother", and the lice replied. And the man said, "That was not my brother's voice"; again he called, again the lice replied; and again he said, "That was not my brother's voice". Thus he spoke and went by stealth

through the jungle. And going he came upon a fruit tree belonging to a tiger. And the man climbed the fruit tree and plucked and ate the fruit. Then the tiger, seizing his dao and taking his spear, came to his fruit tree. The tiger saw the man and said, "Who has climbed my fruit tree and is plucking and eating my fruit?" The man replied, "Because others plucked and ate your fruit, I took counsel with myself and am guarding your fruit". And he said to the tiger, "Grandfather, I am plucking fruit to give to you. Go, take up your spear, and hand it up to me". Thus he spake, and the tiger handed him his spear. And the man said to the tiger, "I will throw into your mouth the fruit that I have plucked. Open widely your mouth. Close tightly your eyes". Thus he spoke and the tiger opened his mouth and shut his eyes. The man took the spear and hurled it. He missed. Then the tiger said, "Why did you take and hurl the spear at me?" The man said, "Grandfather, the spear was slippery"; and again, "From where I am plucking fruit, is one small fruit. That I may hit it with the spear, hand up the spear". The tiger handed up and gave him the spear. And again the man said, "Open your mouth and shut your eyes". Thus he spake, and the tiger opened his mouth but his eyes were not tightly closed. The man said to the tiger, "Grandfather, is it that you know not how to open wide your mouth? Booh! Is it that you know not how to close tight your eyes? Booh!" Then the tiger closed tightly his eyes, and opened widely his mouth. The man hurled the spear into the open mouth. The tiger died. The man through fear remained above in the tree. The man, while trying to escape, fell on the tiger. Thinking the tiger had not died, he cried, "Grandfather, it's not me". But the tiger was dead and answered not.

Then he took the tiger's dao and his spear and came to the village of Kolaou. At the spring the man took the tiger's spear and blocked up the spring. The villagers came to carry water, and, lo, the water in the spring was not.

Then all the villagers came and tried to pull out the spear. They failed. The man remained hiding. Then he said to the villagers, "All the villagers of my grandfather's village can't pull out his spear. Booh to you". Then in the presence of the villagers, the chief said, "Whatever you ask, that will I give. Pull it out". He spoke thus and all tried. They failed. Again all the villagers tried to pull it out. They failed. And the man said, "All the villagers cannot pull out my grandfather's spear. Booh to you". Then the chief said, "I have two daughters. Take the one whom you desire". After he had spoken the man came and pulled out the spear.

Now the chief planned and took all the clothes of his real child and gave them to his servant, and his real child remained without clothes and beads. The chief said, "Take whichever you desire"; and the man replied, "I am a poor man, and so will

take the one like me, the bad one". He spake and took the chief's true daughter. And when he did so the chief said, "If that is the case, you will become my son-in-law".

Now his wife said secretly to her husband, "If my father and mother tell you to kill a pig, it is no pig. It is a wild boar. There are many daos. Leave the ones that are big, take the smallest and kill it. If they tell you to kill a dog, it is a bear. Kill it with the small dao. If they tell you to kill a fowl, it is a hornbill. Ward it off with a forked stick, and kill it with the small dao". She spake thus.

The father-in-law said, "Kill a pig", and again, "Amongst all these daos there are good ones only. Take your choice and kill it". Then the father-in-law took a big dao and gave it to him, saying, "With this, kill it". But the son-in-law said, "I will take the little dao", and with these words he took the little dao. His father-in-law, although he said "Kill the pig", was keeping a wild boar shut up behind an iron bar. The man came and cut the iron bar with the small dao and killed the boar. His father-in-law said, "This man is fit to be my son-in-law".

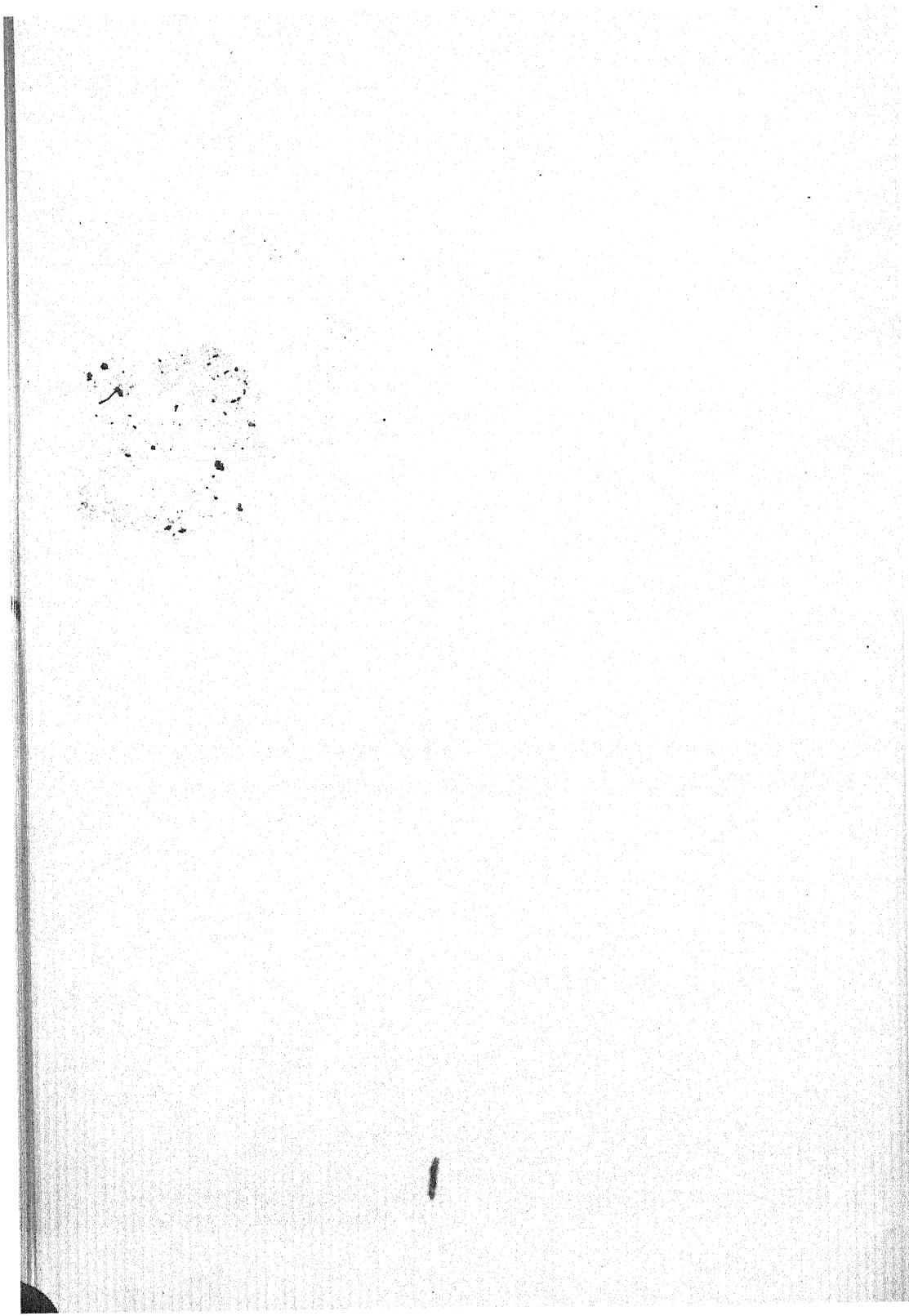
In the same way he killed the bear and the hornbill, and his father-in-law again said, "This man is fit to be my son-in-law".

And one day his father-in-law was building a house. He said to his son-in-law, "Cut and bring leaves from the thicket of thorns without tearing them at all, and on your way back kindle a fire as a signal". His son-in-law went and cut the twigs and hid and watched from below the village. All his father-in-law's men had become tigers and were building the house. After he had seen this he went back to the jungle and lighted a fire as a signal and returned. All had become men again except one old man who was unable to hide his tail. Then Kolaou's son-in-law saw it and remained seated. The chief said to the villagers and to the old man, "You are shaming my son-in-law", and with these words he killed the old man, it is said. His son-in-law had brought a load of leaves. Kolaou said to him, "The bundle of leaves is small". His son-in-law thereupon climbed up to the top of his father-in-law's house and said, "If you say that, let all the villagers come and take away the leaves". He then opened the leaves but all the villagers could not remove them all. Then the chief said, "This man is fit to be my son-in-law".

Thereafter his wife's father and mother when they had killed men while in tiger form used to send, wrapped up, raw toes and fingers to their daughter. His wife used to eat them secretly, without telling her husband. One day he went to his father-in-law's house and then, too, they gave him wrapped up human fingers and toes to take away. They told him not to look at them on the way, but to give them to their daughter. But he looked at them on the way and beheld toes and fingers

of men. Then he understood and gave them to his wife. While his wife was taking away the toes and fingers she said, "My father's gift is nice to crunch, my mother's gift is nice to crunch", and ate them. Her husband understood and said to his wife, "Show me how you turn into a tiger". His wife refused but he again asked her to turn into a tiger. His wife then said, "If that is the case, go and bring a load of *Shohusü* forked sticks, and one *Thumsü* forked stick". Her husband heeded not his wife's words and brought a load of *Thumsü* and only one *Shohusü* fork. His wife said to him, "When I become a tigress you get up into the ceiling, and when I jump and try to catch you, ward me off with the forked sticks and first of all throw ginger into my mouth, and thereafter throw a small chicken into my mouth". But her husband didn't heed his wife's words and threw the small chicken into her mouth first of all. As a result of eating the small chicken she wanted meat, and so killed and ate her husband, so it is said. After this the woman went back to her parents' house, it is said.

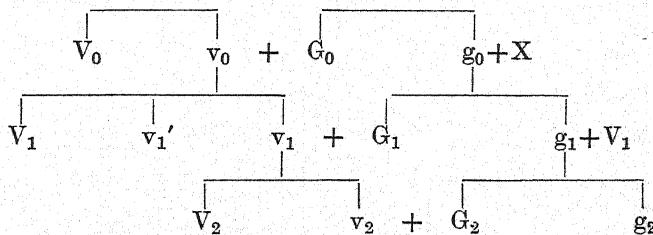
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Śātakarṇi Succession and Marriage Rules.

By K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

In the latest edition of his work on early history of India, Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has raised certain objections<sup>1</sup> to my theory of Śātakarṇi succession and marriage rules.<sup>2</sup> The summary he has given of my arguments is however extremely inadequate, and in some places, wrong. I had argued from certain facts that there were two lines of kings, who followed matrilineal succession. Also, as the patrilineal *kula* was continued to be transmitted, in spite of matrilineal descent, some form of kin-marriage must have taken place. I postulated cross-cousin marriage, the simplest type of such a marital rule; and indicated a certain amount of evidence in support of this suggestion. I pointed out that the metronymics *Vāsiṣṭhiputra* and *Gautamiputra* alternated among the later Śātakarṇis and drew up a genealogical table indicating how matrilineal succession and cross-cousin marriage probably worked. It was of course schematic, and did not indicate certain complexities which are inevitable. Cross-cousin marriage may diagrammatically be represented as follows, using V, G as symbols of two matrilineal families, the capitals denoting men while minors stand for women:—



If  $v_1$  marries  $G_1$ , or  $g_1$  marries  $V_1$ , it will be cross-cousin marriage. If the families are of royal rulers and succession is matrilineal,  $V_0$  will be succeeded by  $V_1$  and then by  $V_2$ . Similarly  $G_0$  will be succeeded by  $G_1$ , and then  $G_2$ . If the two types of cross-

<sup>1</sup> *Political History of Ancient India*, by Hema Chandra Ray Chaudhuri, (4th edition), Calcutta, 1938, footnote pages 341-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Social Organization of the Śātakarṇis and Śuṅgas*, by K. P. Chattopadhyay. *Journ. and Proc. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXIII, 1927.

cousin marriage are both in operation  $V_1$ ,  $V_2$  . . . . will be sons of  $G_0$ ,  $G_1$  . . . . and  $G_1$ ,  $G_2$  . . . will be sons of  $V_0$ ,  $V_1$  . . . . respectively. But it may happen that a particular heiress  $v_1$  has no children or at least no daughter. Then the heiress will be  $v_1'$  or her daughter. The princess  $v_1'$  may have married in a different *kula* (of patrilineal descent) and the son will not be the offspring of  $G_1$ . Again, there may be no nearly related heiress of the royal family of this gotra or mother's social group. In that case the succession may pass to another group of kin and a new metronymic may be introduced. Similarly,  $G_0$  may not have a son and some other kinsman may marry  $g_1$ . Or  $g_0$  may not have a daughter; and a distant heiress may take her place.

My suggestions did not therefore go to the extent of stating that all the predecessors of *Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi* or all his successors were of the same mother clan. I restricted my observation to the next two generations and postulated cross-cousin marriage to explain it. In actual fact, I pointed out a big break in the line of the rulers of the northerly realm, termed by me the Q kingdom, to avoid introducing implications of exact limits to it. It is therefore not correct on the part of Prof. Ray Chaudhuri to say that according to my views the *Matsya Purāna* contained the full list of *Gautamīputras* and *Vāsiṣṭhiputras*, but the revised list in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmānda Purāṇas* contain only the names of the *Gautamīputras*. What I stated was that barring certain exceptions, explained separately, the revised list contained only names of kings of the ancestral R kingdom, among whom succession was matrilineal.

Again I made it clear in this connection that in matrilineal inheritance and succession, it is often permissible and usual for a father to hand over acquired property to a son. For a king, acquisition of property usually means conquest of a kingdom or obtaining it by political alliance. A king's son can therefore succeed to a conquered kingdom even among a matrilineal people. The stress laid by the *Sātakarnīs* on their patrilineal *kula* and its preservation shows that their social organisation, though based on mother-right, was mixed with father-right in certain respects. Such a mixed people generally result from the union of two sets of people, one observing father-right and the other, mother-right. The traditions of origin of the *Sātakarnīs* point to mixed descent.<sup>1</sup> There would be nothing surprising in the succession of a son to a kingdom (acquired kingdom) under

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, claiming to be based on the *Bṛhat-kathā*, the first *Sātavāhana* was born of a *Yakṣa* father and a woman who was the daughter of a *Rsi*. See verse 88 ff. (edition of *Durgāprasad*, revised by *Kāśināth Sarmā*: *Bombay Saka* 1811-1889 A.D.)

A different and later tradition makes him the son of a *Naga* father and *Brahman* mother. See *Vikrama's Adventures* (*Vikrama Carita*, edited by F. Edgerton, Oxford University Press, 1926, page 18, etc.

the circumstances noted, notwithstanding the rule of matrilineal succession. This last rule would however apply even in that acquired realm in the next generation, since the kingdom would then have become inherited property. Again, by cross-cousin marriage a son's son is the same as the sister's son of a sister's son; for the son marries the sister's daughter. The occurrence of succession of a grandson to the throne is therefore expected in such a social group and does not form an exception. These points have not been noted in the summary by my critic, and several of the objections raised by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri have been made overlooking these elucidations in my paper.

Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has also objected in general—

- (a) that certain names of kings or connected facts which have been stated by me as recorded in the Purāṇas, in a certain way, are not so recorded in a few versions (out of a large number);
- (b) that the association which I have indicated between the use of metronymics and the regal title by kings, in their inscriptions and coins have some exceptions.

Before discussing the objections in detail, it is desirable to consider certain general principles with regard to treatment of data.

In any scientific experiment or observation, readings may be taken by different observers. These readings may be of different degrees of accuracy for various reasons. Further, in every observation certain corrections have to be applied. In general, the observers who take the same precautions with the same care will tend to arrive at closely agreeing results. Other observers may not however take equal precaution or apply necessary corrections. Their results will differ from those of the first group, and generally also among themselves. Again even among the careful observers, there will be a small number of readings distributed at some distance from the central or approximately central reading. So long as the range of deviation is not large compared to the total magnitude of the readings, the observations may be treated as accurate. It is not permissible however to consider together with such closely agreeing observations, records of other experimenters which diverge very widely, or disclose internal evidence of oversight of some important precaution or precautions. If it can be shown or presumed that some precaution or correction has been overlooked, such wide divergence may be held as not unexpected. Such data cannot however be compared with other data noted with care. If however it is held that it is not possible to ascertain in the case of any of the different sets of readings whether proper precautions were taken, the entire data should be rejected. A

set of readings cannot be termed unreliable and at the same time be used in opposition to reliable data.

These considerations are necessary, as the dynastic lists in the different Purāṇas with regard to the Śātakarnis vary a good deal, and introduce certain chronological difficulties. The different Purāṇas which furnish information with regard to this dynasty were carefully examined by Pargiter,<sup>1</sup> using a large number of manuscripts and editions. Pargiter examined twenty or more versions each of the Matsya, Bhāgavata, the Vāyu,<sup>2</sup> the Bombay edition of the Brahmānda which was based on several MSS., and twelve versions of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. All these seventy and more versions agree on certain points and disagree on other matters.

Thus, the Matsya MSS., except one, state that the total duration of the Andhras was 460 years. The Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Brahmānda, and Viṣṇu agree that it was 456 years. The discrepancy is negligible as being less than one per cent. The total of the reigns of all Andhra kings is therefore a point on which all the Purāṇas agree. Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has stressed the solitary exception in a Matsya MSS., but such stress is not justified. He has also referred to a Vāyu passage that the Andhras ruled 300 years. But the passage does not occur in any version with reference to the Andhra kings considered here. It is used in connection with the rule of their servants (teṣām bhṛtyānvayā nṛpāḥ) who were also Andhras or descendants (vamśāḥ) who were not a dynasty of paramount kings.<sup>3</sup> The Matsya calls them Śripārvatiyāḥ Andhrāḥ. The reference to years does not probably even mean 300 but is a misreading, as a comparison with the closely similar line in Matsya shows.

Next we may consider the number of kings said to have ruled in this dynasty. The Vāyu, Brahmānda, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata state that there were thirty kings. The Matsya notes that there were only 19 kings but the different versions name a number of kings varying from 20 to 30. The Vāyu and Brahmānda name usually 18 or 17 kings.<sup>4</sup> The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata name usually 24 and 23 kings. The actual distributions are as follows (excluding versions which have no lists):—

<sup>1</sup> The Purāṇa Text of the dynasties of the Kali age, by F. E. Pargiter, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> I have counted as separate versions only those MSS. which are said to note variants. They represent independent opinions or observers.

<sup>3</sup> Pargiter, *ibid.*, p. 45. The references will be shown hereafter merely as (P) and in the text.

<sup>4</sup> It is printed on p. 36 that the Vāyu included kings 6–8 but the hyphen is a misprint for a comma, as the footnote No. 43, p. 39, shows. Another misprint is 20 for 30 in the group 15–20 in the statement of kings shown in Bhāgavata.

| Purāṇa.   |    | No. of<br>Versions. | No. of kings<br>named. |
|-----------|----|---------------------|------------------------|
| Matsya    | .. | 2                   | 30                     |
|           | .. | 1                   | 29                     |
|           | .. | 4                   | 28                     |
|           | .. | 7                   | 27                     |
|           | .. | 1                   | 25                     |
|           | .. | 1                   | 24                     |
|           | .. | 1                   | 21                     |
|           | .. | 1                   | 20                     |
| Vāyu      | .. | 7                   | 18                     |
|           | .. | 10                  | 17                     |
|           | .. | 2                   | 16                     |
|           | .. | 1                   | 25                     |
| Viṣṇu     | .. | 9                   | 24                     |
|           | .. | 1                   | 23                     |
|           | .. | 2                   | 22                     |
| Bhāgavata | .. | 19                  | 23                     |
| Brahmānda | .. | ..                  | 17                     |

The fact that the four Purāṇas in all their versions (practically) agree that there were thirty kings proves that there was a tradition of this number of kings. These four Purāṇas agree about the total regnal period of this set of 30 kings. The Matsya also agrees about the duration, thereby indirectly supporting the tradition of thirty kings. It supports it also directly by naming 30 kings in two versions. The wide variation in number and names in the other versions shows that these editors were of opinion that some of these thirty kings indicated by exclusion, each in his own edition, were not entitled to have their names preserved in the dynastic lists. The Matsya Purāṇas generally, notwithstanding the divergence in number named, have noted a tradition of only nineteen kings being entitled to have their names included in the list (of paramount rulers). The diminished number in some manuscripts of the Matsya indicates that an attempt was made to cut down the names to near about nineteen. The Vāyu and Brahmanḍa versions agree very closely regarding the number and names of kings. The only MSS. which deviates sharply shows a hopeless confusion in the arrangement of names and may be rejected as representing records of an inaccurate and careless observer. Pargiter states that its diction is 'rather illiterate' (P. III). The only difference between the Vāyu and Brahmanḍa versions is with regard to king Cakora who is said to have ruled only six months. Two Vāyu MSS. include his name. Clearly there was doubt whether this short reign was of a kind to justify inclusion. There is therefore a close agreement between the tradition of 19 kings in the Matsya versions, and the 17 or 18 kings found in the Vāyu and Brahmanḍa in their numerous versions.

The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata agree about 30 kings and their regnal period with the Vāyu and Brahmānda, but include, in addition to the names in the two last-named records, six or seven other kings. Obviously the number of kings does not fit in with either of the two traditions preserved. But the different versions agree quite well. We may therefore conclude that there must have been a certain uniform failure to apply a correction or a uniform source of error in the case of these two Purāṇas.

From a study of the language, errors in spelling, and grammar of the different versions, Pargiter has concluded 'that the Sanskrit account as it stands in the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda is a Sanskritized version of the older Prakrit ślokas' . . . but the main portions of the Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu are held to 'consist almost entirely of a condensed redaction'. The Viṣṇu account is held to have been composed on the basis of the same sources as the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda. But 'the Bhāgavata account . . . . . is evidently a later redaction', and was probably composed several centuries after the other accounts. There are indications that 'it must have been composed directly in Sanskrit' (APP., I, P). We know that the writers of the Purāṇas were definitely patrilineal, and they were looking for patrilineal genealogies. Let us imagine such editors of dynastic lists with the Matsya, and Vāyu or Brahmānda versions or the records which led to the drawing up of those editions before them. The Matsya version may be imagined to have been one with the full list of thirty names and the Vāyu the usual version with 18 names. In other words we consider our imaginary editor of Viṣṇu for example as examining the two distinct traditions of thirty kings and nineteen kings, with practically their full lists. He may try to supplement the list with references from literature and other tradition current in his time. If he finds that certain names not noted in the revised Vāyu list are of sons of kings shown in it, or of their father, he will conclude that they ought to come in, for he will be expecting them to occur there in patrilineal succession. Let us see how far we can explain the intermediate number of kings in the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata on such a view.

The thirty kings in the order in which they are named generally, on the basis of the different versions, are as follows:—

|                    |                        |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Simuka.         | 11. Skandasvāti.       |
| 2. Kṛṣṇa.          | 12. Mṛgendra.          |
| 3. Śrī Sātakarṇi.  | 13. Kuntala.           |
| 4. Pūrṇotsaṅga.    | 14. Svātiv (= K)arṇa.  |
| 5. Skandhastambhi. | 15. Pulomāvi.          |
| 6. Sātakarni.      | 16. Aristakarṇa.       |
| 7. Lambodara.      | 17. Hāla.              |
| 8. Āpilaka.        | 18. Mantalaka.         |
| 9. Meghasvāti.     | 19. Purindrasena.      |
| 10. Svāti.         | 20. Sundara Sātakarṇi. |

|                   |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 21. Cakora.       | 26. Śivaskandha. |
| 22. Śivasvāti.    | 27. Yajñaśrī.    |
| 23. Gautamīputra. | 28. Vijaya.      |
| 24. Pulomā.       | 29. Caṇḍaśrī.    |
| 25. Śivaśrī.      | 30. Pulomāvi.    |

The Vāyu list of 18 names include kings 1-3, 6, 8, 15-23, and 27-30. The Brahmāṇḍa leaves out 21, which is excluded in 11 Vāyu MSS., while two other Vāyu MSS. exclude Āpilaka and one also No. 30, Pulomāvi. The Viṣṇu mentions 1-4, 6-9, 15-30 generally; but one MSS. leaves out 4, 6, another 21 and a third 28, 29. We may neglect these cases as minor accidental variations. The Bhāgavata names 1-4, 7-9 and 15-30 (wrongly printed as 15-20 in Pargiter's book). As it is a later redaction, clearly it is following the Viṣṇu or at least the original version on which the Viṣṇu was based.

A comparison of the Viṣṇu list with the Vāyu list shows that the former includes the following additional kings:—

4, 7, 9, 24, 25, 26.

As No. 4 was successor to No. 3 who was a son of No. 2, and the latter an agnatic kin of No. 1, the editor might include him, considering it possible to treat him as also an agnate. But this would not apply to No. 5 who was not succeeded or preceded by a king known definitely to be a son or brother of a king. Again Lambodara No. 7 is said to have been a son of Śātakarṇi No. 6, and Āpilaka No. 8, of Lambodara No. 7. The Viṣṇu editor may therefore have left out No. 5, considering that Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are related or likely to be related according to his known ideas of patrilineal kinship and after them also 6, 7, 8. This would seem to justify our editor in such revision. Again, the king immediately after Āpilaka may justly be included, as he might be an agnatic kin after all, but other unrelated names further down will be considered doubtful. No other kings before 15 are noted as sons or brothers in any version. Since all our editor's predecessors including those with longer as well as shorter lists agree in naming kings 15-23, the Viṣṇu editor will accept these names. King No. 24 is however a famous king, and noted as a son of No. 23 in the longer list. So his name will be added; No. 26 is said to be a son of a king and will therefore be held as worthy of inclusion. But this cannot be done without including his father No. 25. The rest 27-30 are again given in all the earlier Purāṇas. We can therefore explain the addition of six kings to the Vāyu list on the view that our later Purāṇa editors had a patrilineal bias and were seeking to fit the lists into patrilineal succession. The Bhāgavata which follows the Viṣṇu revision has one obvious weakness. The king Lambodara is said to be the son of Śātakarṇi and not of Pūrnotsaṅga. But the revision makes Lambodara son of Pūrnotsaṅga as the

Bhāgavata leaves out Śātakarṇi altogether. But it adds *tat-sutah* and similar phrases in a number of new cases not found in any of the other Purāṇas. Such an extension of patrilineal succession is logical to the Bhāgavata editor. For, if sons were following fathers as kings, there was no harm in mentioning this relationship even in cases where earlier versions did not mention it. Thus he adds *tat-sutah* to the successor of Śivaskandha No. 26 and also to the next king Yajñāśri, and his successor Vijaya, obtaining a patrilineal succession in this way for five generations. Similar additions are made for Pūrṇotsaṅga and also Hāla. None of the other Purāṇas support these relationships.

Although it is not possible to offer any direct proof of the reasons for the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata versions in the absence of any explanatory notes left by the editors of those versions, it can be shown that the Bhāgavata is wrong in its addition of the relationship clause in the solitary case where there is an inscription of such a king. It has also wrongly shown the relationship of Lambodara.

The Nanaghat cave inscription<sup>1</sup> of the lord of daksināpatha identified with Śri Śātakarṇi of the Purāṇas (No. 3) and *Siri Śātakani* of the legend under the reliefs in the same cave definitely stated that he (or his queen) had two sons Vediśri and Śaktiśri. Śri Śātakarṇi was already dead at the time; but there is no mention of any king Pūrṇotsaṅga among his sons, or in any inscription under any image. Some scholars have expressed the opinion that this difficulty is not serious as Pūrṇotsaṅga may have been a *biruda*. But a comparison of the names of kings in the Purāṇas and the inscriptions and coins does not permit this assumption. If we allow for changes due to conversion of a spelling in Prakrit to Sanskrit, the two sets of names agree extremely well. The deviations that occur are obvious misreadings and do not support a *biruda* hypothesis.

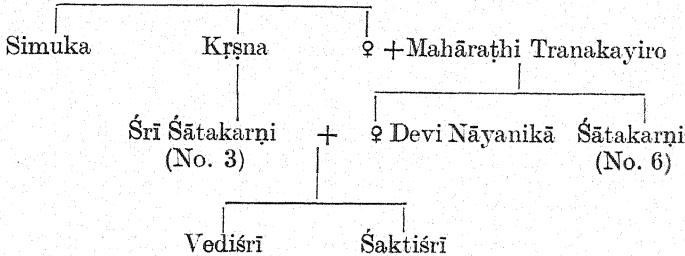
| <i>Name in Purāṇa</i> (with<br>recognisable variants). | <i>Name in inscription or<br/>coin</i> <sup>2</sup> . |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|

|                       |    |                          |
|-----------------------|----|--------------------------|
| Śiśuka                | .. | Simuka.                  |
| Sindhuka }            | .. |                          |
| Kṛṣṇa                 | .. | Kanha.                   |
| Śri Śātakarni         | .. | Siri Śātakani.           |
| Gautamiputra          | .. | Gotamiputra.             |
| Pulomā                | .. | Pulumāvi.                |
| Yajñāśri              | .. | Siri Yaña.               |
| Sivaśri               | .. | Siva Siri.               |
| Candaśri or Candraśri | .. | Siri Cada, or Siri Cada. |

<sup>1</sup> Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. V, London, 1883, Chap. XII. The Nanaghat Inscriptions, by Prof. G. Bühler.

<sup>2</sup> Most of these will be found noted in the Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908. Detailed references will be found in my earlier paper. Rapson's work will be referred to as BMC in future.

Such a close agreement debars us from assuming that Pūrṇotsaṅga of the Purāṇas was really Vediśrī. As Bühler suggests, it is more probable that the two princes never came to the throne but died before succession. A reference to my table of cross-cousin marriage and matrilineal succession in my previous paper will show that this is expected from the Purāṇa list. I have shown in the list that the sister's son of Śātakarnī No. 6 never came to the throne; but this king was succeeded by the next heir, the sister's daughter's son, who was also the son's son, Āpilaka. But Śātakarnī (No. 6) is shown in my table as sister's son of Simuka and Kṛṣṇa and therefore a cross-cousin, of No. 3 Śri-Śātakarnī, father of Vediśrī. The sister of No. 6 would therefore be wife of No. 3, Śri Śātakarnī, while No. 6 would marry the sister of No. 3 and have Lambodara as son.



Therefore the sons of No. 3 Śrī Śātakarnī, i.e. Vediśrī and Saktiśrī, would be the heirs of No. 6 Śātakarnī. But I concluded from the relationship of the successor of No. 6 (Śātakarnī) to the same king, that they had died before the end of his reign (which was very long) and hence been succeeded by the heir of next generation. The evidence of the inscription and of the Purāṇas therefore fit in and verify my genealogical and successional table unexpectedly.<sup>1</sup> The regency of queen Nāyanikā suggested by Bühler supports my hypothesis of matrilineal succession indirectly. Her son was going to rule over her kingdom, which had been managed, i.e. ruled by her brother according to the usual practice among mother-right people. This case is comparable to Gautami Bālaśrī's mention of making gifts in her own royal right. It further proves my conclusion with regard to the Bhāgavata revision and addition of spurious kinship notes. It is established therefore, as far as historical facts can be established, that a new factor, i.e. bias towards patrilineal succession, in these records—satisfactorily explains the odd revision resulting in a total of kings definite in number but intermediate between

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Ray Chaudhury has for unknown reasons held that Śrī Śātakarnī and Devi Nāyanikā were not cross-cousins. I have discussed this point later. The genealogy postulated here by me is subject to the limitations regarding cross-cousins previously noted.

19 and 30. We may therefore consider the curious Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata versions as satisfactorily accounted for. Also, the kinship between one king and another as noted in Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata cannot be accepted unless at least some reliable version of Matsya, Vāyu or Brahmānda corroborates it.<sup>1</sup> We may now proceed with the hypothesis, which satisfactorily fits into the traditions of all the Purāṇas, that there were 30 kings who ruled for 456–60 years; but that only 19 were entitled to have their names shown in the list of paramount kings.

In my previous paper I have discussed this point and considered thereafter the reasons for inclusion or exclusion of names of kings in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas. The Andhra list, like that of the Śūṅgas and the Mauryas is of a sovereign power, acknowledged to be such in their time. The evidence that such supreme position was the reason for inclusion of particular dynasties in separate lists in succession to one another, was noted. A single great king in a dynasty, followed by failure to maintain the supremacy later on, against the challenge of a rival dynasty did not entitle a line of kings to a separate place in such order. Such dynasties which gave an occasional great king are generally shown in the Purāṇas together with their rivals as contemporary rulers. Such an era, when no single dynasty could claim continued supremacy, occurred after the fall of the Śātakarnī emperors and is so indicated in the Purāṇas.

According to the statement, which occurs in the Purāṇas along with certain lists of sovereign powers that 'in this connection, the genealogical verse was sung by ancient Brahmanas',<sup>2</sup> it follows that the thirty Andhra kings were held to be related, as well as bound by succession. As pointed out here and in my earlier paper, the principal dynastic lists appear to have been drawn up showing the genealogy as well as succession of sovereign kings. The kings retained in the revised list therefore fitted into the genealogy as well as succession, while those excluded must have failed to satisfy at least one of these conditions. As the versions at first included all the kings (to get the total of 30), it is probable that the genealogical connection was present. But the exclusion shows that the other factor, succession, was probably absent. Since genealogy to the Purāṇa writers implied patrilineal descent, it suggests that the succession did not agree with such descent. In other words it was probably matrilineal. I have discussed this point in detail in my earlier paper which may be consulted in this connection.

<sup>1</sup> The different Matsya versions disagree among themselves too greatly to permit of any attempt at finding out the possible reason for error. Even the 7 versions with 27 names disagree among themselves. The different MSS. between them exclude Nos. 1, 2, 5, 7–13, 15, 18–25 and 29. We can only conclude that different editors proceeded on different principles and none hit on the right explanation.

<sup>2</sup> Pargiter, *ibid.*, Text pages 8, 12 and also 66 and 67.

Let us examine the lists to see what kings actually have their kinship stated with regard to other kings in the earlier reliable versions, and how they fare under the Vāyu and Brahmānda revision. I have already noted reasons for not considering kinship statements (of patrilineal descent) in the Bhāgavata when not corroborated by the earlier versions. I shall therefore treat as later and unsupported the addition of kinship relations in the cases of Pūrnotsaṅga (No. 4), Mantalaka (No. 18), Yajñaśrī (No. 27), and Vijaya (No. 28). The Bhāgavata makes No. 3, No. 17, No. 26 and No. 27, the respective fathers of these kings. At least three of them, Nos. 3, 17 and 27, were famous rulers, known as great kings; and if any of them had really been succeeded by sons or if Yajñaśrī had succeeded his father that fact would have been recorded in the earlier versions which were composed within two centuries of Śātakarni rule and one of which was probably composed in Yajñaśrī's time. This is not however the case. As noted before, the Bhāgavata was composed much later; and it has carried forward the extension of patrilineal succession under a bias in its version.

The instances of kinship, noted in the earlier versions, or corroborated by two Purāṇas are as follows:—

| Serial<br>No. | Name.            | Kinship. | To king.        | No. |
|---------------|------------------|----------|-----------------|-----|
| 2             | Kṛṣṇa ..         | Brother  | Simuka ..       | 1   |
| 3             | Śrī Śātakarni .. | Son      | Kṛṣṇa ..        | 2   |
| 7             | Lambodara ..     | Son      | Śātakarni ..    | 6   |
| 8             | Āpilaka ..       | Son      | Lambodara ..    | 7   |
| 24            | Pulomā ..        | Son      | Gautamīputra .. | 23  |
| 26            | Śivaskandha ..   | Son      | Sivaśrī ..      | 25  |
| 29            | Caṇḍaśrī ..      | Son      | Vijaya ..       | 28  |

The line which refers to No. 26 as the son of No. 25 is not found in a large number of Matsya MSS. in that form.

The succession of Kṛṣṇa to Simuka is not debarred on patrilineal succession but fits in equally well or better in matrilineal succession. Śrī Śātakarni was a great king who carved out a kingdom for himself and performed the aśvamedha ceremony. He was therefore entitled to mention in the Purāṇa lists as he was a paramount ruler and also genealogically connected to his predecessor. He is however merely mentioned as a great king, and no regnal period is given in the Vāyu and Brahmānda, although this is clearly stated in the Matsya. This may be held as partial exclusion.

The king Lambodara is not shown in the revised list. Āpilaka as the son's son of Śātakarni is entitled to rule over the ancestral kingdom as already explained in the preliminary note on cross-cousin marriage and matrilineal succession. Agreeable to this fact, we find that his name is not excluded in the revised version.

Pulomā was a great king and son of Gautamīputra who was even better known. But he is nevertheless excluded from the revised list.

So far the exclusions and inclusions of kings related as sons fit in excellently with matrilineal succession and do not agree with patrilineal succession. After the successor of Pulomāvi, i.e. after Śivaśri, the son of the latter succeeded according to the Matsya versions; this is followed by Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu. The revised version excludes both, thereby confirming that Śivaskandha did not succeed to the later Q kingdom. I have pointed out that regular succession of a son of a king of one kingdom to the throne of the other kingdom depends on cross-cousin marriage. The exclusion of No. 26 from the Vāyu and Brahmānda lists therefore suggests that Śivaśri did not marry his cross-cousin, the heiress of the older kingdom. If we can show that this probably occurred, then the apparent exception would turn out to be an additional support of my hypothesis. We know from inscriptions<sup>1</sup> that a daughter of a Mahākṣatrapa Ru . . . . ., probably Rudradāman, was the queen (devī) of a Vāsisthiputra Śatakarnī; and that Rudradāman has referred to a Śatakarnī, lord of daksināpatha, who cannot be other than Pulumāvi, referring to non-remoteness of his relationship with him. The expression used by the Mahākṣatrapa shows that the lord of daksināpatha was not his son-in-law. Further, Pulumāvi has styled himself as Siri Pulumāvi and never as Śatakarnī in any of his coins or inscriptions. It is not reasonable to think that his queen of all persons should name him wrongly, although Rudradāman might refer to him as Śatakarnī on account of his dynastic name. The probability is that the Śaka princess was married to his heir apparent Śivaśri who is styled in Viṣṇu Purāna as Śivaśri Śatakarnī, a designation supported by coins. The Nanaghat cistern inscription may also refer to him. The use of the term *chararpaṇa* would suggest that he was under Śaka influence. The son of this Śaka queen of Śivaśri would not in any case succeed to the R kingdom as I have termed the ancestral kingdom of Gautamīputra. We do not know where he ruled, as there are no coins or undoubted inscriptions. The Śatakarnīs would not support him against a rightful heir. The powerful Śaka Mahākṣatrapas may however have put him on the throne of the Q kingdom as I have styled the other realm, where he is said to have ruled a year, or if the emendation of Pargiter is accepted, three years. Normally, according to my simplified diagram of cross-cousin marriage, Vijaya would be the son of Pulumāvi or classed as such, and Candaśri would come into the class of Pulumāvi's patrilineal grandson. He ought to

<sup>1</sup> Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. V. See also *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. X. Luden's list of Brahmi inscriptions: No. 994. This list will in future be referred to as L only, in the text.

succeed to the Q realm, after Śivaśrī No. 25, who would stand to him in the relation of a mother's brother (actual or classificatory near kin). But if the son of Śivaśrī, backed by his Saka relations, occupied these dominions, Cāndasrī might lose his ancestral (maternal) throne. As this Vāsiṣṭhiputra was the heir of Śivaśrī, his rule would fall within the long reign of Yajñaśrī. This king, Yajñaśrī apparently, reconquered from Śakas, Aparānta and adjacent areas. He ruled also in Andhradeśa. Cāndasrī must therefore have lost his ancestral throne, but the dominions were reconquered as they are found ruled over by Yajñaśrī. The short reigns of Śivaskandha (1 or 3 years) and Cāndasrī (2 years) agree with their rule in very difficult circumstances and fit in with this view. In my earlier paper I was not able to explain why the revised versions did not exclude the name of the king Cāndasrī from their list. I fell into the error of ascribing it to oversight on the part of the editors. But the close agreement of the revised versions precludes such an explanation. A detailed examination of the coins of this king in addition to the data of the Purāṇas however throws some light on this matter. The coins of the king Gautamiputra, and those of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Pulumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śivaśrī Śātakarnī and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Cānda of fabric A resemble closely in type. The coins of Nahapāna restruck by Gautamiputra,<sup>1</sup> all bear on the obverse a *Caitya* of three arches, having in some cases a pellet within each or a crescent above the *Caitya*, and a waved line below it all. On the reverse is the Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent (BMC 253-258). The coins of Pulumāvi in the Andhra desa show on the obverse a *Caitya* of three arches, with a waved line below; and on the reverse, the Ujjain symbol (BMC 88, 89). The coins of Śivaśrī have also these types and symbols on the obverse and reverse as noted (BMC 115-116). This is also the case with the coins of Śrī-Cānda (BMC 117-24) which bear the metronymic. The coins are all of lead, similarly shaped and of the same (A) fabric. Rapson concluded that the close similarity in the coins pointed to close succession of the three last-named kings. As however the Purāṇas put the third of them, Cāndasrī after Yajñaśrī and Vijaya, while Śivaśrī came after Pulumāvi he was faced with a difficulty. It is obvious that this discrepancy disappears on my hypothesis, and the coins uphold my view that all the three Vāsiṣṭhiputras followed each other on the same throne. The close relationship in rule between Gautamiputra and Pulumāvi is revealed in the coin symbol of the former. The successor of Gautamiputra, the powerful king Yajñaśrī, had the earlier part of his rule in the ancestral R kingdom concurrent (according to the chronology based on my hypothesis) with

<sup>1</sup> The comparison is legitimate as the types mentioned are of Gautamiputra and not of Nahapāna.

Pulumāvi's rule in the Q kingdom, while the middle of Yajñaśrī's reign was covered by the rules of Śivaśrī, Cāṇḍaśrī, and Śivaskandha in the same Q realm. Some of the coins of Yajñaśrī, of fabric A, made of lead, have the same symbols as those just described (BMC 135-38). There are other coins with different symbols. One variant has a *Caitya* of six arches with a crescent above it and a waved line below. The reverse is as in the other coins previously described (BMC 139-145). Rapson has concluded from a study of these coins that they are of later date than the first type. There is another class of coins of Yajñaśrī, of a different fabric termed B by Rapson, and these have the elephant symbol (BMC 164). Rapson considers that they belong to 'the latter part of the reign of Śrī Yajña' (BMC lxxiv). Again Yajñaśrī had issued coins of Fabric B, with the symbol of a horse standing, on the obverse, and the usual Ujjain symbol on the reverse (BMC 148-63). There are coins of Cāṇḍaśrī with the legend *Raño Siri-Cāḍa-Sātisa*, without the metronymic but with the regal title (BMC 125-131). They have the symbol 'horse standing r, in front of an altar', on the obverse. The reverse shows the usual Ujjain symbol of this group of kings. These coins of Cāṇḍaśrī or Śrī Candra show that he ruled in the latter part of or even after the reign of Yajñaśrī. Now the Purāṇas agree in all their versions that Cāṇḍaśrī ruled in the old ancestral kingdom after Vijaya. Again, according to my hypothesis, based on data of the Purāṇas, this king should come after Śivaśrī in the Q kingdom. Also if any coins were issued by him when ruling over this Q kingdom which was his by inheritance they should bear the metronymic and regal title together. The earlier coins of Cāṇḍaśrī, with the legend *Vāsishthiputra* and *raño*, strongly support by their fabric, symbol, and execution the view of his succession to this kingdom after Śivaśrī. Hence this part of my hypothesis regarding Cāṇḍaśrī may be said to be proved. But it is necessary to explain the issue of the other coins and the evidence of the Purāṇas about succession to the R kingdom. The old ancestral kingdom could not come to Cāṇḍaśrī through his mother. If it came to him as stated in the revised versions, it must have come from his father Vijaya or by conquest. In such a case we cannot expect to find his mother's name on his coins with the regal title. These coins of later times in fact do not show the metronymic. They support the view that this king ruled twice, once in matrilineal succession in the Q kingdom, and again much later on, in the father's ancestral (matrilineal in the case of the father) kingdom. There is one bit of evidence in the Purāṇas which support such a view and therefore the evidence of the coins. The king Cāṇḍaśrī is said to have ruled *ten years* in the Matsya Purāṇa but only three years in the revised version. In other words his rule over the ancestral kingdom of Yajñaśrī was only three years. Hence he must have ruled for seven years elsewhere as a paramount king.

We know from the coins that he ruled in the Q kingdom after Śivaśrī. This rule of seven years was therefore in the Q kingdom. The objection that there are other instances of discrepancies of regnal periods in the two versions is not valid. Most of them are obvious misreadings, as for example *saumyo bhavisyati* for *so'pyekavimśati*, (P. 41) 'smād daśa for *astādaśa* (P. 39) and *ekonavimśati* for *ekonatrimśati*. The remaining discrepancies are only two and cannot be explained in this way. They represent genuine difference of opinion about the regnal period. None of them however occur in the case of a king succeeding patrilineally, i.e. anomalously like Candaśrī.

This discussion of the succession of Candaśrī has brought out one point which in a sense weakens my hypothesis, but is really not inconsistent with it. The traditional origin of the Śātavāhanas shows that they were of mixed origin. One element was definitely patrilineal, as the stress on the *Kula* indicates. The matrilineal inheritance is therefore to be ascribed to the other element, which apparently held the dominant position, in as much as it was able to impose its institutions on the patrilineal group. Once the practices were accepted, vested interests would continue them. But the patrilineal traditions were not abandoned; on the contrary, they were sought to be maintained (as indicated) even in the midst of matrilineal customs. Hence we may safely assume that in the original home land of the patrilineal group, they did not observe matrilineal practices. If any coins or inscriptions are found of these people in that area, we should expect to find the regal title without the metronymic. Again if the factors and circumstances which supported the dominance of the matrilineal element, and thus brought about the matrilineal succession to kingdoms, disappeared, or greatly changed, the submerged patrilineal customs might come to the top and replace them. I would suggest that this, in fact, is what occurred in the case of Candaśrī. As soon as the empire with the dual kingdoms was broken up, and matrilineal succession rendered inoperative, the alternative practice of patrilineal succession took its place. The successors of Candaśrī may on this view be expected not to use the metronymic in association with the regal title, either in their coins or in their inscriptions. The Purāṇas mention only one king, Pulomāvi after Candaśrī, in the imperial line. But there were other Andhras who continued to rule in outlying areas. We are acquainted with the names of kings Śrī-Rudra (BMC 179), Śrī-Kṛṣṇa II (BMC 180), Śrī Śātakarni (171-4), and others from coins found in the Chanda district. The types of the entire series are almost identical, and the metals used are the same. All the coins show on the obverse an elephant with trunk upraised, standing r, and on the reverse the Ujjain symbol, each orb of which is represented by a pellet with a surrounding

circle. Two kings—Pulumāvi (BMC Nos. 90-93) and Śrī Yajña (BMC Nos. 165-70)—have also a crescent surmounting this symbol. None of these kings use the metronymic. It may be that the home land of the patrilineal element was in the neighbourhood where these kings ruled. Two widely separated areas have been suggested as the original home of the Sātavāhanas.<sup>1</sup> Both views may be reconciled if the two areas are held to be the homes of the two distinct elements which merged to form the mixed group.

I may note here an objection which has been raised by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri regarding the revised list of 18 kings. He states that since three Matsya MSS. leave out actually the great Gautamiputra (No. 23) in their revised list, the hypothesis of revision put forward by me is contradicted. It has been pointed out by me in a footnote on p. 326 that the Matsya MSS. exclude among themselves 20 kings. Three editions exclude 2, 5, 15; four MSS. exclude 5, 15; one 9, 20, 22; another, 2, 5, 20; a third 2, 5, 20, 23, 24; a fourth 24, 25, 29; a fifth 5, 7, 8, 18, 19, 29; a sixth 5, 9-11, 20-23 and 29; a seventh 2, 5, 9, 12, 13, 20-24; an eighth 1, 2, 5; and a ninth, 20. Such a remarkable variability in the number as well as names excluded point clearly to the fact that the observations were extremely inaccurate. The editors were clearly fumbling in the dark, and proceeding on different principles in a haphazard manner. Even the three versions which exclude No. 23, Gautamiputra, show totals of 25, 21, and 20 names, and do not agree also in excluding five common names among themselves. The value of the lists in such versions is therefore nil so far as the factor involved, i.e. revision is concerned. The exclusion of the name of Gautamiputra in these three Matsya MSS. cannot be seriously considered as evidence against numerous and closely agreeing versions of the Vāyu, and Brahmānda or the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata. The fundamental canons for discrimination of statistical data do not permit of such use of these three Matsya versions.

Before passing on to other objections, it is necessary to dispose of an alternative hypothesis put forward by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri to explain the discrepancies in the dynastic lists. He has stated that the evidence of inscriptions and references in literature point to the existence of lines of subordinate Śātakarṇi kings in Kuntala, and three of the names of kings in the Purāṇa list, according to him, are found to be associated with Kuntala. Therefore, he states, it is 'fair to conclude that the Matsya MSS. which mention 30 Sātavāhana kings include not only the main group of kings but also the Kuntala kings'. In support of his hypothesis, he refers to the following pieces of evidence:—

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the different views, see Prof. H. C. Ray Chaudhury's book on *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 342-3, referred to before.

(a) The inscriptions of the Banavāsi Śātakarnis which consist of two inscriptions of Haritī-putra Viṣṇukada-cutu-Kulā-nanda Śātakarni and his daughter. (L. 1186), (L. 1195).

A prince Skanda-nāga Śātaka mentioned in one of these inscriptions is identified with Skandvāti of the Purāṇas. No reasons are ascribed by Prof. Ray Chaudhury for this identification beyond the resemblance in name. There is no evidence that Skandānāga Śātaka ever even came to the throne. Prof. Ray Chaudhuri himself has (rightly) rejected Rapson's identification of this prince with the Haritīputra Śivaskandavarman referred to in the Malavalli pillar inscription of the Kadamba king who succeeded the Cutu Kula Śātakarnis. Again the Śātakarnis of the Purāṇas, so far as we know, were Śātavāhanas. This prince was not stated to be of that *Kula*. The identification is therefore not based on facts. If such identifications on mere resemblance of names were permissible the Kṛṣṇa Śātakarni of the coins (BMC No. 180) obviously of later date would have to be identified with the king of this name, the brother of Simuka; and the Purāṇas condemned for placing his name so early. Fortunately the inscription of the time of Kṛṣṇa Śātavāhana at Kanheri (L. 1144) has prevented such a conclusion. It is true Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has supported a similar view of alleged misplacement of names in the dynastic lists, relying on Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit's identification of a copper coin found recently, as that of Āpilaka.<sup>1</sup> But, the metal, shape, stamping as well as inscription of the coin all disagree with known coins of Śātakarnis in the area where it was found and the identification is not justified. The coin is of copper, round in shape, and shows an elephant standing right on the obverse, with the inscription Rāṇo Sivasirisāpilaka. The reverse is blank. As Mr. Dikshit himself states, the only copper coins of the Andhras are the square coins found in Western India (BMC 7, 8, 87). They are inscribed on both sides. The only round copper coins apparently of this period are of the Ksaharāta Ksattrapa Bhūmaka (BMC 237-42). But they also are found in Western India; nor are they stamped on one face only. Mr. Dikshit tries to get over these difficulties by stating that 'Āpilaka must have followed some local prototype'. No such local prototype is known or indicated by Mr. Dikshit.

Mr. Dikshit has laid great stress on the elephant symbol on the coin. But this type of symbol is found also on certain copper coins of Jaydāman, son of Caṣṭana (BMC 269), and also in the potin coins of Saka era 131 (= 209 A.C.), probably issued by Mahāksatrapa Rudra Simha, and also a later king (BMC 374-6 and 402-18). It may be conceded that there are additional symbols in the last-mentioned group of coins. This

<sup>1</sup> *A New Andhra Coin*, by K. N. Dikshit. *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Vol. III, 1937, issued October, 1938.

however agrees with their later date. Let us now examine the legend. The coins of Andhra kings always have the regal title spelt *raño*, but here it is spelt *rāno*. Again the name of a king never has the form 'Sirisa' before it, in the Andhra coins. It is always in the form *Siri-Yafia*, *Siri-Cada*, and so forth.

The entire evidence furnished by the coin is therefore definitely against its identification as of Āpilaka of the Andhra dynasty of the *Purāṇas*. Its obvious later date, therefore, does not on that account require any revision in the list of Andhra kings in the *Purāṇas*.

(b) Kuntala Śātakarnī is stated by the commentator of the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyaṇa to have been so named from his birth in Kuntala country.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the possibility that the explanation may have been a speculative guess on the part of the commentator who wrote several centuries later, does it prove that this king was of 'the Kuntala lines'? If we accept the derivation as correct we can logically infer only that his mother was in the Kuntala country when the prince was born. We can further conjecture that the Kuntala country probably formed part of the domains of his father, or mother's father, or mother's brother, or some such close relation. We know from one of the inscriptions of Gautamiputra (L. 1125) that Kuntala or strictly speaking Banavāsi was included in his dominions and administered by a royal officer. I may note that according to my hypothesis, Kuntala ruled over the Q kingdom. Hence his father should be a king or prince of the older kingdom which in later times was ruled over by the Gautamiputra and his successors. Kuntala could therefore have been born in the place after which he is said to be named. This bit of evidence of a Kuntala line brought out by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri does not therefore support his hypothesis at all, but fits in easily with my views.

(c) Hāla is associated with Kuntala in a verse quoted from the introduction to *Gathāsapta-Sati*. But if Hāla were a king of the subsidiary Kuntala line postulated by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri, his name should be excluded from the final revised list. But none of the *Purāṇas* except one MSS. exclude his name. The solitary exception is one *Vāyu* manuscript (the 'e' *Vāyu*) which begins the dynastic list with 11, 18, 21, comes back to 12-15, adds a Śātakarnī here and then goes on to 25-30. Finally it records 1-4 and 6-10. The extraordinary confusion in the order of names and the total which is neither thirty nor near nineteen shows this version to be untrustworthy. It is on this solitary version that Prof. Ray Chaudhury relies for support of his theory ignoring the unanimous inclusion of Hāla's name in all other versions and *Purāṇas*.

Prof. Ray Chaudhuri's inference that the *Matsya* versions include in their list the Kuntala (more appropriately Banavāsi)

<sup>1</sup> *Kāmasūtra*: Note on II-7-28 (Benares, Chowkhamba Series, 1912).

Śātakarnīs is therefore untenable. A far more important point to be noted in this connection is that the Kuntala hypothesis would place the excluded kings in succession to the included line as Prof. Ray Chaudhuri does not agree with the view of two kingdoms with matrilineal succession and cross-cousin marriage. The impossibility of conjoint rule of father and son combined with patrilineal succession has already been pointed out in my previous paper. Prof. Ray Chaudhuri's view would therefore make the arrangement of the Andhras in the dynastic list wholly wrong except perhaps in a few cases. But if in such an important matter as the arrangement of successions, over seventy out of seventy-five versions of Purāṇas are unreliable, how can we trust the lists with regard to any order at all? So far as inscriptions show, the order of kings is not wrong in the Purāṇas. Is it then permissible to characterize the Purāṇas wrong to support a theory which is not supported by facts and which does not fit in with the traditional data? Prof. Ray Chaudhuri may reply as he has done in another connection that the Purāṇas are not always right and they state Kṛṣṇa (No. 2) to be the father of (No. 3) Śri Śātakarnī, but this he considers erroneous in view of the records in the Nanaghat cave (p. 7 of Prof. Ray Chaudhuri's book referred to before). An examination of the Nanaghat cave inscription however does not reveal a single line stating Śri Śātakarnī to be the son of Simuka. There are a number of relieves which have been broken and have practically disappeared. Under some of these there are inscriptions. One is said to be of 'Rāya Simuka Sātavāhano Sirimātī' and another of 'Devi Nāyanikāya Rano Cha Siri Śātakanino'.

It is an inference of Bühler and others that Simuka was father of the Śri Śātakarnī of this inscription. I have suggested that Śri Śātakarnī carved out a kingdom for himself and founded a new line. It may be that his father's brother Simuka had no son and placed his nephew in charge of his distant and conquered dominions as a ruler owing to his military talents. (The Purāṇas mention that Simuka was helped by his kinsfolk.) It was not in the line of succession to the ancestral kingdom. This went in fact to Kṛṣṇa the brother of Simuka and then to the matrilineal heir. A record of combined genealogical and royal succession may therefore validly leave out Kṛṣṇa's name in the case of Śri Śātakarnī. The inferences of Bühler and others would have been justified only for a patrilineal people recording patrilineal succession.

(d) There is a reference to a king Sātavāhana of Kuntala in the Kāvya Mimāṃsā.<sup>1</sup> It does not prove that the king

<sup>1</sup> Kāvya Mimāṃsā of Rājaśekhara: Gaekwad's Oriental Series: Baroda 1934: pp. 50 and 55. The notes in pages 197 and 205 quote other verses referring to Sātavāhanas, including Hāla. The date of Kāvya Mimāṃsā is said to lie between the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.

ruled only over Kuntala but that it was his headquarter, for there are other kings referred to in this work, similarly mentioning only the well-known parts of their dominions. Also, it throws no light on any identification of the kings named in the Purāṇas. Kuntala, as stated, was in the Sātavāhana dominion. It is also not impossible that it may have formed the stronghold of the Śātakarnīs and an important province of the ancestral kingdom, since some Śātakarnī kings kept hold over it even after the overthrow of the paramount Andhra kings. A reference to my earlier paper will show that my views lead to a chronology according to which the king Hāla ruled in the ancestral kingdom about 77 A.C., when the Sāka Kṣatrapas were overthrowing Śātakarnī rule in Dakṣināpatha. Prof. Ray Chaudhury has suggested that the reference to king Sātavāhana in Kuntala may be to Hāla. Such an identification does not go against my hypothesis. When the imperial domains of the Śātakarnīs had shrunk for the time being, the reference to the stronghold or headquarters would become apposite. The tradition of that time may have been preserved in later records.

I may now consider the other objections raised by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri to my views.

I have stated in the earlier paper that in the inscriptions of the Śātakarnī kings, the regal title and the metronymic occurs and disappears together, except among the earlier kings who founded the kingdoms and did not inherit them through the mothers. Prof. Ray Chaudhuri refers to the Myakdoni inscription<sup>1</sup> and states that it furnishes an exception. He has overlooked the fact that the inscription is not by any royal ruler, nor any royal officer. It is by a villager who himself does not use any metronymic. Further the regal title is not here used in relation to the king as in other cases. If the inscription had run as *raño Pulumāvisa* 'of King Pulumāvi' it might have been called an exception to the usual practice, though it would not have gone against my hypothesis for the reasons stated. Actually it runs *Raño Sātavahananam S(i) ri Pulum(a)visa sava 8*, etc. 'In the eighth year of Siri Pulumāvi king of the Sātavāhanas'. The term *raño* is here used, not as a form of royal address but as a descriptive word. Hence his objection is not valid.

With regard to coins the exceptions are Śrī Śātakarnī who built up his own title to royal dignity and did not inherit his kingdom from the mother; Cāndasrī (No. 29); and certain later kings. I have already disposed of these objections.

Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has also stated that my hypothesis of cross-cousin marriage is disproved by the known fact that:—

- (a) Śrī Śātakarnī's wife was Devi Nāyanikā.
- (b) A Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarnī married a Sāka princess.

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XIV.

Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has not given any proof that Devi Nāyanikā was not a cross-cousin of her husband. All that we know is that her father was a Mahārāthi, of Angiya Kula. The husband of Nāyanikā did not inherit his kingdom through his mother, nor was he managing it on behalf of his wife. Hence no metronymic could be mentioned when the husband's name of his queen was recorded. Earlier in this note I have stated that very probably her father married the sister of Śātakarnī's father. There is absolutely no evidence proving that this was not the case. As regards the marriage of a king Vāsishthiputra Śātakarnī to a Saka princess, Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has failed to realize that marriage to a cross-cousin does not exclude marriages for political or other purposes with princesses of other realms. As I have pointed out matrilineal succession cannot be combined with continuity of patrilineal *kula* unless there is cross-cousin marriage. As a number of the Śātakarnī kings, named in the Purāṇas, are Sātavāhanas, I concluded that they must have practised this type of marriage. It does not mean however that all queens of all kings were cross-cousins. Nor that all the royal princes and princesses married cross-cousins. Kings are polygamous and there may have been other queens besides the cross-cousin. Again a cross-cousin may have been lacking through death, or there having been no children of a brother or a sister. I have discussed some of the complications which may arise, earlier in this note and shall not repeat them.

In support of the various possibilities which I have referred to, I shall note some facts from a set of inscriptions of patrilineal kings of the same area whose ruling period followed that of the Śātakarnīs very closely in time. The inscriptions at Nāgārjunī Konda<sup>1</sup> show that the king Mādhariputra Siri Vira Purisadata married the daughters of the sister or sisters (actual sister) of his father king Vāsithiputra Siri Chāntamūla, who performed an aśvamedha sacrifice. He had also other queens apart from two of his cross-cousins, who are named as his Mahādevis in inscriptions of the same date. One of these other queens Mahādevī Bhatidevā was the mother of the royal heir, Vāsethiputra Siri Ehuvala Chātamūla. She may or may not have been a cross-cousin, although the particular metronymic and the fact that another paternal aunt (father's sister) who is a Vāsiṣṭhi calls the king Sirivira-Purisadata as her son-in-law (after stating he is her brother's son) suggests it. There is a fourth Mahādevī, Rudradhara-bhātarikā, who is a Maharaja's daughter from Ujjeni. As the inscription was in the reign of Siri Vira Purisadata and the queen was associated with the aunt of the king in a work of piety, and is called mahādevī, her husband must have been

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XX, (Delhi 1933). Prakrit Inscriptions from ... Nāgārjunikonda, by Prof. J. Vogel.

the reigning king.<sup>1</sup> So we have definite evidence of cross-cousin marriage and polygyny including marriage with an unrelated princess in a royal dynasty that followed closely upon the Śātakarnīs, in their rule of the Andhra country. I have not been able to give such a direct proof for the matriliney of the Śātakarnīs. But Prof. Ray Chaudhuri has ignored the Pabhosa inscriptions (L. 904 and 905) which show that royal dynasties closely related to Śūṅgas followed matrilineal descent. The inscription shows that a patrilineal royal ancestor had a different gotra, and that a mother and sister in that line had the same gotra. I have pointed this out in my earlier paper and also the fact that the Śūṅgas use metronymics like Śātakarnīs. The evidence quoted is incontrovertible. I may further note that matrilineal descent and succession to royalty can be proved to have been prevalent in later times in the area where the Śātakarnīs had their headquarters. A king who ruled in Tulu, Konkan, and adjacent areas in the sixteenth century<sup>2</sup> was succeeded first by his younger brothers and then by his sister's son Devarāya. The same mode of succession to sister's son was followed in the case of Deva Rāya. Even now, matrilineal descent is common in this area, and there are ruling princes a little further south in Cochin, who follow matrilineal succession. I had also mentioned in my earlier paper the fact that the prevalence of cross-cousin marriage in this area shortly before the time of Śātakarnīs and shortly after it, is noted in authoritative works of these periods. It is a matter of surprise to me that so many definite pieces of evidences should be disregarded and two instances of royal marriage which do not at all go against the hypothesis of cross-cousin marriage seriously put forward as evidence of its non-existence. I may note that even the expression 'prevalence of cross-cousin marriage' among a people does not mean that a hundred marriages out of a hundred are between cross-cousins. Thus the Hill Marias of Bastar practise this form of marriage. Actual statistics collected for a certain area by Grigson showed that 'such unions formed 54 per cent of the Hill Maria marriages' into which he enquired.<sup>3</sup> This is in fact quite a high frequency.

Another objection which has been raised by Prof. Ray Chaudhuri is that it is not correct to speak of separate kingdoms for the two lines. Thus, according to him, Gautamīputra

<sup>1</sup> Another point of interest in these inscriptions is that these patrilineal kings have their mother's gotra stated as an indication of the individual meant; but often in the same inscription the regal title Mahārāja is later used without the metronymic, showing that the two were not associated as among Śātakarnīs.

<sup>2</sup> EpCar, (Vol. VIII, Part II), Sagar Taluq Inscription 55 (page 190 text), Bangalore, 1904.

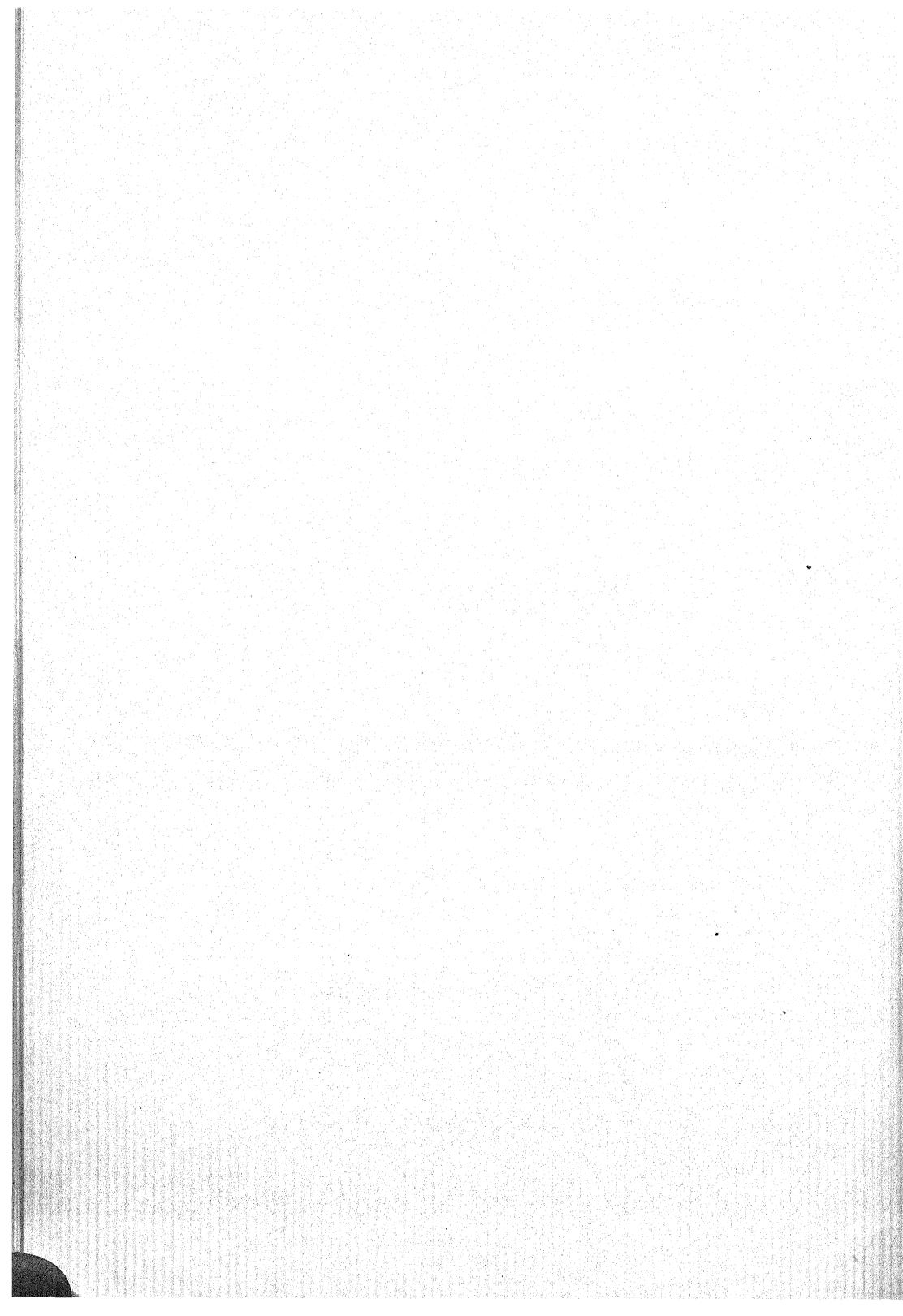
Inscription No. 163 refers to 'descent in the female line', i.e. matrilineal descent (p. 123, translation).

<sup>3</sup> The Maria Gonds of Bastar, by W. V. Grigson, 1938.

is stated to have been king over provinces or places quite close to Paithan and over areas which fell in Dakṣināpatha. He forgets that the Dakṣināpatha kingdom had earlier ceased to exist under the onslaught of the Śakas, and it was Gautamiputra who reconquered the territory. His son may have helped him, and succeeded to this kingdom as much by ancestral right through the mother as by favour of his royal father. It may be noted that the place names are set out in a panegyric of the victories of Gautamiputra, set out by his mother in the reign of his son. Gautamiputra is termed the king of kings, and it may even be that the son, king Pulumāvi, acknowledged his suzerainty during his father's life time. The fact that these kings of the Q realm were excluded from the Purāṇas in spite of their genealogical connection, shows that the ancestral line was looked upon as the suzerain or paramount power which alone could find place in the dynastic list. A Q king however who could claim to be paramount might find mention. One such case was of Śrī-Śātakarni (No. 3). An examination of the inscriptions show that both Gautamiputra and Śrī Yajña Gautamiputra had to reconquer the lost Dakṣināpatha dominions; and Pulumāvi was the last really powerful lord of the Q line.

My conclusions are not affected by reconquests of a lost dominion and fresh rights acquired by military prowess. They apply to inherited realms.

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Folk-lore of the Assamese.

By R. GRACE LEWISON.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.)

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### CLASSIFICATIONS.

#### I. HISTORICAL.

##### A. *Nature Powers.*

Why is the sky so high ?  
Why do trees have leaves ?  
Why do big trees have small fruit ?  
The causes of earthquakes ?

##### B. *Heroes.*

The queen's jewel box.

#### II. MORAL (FOR DISCIPLINE).

##### A. *Social Institutions.*

The heart of religion.  
Steadfast faith.  
The greedy bride.  
Disguise.  
The thoughtful youth.  
Wisdom.  
The proud elephant.  
The proud toad.  
Holy days and unholy days.  
The village of Mulanath.  
Showers of gold.  
The cat and the dog both gain.  
The tale-bearer.

##### B. *Death and the hereafter.*

Yama the god of death—why men die.  
Faithful worship.  
The Brahman and his daughter-in-law.  
In whom shall we have faith ?

##### C. *Demons and the Evil Eye.*

The boy catcher.

#### III. AMUSEMENT.

What does a name mean ?  
The brave billy goat.  
How a clever boy used the truth.  
The story of the merchant.  
How to provide for old age.  
The Brahman of Lotkon.  
The frog and the snake.  
All God's works are good.  
Unity (the tiger and the toads).  
Fate.

## PREFACE.

When I first began work here in Assam I often felt puzzled because the people did not react in what, to me, seemed the accepted way. I was advised to study their social manners and customs if I would know what reactions to expect from them. I tried to be more observant and asked many questions, some of which must have seemed to the people to be very rude. One of the teachers was a very good story-teller and one day on a train journey she amused me by telling folk stories. I had read some of the 'Grandmother Tales' in my second year of language study and had enjoyed them. This interest in their stories soon became known and they thought it great fun to tell me a new story. This book is one of the results of that hobby of collecting any tales that I could get the people to tell me.

One was told on the site of the Old Ahom King's palace near Sibsagar, another on the banks of the Sibsagar tank just before sunset, some of the others as we sat in the moonlight on a hot summer's evening. I tried to write these out from memory but often found it difficult and the repeating seemed to spoil the effect. Then as I heard them, if there was a new one, I asked the teller to write it as I thought of having them printed in Assamese and I wanted them to be well written and complete.

While I was taking a course of study in 'The Primitive People', in America we were required to write out some of the customs as we found them in some of the folk tales. In a talk with Dean Faye Cooper Cole I said that I had some of the folk stories of the Assamese people. He asked me to bring some that he might read them. There were not many in English and I felt that the ones I knew in Assamese should be translated. A paper was written for Dean Robert Redfield and in connection with it the matter of the stories again came out. He gave some valuable suggestions as to the classification and urged me to continue with the translations. Later both Dean Redfield and Professor Andrade read the ones I had done. Professor M. J. Andrade advised me to have them published but I had not the means at that time to have it done. Upon my return to India the translations had to be checked to be sure about some of the difficult sections.

There are many such stories in Assam being handed down from mother to child as they sit in the open courtyard under the stars or in the cold weather about the fire. Owing to the rapidly changing conditions it may be that some are being dropped and many of the younger generation seem to be indifferent to them. I feel that they have a very definite historical value and should be preserved. I have found the getting of them slow and difficult work. Even when I have succeeded in making friends with the grandmother and think I have her confidence, I have been disappointed when I asked for a story.

At first she will tell me that she cannot remember any, but after I have discussed one that I am sure she knows, she may respond with one. So I have had to wait until I heard a reference to one or a part of the story to ask to have it written out. I think that may be why the old man who helped me with many of these used to say, 'That reminds me of.....' with a brief reference to some name or event in a story. I think it may be that a remark or an event will call up a train of memories which brings back the tale.

The more common ones seem to be used for discipline to remind a child of the dire consequences of such unwise actions. Others are told from one generation to the next explaining the purpose and meaning of the festivals. The animal ones are numerous but those told for amusement often reveal something of the intimate family life. It seems that the women are the keepers of these stories that more or less regulate the home life just as they preserve the beliefs and customs of religion. I hope that this book will prove of value as well as interest to those who wish to know the Assamese people better. They have a very unusual history which they have handed down in written form since early in the thirteenth century.

GOLAGHAT, ASSAM.

R. GRACE LEWISON.

*August 25, 1939.*

### 1. WHY IS THE SKY SO HIGH?

Long ago the clouds used to be very low down. So low, in fact, that unless they were very careful, tall men used to bump into them.

One day an old hunchbacked woman took her broom in hand and went out to sweep up the courtyard. As she was stooping to sweep, a cloud was so low that her hump struck it. This hurt made her so angry that she stood up and struck at the cloud with her broom. The cloud was so ashamed to have her strike it with her broom that it went up very high and never came down again.

T. C. HANDIQUE.

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### 2. WHY DO TREES HAVE LEAVES?

In the era of Truth everyone could speak, even the trees, and they all could understand each other. Well, one day what do you think happened? Listen and I'll tell. Now at this time

trees did not have any leaves, that is none but the banana tree. It had very lovely leaves and during this era men used to eat their rice off of a banana leaf. It was very happy because it could be of help to men and used to say things to the other trees. The other trees, unable to endure this, put a curse on the banana tree to make her keep from talking. The curse fell and after that not only the banana tree but all of the trees were unable to talk. The other trees began to bend and even break in their sorrow and God felt so sorry when He saw it that He said, 'Let the trees have leaves'. Then the leaves appeared and even today all of the trees have leaves as well as the banana tree.

T. C. HANDIQUE.

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### 3. WHY DO BIG TREES HAVE SMALL FRUIT?

One day about the first of April a man was walking from Kumalabari to Lakhimpur. On either side of the road were many gardens with fruit trees, and many of the trees had fruit on them. But of all the different kinds of fruits he saw more pumpkins than anything else. He said to himself,

'I do not understand God's wisdom of having the big fruit on small trees and the little fruit on big trees.'

About noon he began to feel tired and walked more slowly. At last he decided to go over under one of the trees at the side of the road and sit down to rest. Soon after he sat down he became sleepy and began to dream. He saw a great space just over him covered with pumpkin vines and one after another of the pumpkins grew large right before his eyes. As he watched, one broke its stem and fell, striking him right in the eye. He jumped up shouting that he was dying with pain and that one of his eyes had been put out, but he soon wakened and found it only a dream. Then as he walked along, he said to himself,

'God is an all-wise God. He knows that if the big fruits were growing up high like that one I saw in my dream, that when it fell as it did, my head would have been smashed. Yes, God knows. He never makes mistakes.'

T. C. HANDIQUE.

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### 4. THE HEART OF RELIGION.

Once there was a king who had ruled for many years and because he regulated his kingdom by the rules of religion the people were happy and he too was happy. But there was one

thing he wished to know and that was, 'What is the heart of religion?' So he called all of his ministers and all the wise men of his kingdom and asked them, 'What is the heart of religion?' But not one of them was able to give him the answer. Every place he went he searched for the men from foreign parts and asked them the same question but no one could answer. One day he saw a holy man whom he asked the same question. The holy man answered that he was sitting on the ground and the king was on his throne, so how could he tell. Then the king came down from his throne and sat on the ground with him, and this is what the holy man said, 'If you will go to the east of your city and climb the mountain there, you will find a cave on the other side where an old man and his wife live. If you just ask the old man, he can tell you what you wish to know. While you are gone, I will sit on your throne and keep your kingdom for you'. So at once the king made ready and left in search of the cave. After some days of travel he came at last in the morning to the cave where the old man and his wife lived. At the foot of the mountain there was another kingdom, the people of whom supplied the old man and his wife every day with food. In the morning they had two cakes and milk and again in the evening each had two cakes and milk. When the old man saw the king coming, he was distressed because he did not know what to give him to eat. He went to his wife asking her to share her food with him so he could give his to the guest, but she would not. Since there was no other way he gave his share to the guest and he fasted. In the evening he did the same.

Now the old man and his wife each had their own hollowed out place in the stone where they slept. When it came night the man asked his wife to let him sleep with her so he could give his bed to their guest. She answered him sharply that she did not wish to be crowded in order that the guest might sleep. When the old man heard this he went to his guest and besought him to tell what his errand might be saying, 'Please would you mind telling what it is you wish me to tell you. I may not be found in the morning, so please tell me now'. The king answered, 'For many days I have desired to know what the heart of religion might be. At last one told me of you and said that if I would ask you I should hear the answer. So I have come to ask you and to listen to your answer'. Then the old man told him he should go to the palace in the morning and there he would find that the king's daughter-in-law had given birth to a child. If the king would only speak to the child, saying, 'Oh prince, Oh prince, what is the heart of religion?', the child would answer and tell him all. 'But now you must go to bed and sleep. To-morrow you will not find me', said the old man. When he had seen the guest comfortable in his own bed he went outside. The old man had had no food all

day but his wife was well fed and soon fell asleep, unmindful of her husband. Then the tiger came and found the old man who made only a morsel for a hungry tiger. The next morning when she awoke she went to the door to call her husband but as soon as she opened the door the tiger saw her and soon she was made to join her husband in making a good meal.

The guest, weary with his travelling, slept heavily and heard nothing of all this. When he awoke he hunted for the man and his wife, but found only the bones strewn about the mouth of the cave. Then he remembered the words of the old man and his hair rose with fright, so he went at once to the palace. He asked the young child and received this answer, 'If you will go to the head of the village you will find in the home of a family there a pig that has just given birth to some little ones. The weakest among them will give you the answer you seek'. He went and found the pig with her little ones, but one was so weak that the others crowded it away so it could get no milk. The king spoke to this poor, weak, little pig saying, 'Oh little piggie, Oh little piggie, what is the heart of religion?' The little pig answered, 'What shall I tell you? You can see for yourself. We the old man and myself lived on the side of the mountain in a cave. One day a guest came and the man gave him his food to eat and his own bed to sleep in while he slept outside and became the food the tiger sought. Down at the palace the young prince, which has been born, makes them happy. I was selfish and would not divide my food nor would I share my bed. Now as you see I am weak and cannot get near my mother to get milk and must lie here in the dust. That woman has been born a little pig and the man has become the young prince. What you wish to know you have seen and heard from my own lips.'

N. C. DAS.

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### 5. THE GREEDY BRIDE.

Now there was a man, his wife, and their only son of whom they were very fond. One day they picked out a very lovely girl to be their son's wife and not long afterward the marriage took place and the new bride was brought into their home. One day the new daughter-in-law went to the river to wash boiled rice (this is a kind of rice that is boiled before it is husked). As she was filling her pot with the nicely washed rice, she could not resist the temptation to taste it, and filled her mouth full. Just then her father-in-law appeared and asked, 'Daughter-in-law, where is my son? where has he gone?' Now her mouth was full of rice so she could not answer. Torn between shame at being thus caught and fear as to what would happen because she did not answer her father-in-law she fell as though in a faint

to the ground. When the father-in-law saw her lying there limp and silent he became very frightened and was sure an evil spirit had taken possession of her. He went at once in search of the magician who could drive out such evil spirits. Since the magician owed this man quite a sum of money he agreed to undertake to drive out this spirit if the man would pay by releasing him from his debt. So they came together to the bank of the river.

The magician examined her carefully and found that she could not speak because her mouth was so full of rice. He went and brought a kind of poisonous plant (similar to nettle) and beat her well from head to foot with it in order to drive out this evil spirit. As he beat he kept repeating over and over this charm (mantra) to make the spirit respond :

'You silly girl, chew, chew,  
Then swallow what you chew,  
Disgraced you shall not be,  
If from my debt I'm free.'

At his order she began to chew and soon her mouth was quite empty, so in a very short time she was fully recovered. When they spoke to her she answered them easily. They were so glad to have their daughter-in-law restored to them that they gladly cancelled the magician's debt.

N. C. DAS.

#### 6. STEADFAST FAITH.

The men of our land believe that if they have faith in anything, no matter what, it will save them. Even an idol of wood, if it is believed to be God and worshipped, will reward him with salvation. Once a Brahman was wandering about in a village when he came upon an elephant driver who had a Halgram<sup>1</sup> tied about his neck as he sat working over the cane. The Brahman asked him without revealing his thought, 'Driver?' The driver answered, 'My Lord, what is it?' The Brahman said, 'I will give you four annas (eight cents) if you will give me your shell'. The driver answered, 'My Lord, I will. Take it' and gave the shell to the Brahman and received his four annas. The Brahman went home happily, bathed the shell with spices, made a throne for it, and placed it on the throne and began to worship it. Each day he bathed it and worshipped it but at night he dreamed that he was arguing with the shell.

<sup>1</sup> Halgram—Bassel shell found in the Gandak river and worshipped as an emblem of Visnu.—*Dictionary*.

The shell would say, 'Oh Brahman! why did you take me from the driver and keep me with such care? I did not ask anything from you. You are doing all of your work for naught, for I shall kill your son. Take me and give me back to the elephant driver. He squeezed my neck and cut on my shell but I liked the sound Keh keh, as he cut'. Then the Brahman answered, 'I hoped that you could save me and that is why I took you from under the foot of the elephant driver and brought you here where I could worship you as you deserve, and so you must save me. I will not let you go until you save me'. The shell said, 'I will never save you but will kill your son'. The Brahman said, 'What you do you may do but I will not release you'. Thus by day he worshipped the shell and at night argued with it until his son was taken ill. As the Brahman slept the shell said, 'See I have made your son ill and if you do not take me back I will cause him to die'. Thus a few days later the boy died but the father worshipped as before, and that night his argument continued.

The shell said, 'You must take me back. It was because of me that your son died and so take me back at once or I will cause the death of your wife too'. But the Brahman did not take it back even though his wife became ill. Day by day he worshipped even though at night in his dreams he still quarrelled with it. The shell tried to show him that now that his wife was ill, he should not delay longer in taking him back lest his wife die. The Brahman said, 'I will never take you back. You should not even speak of it to me again'. The shell said, 'Very well then, but do not hope to save your wife'. After a few days of such arguing the wife left and went to join her forefathers and the poor Brahman was left all alone. In spite of all the work about the house he had to do, still the Brahman found time to go to the throne of the shell to worship. Again at night the shell talked with him. The shell said, 'See I have killed your son and now your wife, now will you give me back to the driver. If you do not, I will kill you too'. 'If you wish you may kill me too, but I will not give My Lord into the hands of the driver,' answered the Brahman. A few days later the Brahman himself fell ill, but in spite of his illness he continued to worship. As he grew worse he called several of his fellow Brahmins. He gave them a paper on which he had written, 'I worship the Halgram and when I die, bind it on my breast. Should any one keep it then seven animals, seven men, and seven saints will have to suffer death'. A day or so after that the Brahman died. They fastened the Halgram to his breast as they had been directed to do in the letter. Then as the fire rose to the body the dead Brahman sat up alive. He arose chuckling and then began to laugh. 'You said you would not save me, but now why do you save me? It was because you were afraid of the fire, was'nt it?' said he to the

shell. Then the Brahman went to his house and began to worship again and built him a new house and raised another family as he lived to be very old.

It is said, 'If any one worships me I will strike his eldest son, cause the tiger to eat his team of bullocks, set a fire to his granary, and if then he does not leave me, I shall be near to bless and help him whenever he calls upon me'.

N. C. DAS.

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### 7. THE THOUGHTFUL YOUTH.

A young man, who had no father or mother, had a very hard time getting his education, but when he was through he built a tiny cottage for himself right in front of the King's palace. When the house was done he could not find any work even to earn a pice (penny) so that he had nothing for food and clothing. One evening when he was going to his house his mind was troubled and he said, 'Oh, oh, what an unlucky one I am! I cannot even get my salt and yet I am right in front of the King's eyes. If the King wished he could give me a big work, but if not, at least some small thing, so that I might have a handful of rice to eat.' The King, who was out for a walk, heard these words of the troubled youth, and the next day he sent a man to call the boy. When the youth came, the King asked him, 'You are hunting for some dull work to do. For this reason I give it to you. How many leaves fall from this tree daily? Keep an account of them and give me the record each evening. Now go and each evening bring the account to me'. With these words he bade the youth farewell.

The youth went to his house and then returned to sit under the tree, collecting the leaves and counting them. Day by day he gave the record to the King, but the word salary was not mentioned nor did the King say when he would give it. But on the other hand, every one knows the overseers receive from the King and for that reason he always stays under the trees. Also if any one hit another or there was any little trouble they were afraid to tell the King but they went to the overseer. He would then hear both and decide who should be punished and dismissed them. Thus he was busy with judgments most of the time. His earnings too began to increase, so that the youth who could not even buy salt could now sit at a table under the tree and write his accounts.

When the King saw it he said, 'From today you are not to write an account of the leaves which fall. I will give you a different work to do and that is, give me an account of all of the leaves taken from the palm trees in my kingdom each day'. The youth answered, 'Oh! Great King, I am but one man, and

how can I travel throughout the whole kingdom each day. Can Your Honour give me some way to do it? Or, have a man appointed in each village and sent to me each day, or I shall not be able to do it'. So the King appointed a man in each village to bring the account to the youth. The youth told them to find out how many leaves fell each day from each householder. If eight leaves then cut sixteen and keep eight and bring in eight. You do not need to keep an account just cut double and you keep half. I will write the record'. So saying he sent each back to his own village. When the leaves came in he counted them and gave the account to the King. On the other hand, the merchants bought the leaves for a pice (one half cent) a piece and carried away great bags of them. In this way the people were getting money and the youth had all the food and clothing he needed. The King saw that this was a hard-working and worthy youth and again promoted him to work in the court. From that day on he was honoured by the King and was always before the eyes of the people. If one can be a good thinker he will be honoured by God and man.

N. C. DAS.

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#### 8. WISDOM.

A man who trapped and sold deer for a living went out to the forest and set his trap. The next day he saw that instead of the animal he had expected he had caught a tiger. He turned away to go home when the tiger saw him and said, 'Look! I have had nothing for a long time, let me loose'. The man answered, 'No, I can't free you because if you are hungry you will eat me'. Tiger: 'I say honestly, three times honestly, I will not eat you'. The man then went and loosed the trap. The tiger, as soon as he was loose, said, 'I have missed two meals and I am so hungry I'll eat you'. Hearing this the man was at a loss to know what to do but asked, 'Can a snake eat his benefactor?' Tiger: 'Yes, he may'. But to establish a fact three people must agree, so the man said he would ask two others. He went to a tree and asked, 'May a snake eat his benefactor?' The tree answered, 'Yes, he may eat, because men rest in my shade, they eat my fruit, they cut parts off of me, and leave me half dead. Yes, to eat a man is no evil in my sight'. The tiger heard all this and thought now he could really eat. Now there had been two witnesses to this last word, but three persons must agree before the thing can be done. So they went to the water. He asked the water the same question, and the water answered, 'He may eat. I give men water to drink, to bathe in, and to wash their clothes, and they throw their refuse on me. So for such ingratitude I see no need of saving

them'. Then the tiger said, 'Now two have said that I was right, how much longer must I wait?' Then the man said, 'Wait, we must ask one more, if he says the same then you may eat'. As they talked a jackal came along. So they asked him, 'Can a benefited one eat his benefactor?' The jackal said, 'But who is it that has assisted and who is the snake who desires to eat? How can I tell unless I know more about it?' The man began to explain, 'I set a trap for a deer, but this king fell into it. He said three times truly he would not eat me if I loosed him but as soon as I let him loose he said he would eat me'. The jackal asked, 'Now, how did you set this trap and how did the king get into it, tell me that so I may give my answer'. So the man set the trap and the tiger put his foot in to show how he got caught. Then the jackal told the man, 'Now he can't get away, beat him'. The man saw his chance and killed the tiger and saved himself.

N. C. DAS.

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#### 9. THE PROUD ELEPHANT.

The small birds used to build their nests in the reeds that grew on the river bank. But an elephant used to come there to bathe in the stream and he broke down the reeds and destroyed many nests with eggs or young in them. The birds decided to ask what could be done to save the nests and their young ones. They went to the horsefly who told them that there was a kind of crow who could help. They found the crow and told him their trouble, but he said he needed a frog to help. They found the frog and he agreed. When the elephant came, they all watched him bathe, and when he came to the bank the frog jumped into his ear, the crow came and pecked him so hard the blood came, and the fly went and infected the place until it became a big sore which caused the elephant much trouble.

N. C. DAS.

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#### 10. YAMA THE GOD OF DEATH—WHY MEN DIE.

In the beginning Brahma created man and made him perfect. That is to say there was no weakness or imperfection, so there could be no death. In this way time went on for ages. Yama the king of death waited for someone to die so that he could bring him into his kingdom to dwell. But because man had been created to live for ever there were no deaths. Yama, weary with waiting, sent two diseases into the world to destroy men, but

they returned very much ashamed saying that they could not get near men, much less attack them.

As time went on Brahma continued to create until the whole earth was so full that it could hardly bear the burden of them all. Yet no one died and Yama grew impatient. The words of diseases made Yama so angry that he mounted a water-buffalo and went in search of Brahma. Brahma, when he saw the guest coming, made great haste to receive him with all honour. Yama, when he met Brahma, seized him and began to beat him about the head with a rod. Brahma was so surprised that instead of receiving the guest ran inside and closed the door. But Yama followed and grabbed him saying, 'What kind of men are you creating? Is this the work of your hands? Not one man dies and sickness has no effect upon them. God has made me to be king over dead men but not one ever comes to my city. There is no hope that any will ever come. I shall take you instead of man and you shall live there'.

Brahma then in great fear replied, 'If you take me then who will create men for the earth? It is my work to create men. But if you will release me I will create men with some weakness, so that they may come to your city to dwell'. So from that day men were so created that they could die. Those who had been created with eternal life became gods. Yama returned to his realm and to this day reigns over his kingdom in happiness.

T. C. HANDIQUE.

#### 11. FAITHFUL WORSHIP.

Once there was a Brahman who made a journey to a distant land, and on the way he became very hungry. He was so hungry he did not know how to stand it, so he looked from side to side hoping to see if he could find something to eat. Then he saw a seral garden but he could see no one near. He was so hungry that his stomach hurt, but what should he do; he would pay for what he took, or it would be stealing and a sin. So he entered the garden, sought out a good ripe seral, picked it, pulling back the leaf he placed on it one anna (two cents), ate half of the fruit, and placed the other in his bag to eat on the way. Soon after this he saw some men coming toward him; when the man who followed him saw them he called out, 'Hey you men! this Brahman has eaten one part of a piece of cow's flesh and the rest he has in his bag and the blood is dripping as he goes'. When the men heard this they began to cough and spit, but when the Brahman heard it he said, 'Shree Krishna! Shree Krishna!' and began to berate them. The men told him to turn his bag upside down and when all the men said the same he did tip his bag upside down, and there was a piece of cow's flesh. The men began to abuse the greedy Brahman. The Brahman when

he saw it was so ashamed that he went off down the road wailing and weeping. When the weeping let up, the man said to the Brahman, 'Lord, whose days are these can you tell? Can you tell what days these are? These are (Koli's) Satan's days. I am Satan. During my time you do not take a seral, and leave an anna (two cents); you break the plant as much as you can and put as much fruit as you can in your bag, eat all you can and destroy all the rest. You did not do this and so earned merit; and that is why I did as I did. You threw your bag away and I have brought it. It is on your shoulder and your seral is there as you left it'. Then the Brahman said, 'Whatever you do or say I can do no evil'. Satan and bad men may give shame to a man who does no evil, they put thorns in the path of right, but if that man has steadfast faith in God then his enemies will at last come to shame.

N. C. DAS.

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## 12. THE QUEEN'S JEWEL BOX.

One day when we were visiting the ruins of the King of Assam's palace we were told of all the greatness of the king, the beauty of his queens, as well as the grandeur of the palace in those days. Just before leaving I stood looking down at the reflections in a small tank about forty by fifty feet which was probably half full of dirty muddy water. Now I would have called it a big mud hole but the attendant told me that this had been the private bathing tank of the favourite queen. Then he said, 'You know that when the Burmese came up to fight with the Assamese they wished to take possession of this place because there was supposed to be much gold buried in different places in these grounds. When the King of Assam feared that he would not be able to hold out much longer he sent his queens out by another way to a village where they would be kept in safety. But the favourite queen feared that she might be killed for her jewels if she wore them, so she put them all in her box and threw them into this tank. Now during the first week of new moon that box can be seen floating on the surface of the water but there is a small light which burns on the top of this box. Many have tried to get it but always when they go into the water it disappears and cannot be found.'

I thought this was a very good story for a guide to tell, but to my surprise I found that it was one that was well known. Several years later when I was working in this district with my women I spoke of the old ruins as we sat talking in the evening and they told me this same story except that the box had a large jewel on top which gave forth this light.

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ESTHER DAS.

## 13. THE BOY CATCHER.

This seems to be a folk story in the making but I cannot be sure about that. The story has not yet taken shape or if it has, the variations were too pronounced for me to recognize the similarities. It seems to refer back to the time when the offering of human sacrifice was common but it is told as a custom practised in very recent times. I took it to be a story to restrain children from playing about after dark but I may be mistaken about it.

It was told to me as we watched the last light of a young moon on a hot July night. The smaller children had been playing and catching fireflies as I talked with the older ones. Suddenly we heard the cry of a jackal and one of the older children said, 'The jackal is weeping and searching for the dead'. This seemed to frighten the little ones and they all crowded up close to us on the steps. I asked the girls to tell good stories and not frighten the children. But several answered at once saying, 'But they should be afraid of jackals', to which I had to agree though I did not say so.

When the children had been put to bed one of the older girls, who as a nurse now, had been a teacher, told this story which had been brought to her mind by the incident—'The Boy Catcher'.

There really are 'boy catchers' near Sadyia. They try to catch the children who stray away from the others in play. Or if they find a child playing all alone, they will try to coax him to go with them to a lonely place where they may catch him. They even offer sweets to get the boys to come closer to them. They will catch girls also but must have boys to offer as the sacrifice to the river goddess and the boys must be between 10 and 14 years old. They seem to make an especial effort toward the close of the day to lure the children away from home as it seems that the sacrifice must be made at night. After the sacrifice is made they take the head and hands and place them at the base of the pillars of the new bridge. If they offer a child for each pillar and place the head and hands at the base then the bridge will be able to stand during the flood waters in the spring when the rains and the melting snow cause the streams to surge and roar and show their anger. Only a bridge thus built will be able to stand against the anger of the river.

The bridges do have a hard time standing the strain of the flood waters and most of them are swept down the river at this time. This girl says she and her brother were actually chased by these 'boy catchers' one evening and that their parents saw the man run after them but could not recognize him.

## 14. THE BRAVE BILLY GOAT.

Once upon a time a billy goat was feeding in a field and slowly it became evening time, but the poor fellow did not notice it until suddenly it was quite dark. When it was dark the poor thing could think of nothing else to do, so he climbed upon a white anthill and closing his eyes settled himself to chew his cud. After some time a terrible tiger came out and saw the goat lying there. The tiger, seeing the goat, decided that now he would kill him and have a good meal. Just then the goat smelled the tiger and opened his eyes and found that the tiger was so close that there was no escape for him, but even so the goat was not frightened. Getting up, he bravely shook his head and spoke to the tiger angrily, saying, 'Come, come, let us get together for destruction. If I do not get to eat the red beast I will destroy the forest'.

When the tiger heard this he got so frightened that he ran away as fast as he could.

A jackal saw the tiger coming as fast as he could and he called out asking, 'Why are you running so fast?'

The tiger paid no attention but the jackal called again louder. The tiger decided that he should tell the jackal what had happened. When the jackal heard it all, he laughed as loud as he could and asked why he was so frightened. 'Come, show him to me and I will kill and eat him.'

Even though the tiger found it hard to believe this, still he decided to take the jackal and show him. After going a little way the tiger began to tremble with fright and refused to go any farther. The jackal, seeing the tiger's fear, said, 'I have a plan'.

So he went off to get a strong vine, one end of which he tied about the tiger's body and the other about himself. In this way they crept along until they could see the goat. The billy goat showed no sign of fear but raised his head, and said, 'Oh, you went off to get another one, did you? Well, that is good. Bring him here'.

How could the tiger stay to hear any more when he was already paralyzed with fear? So he turned and ran with all his might. The jackal, who was tied to him, ran too, but how long could a jackal keep up with a tiger? He soon became exhausted but there was no escape, so he gritted his teeth and died.

When the tiger looked around, he saw the jackal's teeth, and said, 'Here I run with fright and you just grin and laugh. All right, get away from me'. So he bit the vine in two.

Then thought the tiger, 'I wonder where he will go and what he will do!'

So he looked to see, but the jackal did not move and the tiger saw that he was not laughing but that he was saying good-bye to life.

T. C. HANDIQUE.

### 15. HOW A CLEVER BOY USED THE TRUTH.

Once there lived an old man and his wife in a village. They had a pair of children. The girl had been given in marriage to a man of that village and the boy herded the cows. One day when the boy saw his brother-in-law coming to their house he began to think, 'If my sister comes home too then I will not get any fish to eat. Now if I can by any means send him back home then should there be fish I shall have gained'. As he was thinking his brother-in-law came near and asked if his father and mother were at home. 'Mother is gone to the sea to get precious stones and father has gone to get the lower earth and bring it up on top,' answered the boy. The brother-in-law, half dead with hunger and thirst, hearing this turned around and went back home.

In the evening the mother asked her son if he had seen his brother-in-law. He said that he had seen his brother who had asked about his parents-in-law. But when he had been told where they were he had gone back to his own house. The father, seeing that their son had deceived them, gave him a good beating and drove him out of the house. When night came he was so hungry he could find no peace, so he decided to steal some food. When everything was quiet at night he went to a cook-house to steal some food. Searching around for food he came upon an old broken drum which he began to beat. At once the owner of the house awoke, came out, found him, and bound him securely. The next morning he took his prisoner and started for the King's palace where the trial would be held.

On the way they saw a farmer plowing in a field. Just at that moment one of the bullocks pulled his head from the yoke and ran off. The plowman seeing his bullock running in their direction called out, 'See, this bullock is very bad. Can you not beat him or stop him for me?' The boy at once struck the bullock with the stick he had in his hand and the animal fell over dead. Then the plowman became very angry and he too would go to complain before the King that his bullock had been killed.

Next they came to a market place. The boy said, 'I am so hungry. I would like just one pice worth of bananas to eat'. So they took him and went to the woman who sold bananas. She said, 'Son, give a pice and I'll give you three bananas. Then strike the chest and go'. The boy gave the pice, took the bananas, ate them, and then struck her on the chest. The woman gave him a good tongue lashing, but, not satisfied, said that she too would go and witness against him before the King.

When they came into the presence of the King each one began to make his complaints known. The King said, 'Is this so? Did you do this?' The boy answered, 'Lord of Heaven, he told me to beat him so I did strike the bullock, the woman also told me to strike, so what is wrong in obeying them? This first man calls me a thief, that too is absolutely false. What man would beat a drum when he went to steal. Ask them if my words are true or false, and when you have proof, give me the punishment I deserve'. When the King asked he found proof that all the boy said was true. The King told his minister that the boy was very clever as all of his words were sharp. Thus the King cleared the boy, gave his enemies a good scolding, and dismissed them.

Later when the King and his minister were alone together the boy came to them with a great big cooking pot. The King asked him what he wanted. The boy answered, 'Lord of Heaven, you have said all my words are trustworthy, so I have brought this cooking pot to be filled with ten thousand rupees. Now will you give me the rupees?' When the King heard this he was very much surprised and asked his minister what to do. The minister said, 'Give him the rupees'. The boy took the money and went his way. Soon he met the daughter of the minister and called out, 'To the one who gives me a good meal of rice I will give all of my money'. A friend of the girl heard this and told her she had better feed the boy and get all of the money. The minister's daughter hearing this called the boy and dished out the rice. However, he wished to take a bath before eating, so she brought the water for him. Then he said, 'If I give you so many rupees you should wash my body for me'. After the bath he said, 'For all this money you should be willing to feed the rice to me'. This she did and when he had finished she brought the tamal-pan (betelnut). After he had rested he returned to the King and said, 'Who would give a man a bath, feed him his rice, and then bring him the tamal-pan to chew?' The King answered, 'No one but a wife would do such a thing'. 'Then from today I am the son-in-law of the minister. Today his daughter has bathed me, fed me rice, and then brought me tamal-pan to chew,' cried the boy with joy. The minister was very angry but the King explained that the boy was so very clever that he would make a good son. Then the minister gave his daughter and the King himself gave them the sacred book. They lived happily after that.

T. C. HANDIQUE.

#### 16. THE STORY OF THE MERCHANT.

Once there was a merchant. His wife died leaving a pair of children (a boy and a girl). Fearing that these children

would be uncared for the merchant decided to marry again. But the children instead of being cared for got a basketful (bushel) of trouble. The step-mother felt toward them as toward a cinder in the eye or a toothache.

One day the merchant before going on a journey to buy goods called his wife and said, 'I go on a business trip and while I am gone care for the pair of orphan children as you would care for me. As for eating, sitting, clothing, speaking, in a word, in nothing give them trouble'. The wife let the tears roll down her cheeks (falsely) as she said, 'That too will I do and they shall not have the least trouble. Even though they beat me I will worship them'. The merchant after this talk with his wife went away on the trip.

After her husband had gone the step-mother began to abuse the pair of children. She would not let them have anything but the water left from bleaching the ashes and rice while she ate fish, turtle, fern greens, and arum stalks made into a delicious curry. As for clothing she wore fine Chinese silk, white Assamese silk, and the golden silk (mogha) while she dressed the children in coarse, torn, dirty pieces of old cotton cloth. They cleaned and brought water while she cooked and ate and sat with her feet off the floor like a queen all day long. Besides for even the smallest word she scolded them and cursed them, and hunted for an excuse to kick them. Will a man stand so much abuse? The children grew thin and dried-looking.

After many days the merchant returned from his trip. He brought several kinds of cloth for each child besides several other nice things, but when he saw their condition tears came to his eyes. Without a word of questioning he took his wife by the hair, dragged her out, and said, 'Ha! how could the children be so thin and bad if they had not a fever or an illness? Tell the truth or I will cut you in two pieces. You have abused them'. The wife was so frightened that she drew a great sigh. The merchant did not let her go but asked, 'You are so happy. How many times in a day did you eat? Tell the truth or I will not let you go even if it thunders'. She shrank from him in fear and said,

'How much sobbing and weeping  
Come in the noonday word  
With the child comes the tears,  
These are with you  
I cook and serve trembling,  
I take and weave thus,  
Three times I swear, Lord  
Three handfuls of wet rice ground.  
And if I ate more, Lord  
I swear by your head.'

When he heard this the merchant was very angry and said, 'If you ate so much and the children ate so much then you will

be eating my head'. So saying he cut off her nose and her ears and put her out of the house. From then on the merchant and his pair of children began to live happily.

'My clothing was black with dirt and I went home,  
True true true.

The key-word cuts the skin  
When cut and open wipe it.  
I arrived at my own house.'

M. M. BORDALOI.

#### 17. HOW TO PROVIDE FOR OLD AGE.

Once there was an old couple living in a village. They had no son or daughter. Now in their old age they had no one to earn for them so the old man began to think of some clever plan by which he could earn some money. Finally the old man asked his wife, 'How many rupees have you? Give them to me and I will go out to get some more'. The old lady, hearing that he was going out to find wealth, gave him twenty rupees. The old man went and bought a poor old horse with ten rupees and fed the other ten together with some grain to it. As he came along the road towards home leading his horse he met a band of robbers. The robbers took the old horse and, since the old man could not be separated from it, the old man too.

The next morning the old man went out to his friend the horse and began to knock apart the manure with a stick. There to the astonishment of the robbers he found ten silver rupees. The robbers said, 'If we could only get this horse we would soon become rich'. So they told the old man if he would let them have the horse they would let him go. But the old man told them that he could not give them the horse because he could not part with it. After much bargaining the robbers offered many rupees and the old man was persuaded to part with the horse for the money.

The next day they went out and examined the manure but did not find a pice (copper). So they decided that they had been deceived. Then they went in search of the old man and on the second day came to his village. The old man having sold his horse went his way and met a man with two rabbits. He bought the rabbits and took them home. One he tied near his wife and one near himself. From time to time he loosened them and let them run between himself and his wife who was in the cook-house.

When the robbers came to his home he said that they must eat and take a little rest. Then he told the rabbit to go and ask mother if the food was ready, as he set it free. Since there was

no other way of escape it ran to the cook-house where the old woman tied it and let her's loose to run out to her husband. When he saw it he took it and told the robbers that the rabbit had reported that the food was ready. After they had eaten the robbers asked for the rabbit so they could send word to their wives to have the food ready. The old man made many objections but at last in exchange for many rupees let the robbers have the rabbits.

When the robbers were nearing home they decided to send the rabbits ahead to tell the women to have rice ready for them. So after giving the proper instructions they set the rabbits loose. They being wild rabbits went immediately to their own places in the forest. When the robbers reached home they asked for food but the rice had not yet been placed upon the fire. They got very angry because they were so hungry their stomachs burned. Then they asked, 'Did you not receive word from the rabbits to have food ready for us?' The wives said that had they known they were coming they would most certainly have had the food ready but they had not seen any rabbits. Then they understood the old man's scheme and promised to have revenge on him.

The old man kept two sticks in his house and told his wife when he struck her with one she was to fall down, roll back her eyes, and give the appearance of being dead. But that when he struck her with the other one she was to come back to life, otherwise there was no salvation for them. So when the robbers came he went out and began to tell about his two sticks. To prove it he struck the old woman and she fell down and made her face look like a dead person. Then he took the other stick and struck her and she rose up before their eyes and went to prepare the food and serve it as before.

They became so interested in the two sticks they forgot their duty and began to bargain for them. As the robbers offered many rupees the sticks were finally given. The robbers went home and with the one stick beat their wives until they fell down dead and then went off on a two or three days' trip. When they got back they found that the dead women smelled bad. They took the other stick and began to beat them but they only smelled worse—but how could you get dead women to get up and cook. Now they knew the old man to be a mischief-maker and decided to bind him and burn him alive. So they brought him to the edge of the forest and tied him to a tree while they went to gather wood. Soon after they left a cowherd boy came by on his way home with his cows and saw the man. He asked, 'Big brother, who tied you to that tree and why did they bind you?' The old man answered, 'Son, a man has brought me here to marry me to a girl of the village. I am an old man and what should I do with a young girl? I objected very strongly but they would not hear my words. If any one will let me loose I will give him the girl'. As soon as the boy

heard this he said he would untie him if he would let him marry the girl. The boy untied the old man and in simple faith let himself be tied to the tree in his stead. The old man after tying the boy went safely back to his house.

It was evening when the robbers came back and found the boy instead of the old man tied to the tree. They were so angry that they wanted to throw him into the fire at once and burn him. But then they began talking among themselves saying that the old man was very clever. He might be able to kill them all so they had better not give him any more trouble but leave the place at once. So they went to their houses and took everything and went far away. The old man by his clever tricks had gotten enough money so his last days were passed in comfort and happiness.

MELLING SYMON.

#### 18. THE BRAHMAN FROM LOTKON.

A very poor Brahman lived in the country of Lotkon. His wife had a very sharp tongue. She was always scolding her husband because he did not bring in a lot of money. One day he felt very sorry because of the scolding. He thought, 'I shall leave my house. If I am not able to bring back some silver I shall not return'. So he left the house.

He walked along the way until noon without finding any food or water and his stomach was empty and he began to feel faint. Then he saw at the side of the road a sweet meats shop and went over to it. The shopkeeper had gone to eat his noon meal and left his eight-year-old son in charge, and he too was dozing in the corner. When the Brahman came and stood near the sweets the boy said, 'What do you want? What is your name?' The Brahman answered, 'I came to get some sweets to eat. My name is Bee'. As he took a few pieces of the sweets and put them into his mouth the boy called his father saying, 'Father, father, a Bee is eating the sweets'. The father was just dozing off and feeling annoyed answered in a daze, 'If a Bee eats the sweets let him, and do not keep annoying me'. The Brahman kept on eating until the boy could stand it no more and shouted, 'Father, Bee is eating all the sweets'. This time the father sighed saying, 'If he eats all of them let him, but do not keep pestering me'. When the boy heard this he decided to go in and explain it all to his father. The Brahman saw that now he had not only the sweets but the money box as well and he opened it, took out forty rupees in silver, and ran off. The boy shook his father and explained the whole thing, so he came out and found his sweets all gone. Then he got very angry at the boy but the boy answered, 'Did I not time after time tell you saying, "Bee is eating all the sweets",

and you said "let him". "But you said "a Bee is eating". Why did you not say it was a man?" asked the father. But, "He said his name was Bee," said the boy. Then the father asked which way he went and got on his horse to chase him. The Brahman, having quickly finished the sweets while walking rapidly down the road, felt tired and sat down under a tree by the side of the road to rest, when suddenly from the jungle a hog came out toward the Brahman grunting. The Brahman started to hide behind the tree but the hog circled the tree too. Thus they ran around the tree until the Brahman jumped and grabbed the hog's tail. As he held tight to the tail and ran, the rupees came out one at a time and began to sow themselves around the foot of the tree. But the Brahman did not dare to let go the tail lest the hog should gnash him.

On the other hand, the shopkeeper on his horse came by and saw this man hanging to the hog's tail and running around a tree. Then he stopped his horse, got off, and went over to the man saying, "Big brother, why do you hang to this hog's tail and chase him about like this?" The Brahman answered, "I have little time to answer you. Do you not see the rupees on the ground?" He answered, "I see them". "When I chase the hog around this way he drops those rupees so that is why I run him". The shopkeeper thought he had lost many rupees this day and if he could only make a handful in this way it would not be so bad. So he said to the Brahman, "Big brother, will you let me run him around a few times? I too have fallen into great difficulties. If I run the hog around a few times and get a few rupees it will help a great deal. An unusual thief has today deceived me and stolen many rupees". The Brahman said, "You have received much trouble, if I help you it will clear me. All right, run him". As he said this, still running, he let the shopkeeper grab and as soon as he had him, the Brahman let go and began quickly to pick up the silver about the tree. When he had gathered all he mounted the shopkeeper's horse and rode off. The shopkeeper, unable to let go the tail, kept on running because he now saw that if he let go the hog would kill him.

The Brahman on the horse rode a long way and at night stopped as a guest in a house by the road. After having a good meal he went to bed and before daylight he got up and put ten rupees in the hay in front of his horse and then went back to bed. When morning came the Brahman got up and with his host went out to see his horse. When he shook the grass in front of the horse ten rupees fell out. The host was a tonished at this. The Brahman told him, "This horse eats his grass but always in what is left I find ten rupees and thus he supports me". When he heard this the host felt greedy. He began at once to try in every way to buy the horse. He offered the Brahman six hundred rupees and was refused as he could not

part with his horse but then he offered still more. At last for six hundred and fifty rupees and his own horse to boot he succeeded in buying the horse.

The Brahman then hastily tied the money up in a bundle and got on the other horse and rode away. He rode along the same road he had come and saw that the shopkeeper was still hanging to the hog's tail and running around the tree. When the shopkeeper saw him he called, 'You have deceived me, there is no silver and I keep running about hanging to this hog's tail until I die'. The Brahman said, 'Big brother, I did not deceive you. If you will listen to my words and go around one hundred more times you will find one hundred rupees'. The Brahman saw that the hog was getting weak and probably after one hundred more turns he would fall over and die. Then he struck his horse and rode off. The shopkeeper took courage and went on for a little when the hog fell down dead. Then the shopkeeper thought 'I am saved at last' and went off home. When the Brahman got home he gave the money to his wife saying, 'Is this not silver?' When she saw the silver she forgot all her scolding and treated him kindly.

N. C. DAS.

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#### 19. THE FROG AND THE SNAKE.

One day a frog went in search of food and when he returned he jumped right in front of a snake. The snake caught him. The frog felt his last day had come so began to pray to the Creator, 'Save me, save me'. The Creator came and the frog began his pleading, 'Save me out of this mouth of death'. The snake, seeing the Creator, also began to pray, 'I have fasted for two days; now that I have the food, do not let me be cheated out of it'.

Hearing both prayers, the Creator said to the frog, 'Lie still and die', and to the snake, 'Yes, if you lose it you'll not get it again'. The frog did as he was told and did not move. The snake thinking he was dead, and being tired from the struggle, put him out of his mouth and looked about. The frog took a chance and jumped away. The snake chased him but could not catch him. The snake lost the food out of his mouth, and the frog was saved from the jaws of death.

N. C. DAS.

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#### 20. UNITY (THE TIGER AND THE FROG).

A long time ago there was a whole clan of frogs in a pond. They went in search of food on land as well as in the water. One day one of them went in search of food on the land where he

met a tiger, the king of the forest. The king of the forest saw the frog and began to laugh as he said, 'Hallo Mr. Frog, how far do you think you can go jumping like that?' The frog said, 'O king of the forest, I can go as far as you can, and even if you run you could not keep up with me'. 'Well!' said the king of the forest, 'if you can go faster than I then I will be your slave for a month'. 'All right, come prepared day after tomorrow and we shall have a race to see who can go faster', said the frog. The tiger said he would be there and went off in the forest.

The frog went at once to call his clan to discuss how they might win in this race with the tiger. After consultation they decided that they would place one at such a distance as the tiger would be able to jump. Then as the tiger at each jump would call out, 'Oh frog', the frog in front would answer 'Yes', so that the tiger would think the frog was ahead of him.

On the day set, the tiger appeared and each frog was in his place. Soon they were off with an even start. The tiger after a couple of jumps called out, 'Oh frog'! and the answer came back from a little ahead, 'Yes'. The tiger was greatly surprised to find that the frog was in front of him. He thought to himself, 'How can this be, I ran so far and so fast and that frog is still a bit ahead of me?' Then he ran again taking great leaps each time and again called out, 'Oh frog!' Again the frog just in front answered, 'Oh'. Each time when the tiger called out the answer came back from in front of him. He was astonished and had to admit that he could not keep up with the frog. So the tiger became their slave for one month. Thus it is that today for one month out of each year the tiger is seen feeding on the edge of a pond. By their united strength the frogs were able to keep the tiger as their slave for a month.

N. C. DAS.

#### 21. THE CAUSES OF EARTHQUAKES.

A great big cobra snake lives under our great flat earth. This snake holds the world on his head. When the men of the earth become disobedient, sinful, and wicked it becomes very heavy and the snake to relieve the burden shakes his head and the world trembles and throws down the houses and even breaks open the ground sometimes. Then the sinful men are killed and the world is lighter again.

The world is hung by ropes from the four corners and sometimes the squirrels playing on these ropes chew at them until their sharp teeth cut through and that lets one corner fall and causes the earthquake.

The earth rests on the back of a great elephant and he does not mind the weight at all. But when a mouse comes near him he moves quickly to get out of the way and this makes the earth tremble until it breaks open and water comes out and sometimes many men die. Only the wicked ones die in the earthquake.

JAUNAKI SINGH.

22. IN WHOM SHALL WE HAVE FAITH ?

A man once had a piece of land on the edge of a forest. He cultivated it very carefully and planted in it rice. But when the rice began to ripen a wild boar came and started to eat it. The owner of the field took his spear and went out to see what was destroying his fine crop when he saw the wild boar. He struck him with the spear but the boar ran to a nearby tree and scratched himself a while and then ran off into the forest. Each day the boar came and each time the farmer speared him he ran to this tree and after scratching his wound was healed. Then the man saw that this tree had great power so he cut it down and carried it away. The next time the boar came to eat, the farmer speared him and again he ran to the tree but even the scratching on the stump healed his wound and he returned to the forest. Finally, the farmer became angry and dug up the stump and threw it away too. This time he would get the boar. So when the boar came he threw the spear very hard and again the boar ran to the tree but he could not find it. Then he scratched himself on another tree but it did him no good and he died of his wound.

This is the meaning of the story. As long as we keep our faith in the Living God we are saved from all harm and danger. Just as the boar scratched himself against the wrong tree and lost his life so we will lose our lives if we do not find the True God. One who is himself weak cannot save others.

N. C. DAS.

23. A BRAHMAN AND HIS DAUGHTER-IN-LAW.

In a village in a little house surrounded by a small garden lived a Brahman. He was a great miser and would not spend even the smallest sum of money. So his wife was forced to fast until she sickened and died, but he remained firm. He was always trying to add to his store of wealth. But his daughter-in-law was just the opposite. Although he could not bear to give a crumb to a hungry beggar she was generous. She used to fill her water-pot with rice and give it out along the way as she went to the stream to get water.

Now a fisherman came and built a house near that of the Brahman's. Every day he went out with his net to catch fish. In the evening he saved out those he needed for himself and took the rest to the market place where he sold them and bought such other things as would make him a nice meal. The Brahman would try to satisfy his hunger by eating a small amount of cold left-over rice with a bit of salt and some peppers rather than use a bit of his precious store. The daughter-in-law's keen eyes observed the different ways of the two men.

One day as she was going to get water she saw a dead cow surrounded by vultures. But the vultures only sat and looked at the animal. When they saw her they called to her saying, 'Daughter, will you drag the cow over this way? It is lying on the nobleman's land and we dare not eat it there'. She answered, 'How could I move such a big cow from that place?' The vultures said, 'We will add our blessing and you will be able'. Then she tried and was able to drag the cow so that it did not rest on the nobleman's land. The vultures in their joy said, 'You may have any power you wish. Choose what it shall be'. Then she told them, 'I desire to see how a man's spirit leaves his body when he dies'. 'Had you chosen anything else it would have been better for you. Since this is your desire you may have it but you must be very careful. If you tell this before anyone then you will die'. So the vultures turned to their eating and the girl after taking her bath took her water-pot and returned home.

Not long after this the Brahman died and she was very anxious to see how his spirit left his body. She watched very closely but what she saw made her very angry. The spirit left the body and then returned slapping the face, kicking and turning the body from side to side, abusing it and saying, 'In all this time that I have lived with you, you never gave me one good meal to eat. You never gave me a good garment to wear but always made me suffer. This is the way you bid me farewell, now I leave you'. Several times it returned and slapped and beat the body. The girl became so angry that she could no longer endure the sight and came away. She not only did not weep but showed no signs of sorrow at the death of her father-in-law. The neighbours were very much surprised and called her a very hard-hearted daughter-in-law.

A few months later the fisherman died. The girl was so curious and eager to see how his spirit left his body that she went to watch. As she watched the spirit left the body but clung to his neck, sobbing and crying as it said, 'You were so good to me and I was so happy. You always fed and clothed me so nicely. Not even for one day did you give me trouble. Now I must go and you will stay. How hard you worked to keep me happy and feed me well I shall never forget it'. In this way the spirit came back six or seven times to cling to his

neck and kiss him in fond farewell. The girl fell to weeping bitterly as she saw all this.

The neighbours began to talk saying to one another, 'When the fisherman dies why should she weep? When her father-in-law died she did not show the least sign of sorrow. It must be that there was something between them'. Because of these doubts they called everyone in the village and began to ask her before them all, 'What have you to say for yourself?' She answered, 'I have nothing to answer'. 'Why did you not cry when the Brahman died? If you did not weep then why should you weep when this fisherman dies?' 'I cannot tell you', she said, 'If I tell I will die'. This made them angry and they said, 'Do not think you can frighten us and thus save yourself. You must tell'. She asked them to prepare for her funeral and she would tell. Then she began to tell how because of the gift given by the vultures she was able to see how the spirit left the body of her father-in-law and how it left that of the fisherman. Just as she finished telling how it was, she fell over dead. Then the neighbours believed and performed the funeral rites according to the custom.

When the vultures came to know of this they came in great crowds and began pouring water upon her so that she came back to life. The vultures told her, 'You must not leave this place until someone comes and formally marries you', and then flew away.

Some time later a man passing through the place saw the Brahman's daughter-in-law sitting there and asked, 'Are you not going home?' 'Unless someone comes and takes me in regular marriage I will not go,' she answered. The man went at once to her husband and told him that his wife was sitting in the burial ground. He went at once to bring her home but she answered him in the same way. Her husband immediately went home and began to send out the betelnut and fresh leaf (the customary invitation to a wedding) to all his friends. In a short time he had completed the arrangements, married her and took her home.

One day not long after her marriage she saw her father-in-law in a dream. He begged her to give him a storehouse of rice. He told her that there were three storehouses for rice in the house of death but they all contained the black paddy (a kind of rice which Brahmins do not eat). The meaning of this was, that during his lifetime there was a festival of the eleventh day of the moon. As the Brahman sat peeling a banana ready to eat it, a beggar came along hoping to get something to eat. The poor hungry beggar asked for something from him and he ate the banana and threw the peel to the beggar saying, 'Here eat this'. The beggar was so hungry that he took the peel to the river, washed it off and began to chew off the inside, took a drink of water, and went his way. For this reason the Brahman

found only the food which he could not eat when he got to the house of death. In his agony he remembered his daughter-in-law and appealed to her. She felt so sorry for him that the next day she sacrificed a storehouse of grain in the name of her father-in-law. So from that day the Brahman had food and did not appear in dreams any more.

There is an Assamese saying that,

‘A gift destroys distress,  
Bathing destroys sin,  
Give one measure of money and  
Receive a hundred-fold.  
There are no gifts in the house of death  
You receive just what you have given.’

N. C. DAS.

#### 24. WHAT DOES A NAME MEAN ?

There used to be a boy in a village who, no matter what work he was given, would do it very well and without a word of objection. As a result the people gave him the name Lotikai. So that even when he became a man the name Lotikai remained with him.

One day he decided that he would not remain in a village where everyone called him Lotikai but would go where no one knew his name. He soon left the village behind and walked for some time until he saw a strange tree by the side of the road. As he stood looking at it a man came along and he asked him, ‘I say, brother, what tree is this?’ ‘They call this the undying tree,’ he answered. ‘But,’ said Lotikai, ‘how is that? It is called the undying tree but see it is dying’. This puzzled him so much that he was still thinking of it when he came to a place where the water came gushing out of the ground. Then he saw a man and asked him, ‘What is this that the water comes gushing out like that?’ ‘Why? Don’t you know?’ he asked, ‘this is called an ooze’. This troubled him even more that it should be called an ooze when it came gushing up and out. ‘What a strange name to give it,’ he thought. He stopped the next man he met and asked him what his name was, to which the man answered, ‘My name is Dhonai’. ‘Then,’ said Lotikai, ‘you must be very rich’. But the man answered sadly, ‘No, my lord, to show you how poor I am let me tell you that I eat one meal and one I do not eat’.

This puzzled him still more so that he kept repeating to himself, ‘The undying dies, the ooze gushes, the rich man has not enough to eat. These names are absolutely the opposite to what the things really are’. Then he met an old woman with a basket on her hip. So he asked her, ‘Mother, where

are you going?' 'Son, I go to beg for food. Begging is the staff of my life. If I do not beg I must die,' she said. Now with these cases all before him he began to weave them into verse :

'The undying dies,  
The ooze gushes,  
The poor man is Dhonai,  
The daughter of Lakhmi<sup>1</sup>  
With her basket goes abegging,  
But where do I Lotikai go?'

Now that he began to understand that the name did not mean what the person was like but just the opposite he decided to return to his own village. Now the name Lotikai (vinelike) was no longer ugly to him and he did not mind hearing the people call him that.

N. C. DAS.

#### 25. THE TALE-BEARER.

This good man worked very hard to support his mother, his wife, and children. Every day he walked seven miles to his work. He worked on a farm where they cultivated many different kinds of grains and fruits. He used to bring some of the seeds home and plant them in his own garden. So that together with his salary he had his grain, so he became quite wealthy.

One day a man came to their home while he was away and began to talk with the mother saying, 'Mother, you should do something about your son. He has a very bad smelling breath. This is a sign of a very bad illness which, if not cured, may kill him'. On the other hand, he also spoke to the son saying, 'Brother, do you know that nowadays your mother has a very bad disposition and I am afraid of her? If she gets a chance in the evening while she is sitting in the cook-house she will say, "Let me see your face" and will eat that person alive'.

The doubt which this evil man had put into the mind of the old lady about her son worried her so that she wished to go to him to see for herself. He had also poisoned the mind of the son so that he feared his mother. The mother's love overcame her so that she could not wait for her son's return. She took her cane and started on the long walk, resting from time to time under a tree by the way. At last she arrived just at evening time. She went at once to the cook-house to bathe and massage her tired feet. The son, coming in from his work, also went to the cook-house to wash his feet. The mother was so eager to see if her son really did have a bad

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<sup>1</sup> Goddess of wealth.

breath said, 'Son let me see your face'. She put her hands around his neck and drew him down so that she might smell his breath. But because of the words of the tale-bearer the sight of his mother's face with her mouth slightly opened in her eagerness to smell his breath frightened him. 'Maybe it is really true then that she will eat me,' thought he. Crying out 'Oh! My!! she will eat me' he struck her such a blow that the old lady, weak and tired from her long walk, fell dead at his feet. He had struck with all the force of one afraid of his life. Then he looked at her face and realized what he had done. It was with great sorrow and weeping that he performed the funeral rites for her.

A snake is evil,  
 A tale-bearer is evil,  
 Both are alike deceitful,  
 But the tale-bearer is worse,  
 Much more wicked than a snake,  
 By medicine or magic a snake can be controlled,  
 But the tale-bearer can by no means be controlled.

N. C. DAS.

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## 26. FATE.

A son may be a soldier, or he may be a leader, or he may be rich, or he may be handsome one never knows.

Once there was a man who had four sons. The eldest one was a great leader and would always be found where there were crowds. The second was very handsome and loved to dress in nice clothing. The third son seemed to be simple and liked to just wander about from place to place. The fourth boy seemed to have none of these special qualities but worked in the fields from early morning until evening.

One day when he was returning home, tired from his day's work, the thought came to him, 'There are four men and their wives who eat but I am the only one who works. If we four brothers would all work just think how much we could raise!' With this in mind he spoke to his brothers when he reached home. The elder brother said, 'Come let us all four get into a boat and go to another town and see what each of us can bring back'. So the next day they took the boat and went to the town where the King lived. They fastened the boat to the wharf and sent out the youngest one saying, 'Now you go into the town and let us see what you will find'. He left the boat and went into the town and since he was a farmer he soon noticed a man hoeing and went to him asking, 'What can you give me? Can you give me some food because there are a number of us who have come?' The man marked off a piece of ground and

said, 'If you will hoe this piece then I will get some food for you'. The young man said, 'Yes, I will do the hoeing, you go now and get the food'. So the man went home and took a measure of rice, a red pumpkin, another kind of pumpkin, a handful of fish, oil, salt, peppers, etc. This he made into a bundle and gave to him. He took his reward and returned to the boat, very happy to show his brothers.

They decided that the next day they would send the third son, the simple one, out to see what he would bring back. He was up early and away almost before it was light. As he walked along he saw two men who seemed very busy binding up something into a bundle to be carried on the head. Just then he cleared his throat very loudly and the two men were so frightened that they left the bundles and ran away as fast as they could. The simple fellow took the bundles one at a time and carried them back to the boat. The two men having killed a man had stolen all of his jewellery, clothing, and valuables and thought they had reached a safe place where they could bind them into bundles. How true it is that a thief is himself robbed, and the hornet stings the wood and hurts only himself.

Then the second son, the handsome one, was sent out. He dressed in his best and looking his handsomest he walked with great dignity towards the city. Suddenly the King's daughter, on her way down to the river to bathe, saw this handsome man. She thought him so very beautiful that she fell in love with him at once and instead of going to take her bath she returned home greatly troubled. Later when she did not come to eat her meal the King was greatly disturbed and sent in search of her. They found her at last in a very melancholy state. She refused to be comforted so the King and the Queen asked what she desired and why she had entered this state. Then she said, 'This morning when I was going down to bathe I saw a very handsome man. I shall not eat unless you bring that man and let me marry him'. The King sent his men out and soon found the man whom they brought to the palace and the couple were married. The King gave such an enormous dowry with the princess that boat-load after boat-load was sent and the animals had to be driven. There were elephants, camels, cows, horses, goats, etc., being taken in droves along the river bank.

The last one to go was the eldest brother who left their boat to show what he could bring back. As he walked along towards the market he was wondering, 'Let us see what I can bring back'. In the road ahead he saw a large group of people who seemed to be discussing some important matter. As he listened it seemed that they were not able to decide anything, so he sat down and asked them to tell him the whole matter from the beginning. Then the leader of the group began to tell him that 'There is a woman who seems to have two husbands and they both claim that she is their wife. We are not able

to decide which one is her real husband whom she married. Some months ago her husband took his small stock of goods in his boat and with his oarsmen started down the river to trade. Two or three weeks afterwards he came back saying, "As I was on my way I met some robbers who killed my oarsmen, took all of my goods, and it was only by good luck that I escaped with my life". The wife said, "What is money and goods? Let those things go. The important thing is that your life has been spared. We have enough. If you live we shall manage". But this week another man comes home and says he is her husband. He says he has been trading and brought home many things and finds another man in his house who claims to be his wife's husband. So he has called this council to decide who is the rightful husband. The two men are the same in complexion, the same features, the voice and manner of speaking is the same, so we have not been able to decide anything. The new leader, in order to get at the inner truth of the matter, asked someone to bring an earthen water-pot. Then he said, 'Now the woman belongs to the one who can get inside of the water-pot'. The man who had just come and who had been trading lost all hope of getting his wife. But the man, who came home first, came and said, 'I can do that' and quickly entered the pot. The leader then thrust a big piece of wood in the mouth of the pot, made a fire, and set the pot upside down over the fire. After a while when the fire died down they looked into the pot to find a badly charred raven. They called the other man and told him, 'Now we know that he was only an evil spirit and the woman is yours. He has been able to assume your shape and live with your wife all of this time and has been able to throw sand in the eyes of all the villagers even. But some day even a thief will meet his match and this one has met his end as you see'.

Everyone was so happy at the way the difficulty had been settled that they told the husband to find some suitable reward for this excellent judge. So the husband gave the half of all his wealth and escorted him back to his boat with great joy. The next day the four brothers loosed their boat and started home with their goods which they had received. A few days later they reached their own village and sent word to their wives who came down to help them bring in the gifts. The youngest and his wife were able to carry all the rice, vegetables, and food in the one trip. The third son, the simple one, and his wife had to make two trips to carry off all the things the thieves had left. The second, the handsome one, and his wife had to make many trips to carry all that he had received and besides that he had brought home a princess. The cattle which had been driven along had already arrived. The boatmen had to help the eldest brother and his wife to carry the many loads of things he had received. They had all been asked by the eldest not to use any of their goods until they had met and

decided what to do. When they met the eldest brother asked, 'Now, brother, do you still wish to live separately?' The youngest brother answered at once, 'No, I do not', as he was very happy to share with the others.

N. C. DAS.

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## 27. THE CAT AND THE DOG BOTH GAIN.

Once there was an old man and his wife in a village who had raised an owl for their pet. The old man used to do his farming as the owl told him. At the beginning of every year the gods used to hold a meeting to discuss whether they would send rain or not and where to plant the rice to get a good crop. This owl used to go every year and sit under the seats and listen to all that was said and then he would come and tell the old man about it. That is, he would tell the old man that this year there would not be much rain so he should choose a low piece of land and plant his rice there. Then the old man would go and start to plow a low piece of land. When his neighbours saw this they would call out to him, 'Old man, why do you cultivate there? That is very low land and when the rains come there will be eight or nine feet of water there. Even if you do plant your rice there you will never get a crop'. The old man would only answer, 'This low piece of land was not being used and so I thought "let us see what it will raise this time if I cultivate it"'.

The village people thought of him as a very simple old man. However, when the rain did not come and no one was able to plant, the old man's rice grew beautifully and he and his wife filled their barns with the rice from their fields. Another time the owl would tell the man to cultivate a very high piece of land. Then, too, the villagers would tell him that he would never get a crop on such high dry ground and would talk among themselves about his being a bit crazy. But again they found that at harvest time his crop was very good and he had all the rice he could store. While the other villagers who planted on the lower ground lost everything when the floods came. The old man had plenty while everyone else had nothing.

The gods became interested in the fact that the old man always had a good crop and decided to make themselves visible and visit the old man in his home. Of course the old owl heard this too and said to the old man, 'Now when these gods come to your house, plant a row of banana trees on each side of the path leading from your gate to the house and sweep the ground very well, spread down mats and on top of them spread a cloth. Then each of you with a jug of water in your hands stand on either side of the gate to wait for them. When they come, first fall down and worship them, then wash their feet, and lead them

on the cloth to the house. If you do all of these things then you will find favour in their sight, but if not, they will send misfortune to you'. So the old man and his wife did just as the old owl had said and they stood by the gate, each with a jug of water waiting for them. In a short time the gods came and the old couple fell down in worship, washed their feet, led them on the covered path to the house, and seated them with great reverence. Everything went well until they saw the owl. Then one of them said, 'Well! now I begin to understand who has done all these things. You, owl, have told the old man where to plant. From now on you shall not live in men's houses and you shall be able to say two words only. The only words you will say will be "Sur, sur (Thief, thief)" and the second will be "Niyu, niyu (I take)". You will no longer be able to tell men what you hear. Now fly away from here'. From that day the old man had to suffer his losses as well as enjoy his gains as other men since he was as blind as they as to the future. His bird could no longer help him.

N. C. DAS.

#### 28. DIWALI (THE LIGHT FESTIVAL).

Once there was a merchant living in a village with his wife and only son. His house was small and so too was his shop, but he never seemed to lack anything he wanted for his family. One day he was ill and could not go to his work. That night he called his wife and told her that he was going to die. He asked her to be sure to tell their son about the lights. He told her that the god Yama would come for him but that she was not to weep or feel sad as all would go well if they would only remember the lights.

Nevertheless the poor widow did feel very lonely after her husband's death. What should she do and how would she be able to raise her son now? The boy was still only a child so she went with him to the shop every day and was surprised to find how much money she had at the close of the day. The boy too was very happy to be in the shop and soon learned to care for it very well. But still she worried about how she would buy the new goods when these were all sold.

She did remember the lights and the boy was delighted to keep the little lamps filled with oil at first but later became sleepy. When his mother came later she found him sitting there fast asleep. She was frightened and quickly filled the lamps that were empty but there were a few still burning. But she need not have been so worried for the goddess of wealth, Lakhshmi, had come in while the boy slept and blessed both the house and the shop. Their shop still continued to prosper and the other merchants began to wonder how a woman and a small boy could make anything.

When the time came again for the lights to be put out the mother in her gratitude put out more and they kept them well filled. The merchants were watching to see why they kept these lights but they did not see when the goddess entered. They did hear the mother when she came and again found her son fast asleep. She roused the boy telling him that he must remember to keep the lights burning. 'If the lights go out then the goddess may not find her way into our home or may pass by our shop and then we will suffer.' The boy put fresh oil in the lamps and the merchants went off to their homes saying that they too would worship this goddess and they too would put out lights another year so that their shops might be blessed.

JANE SYMON.

This festival comes every year and we receive an invitation from the shopkeepers to come and enjoy their hospitality. It is one of the most beautiful festival I have seen. The Assamese people are very clever in arranging the lights in all kinds of fancy patterns and how they can get these tiny clay lamps to give the impression of lights hung in mid-air I do not know. The potter has a good business at this time of the year as all these little clay lamps not bigger than the palm of your hand but about an inch deep must be bought new. It is well worth one's time to walk about to see all of the different places so beautifully decorated with lights.

The festival takes place during the dark of the moon about the last of October or first week of November. The date of the invitation I have with me is October 31st, 1929. The cloth shops are all owned by men from Marwar. This to them is a new business year. They have closed their business for the year and decorate the shop with the most gorgeous silks, great mirrors, lovely lamps, and flowers to give it all just that artistic look which they know so well how to create. The table in the centre of the room holds fruits, the lovely silver perfume container as well as spices, cigarettes, and the betelnut. Each guest is received and offered any and all of the kinds of refreshments and each is sprayed with, or touched with, the real 'attar of roses' or some other oriental perfume. When the guests leave they all wish the firm a prosperous year. It is expected that you will call on all of the firms where you have done business during the year and it is polite to call on any new business man. This is a festival to the business man's goddess, Lakhshmi, who grants success or failure for the firm.

In the village however, it is quite as important to keep this festival as for the town folk. We drove through a number of villages one year to see how they kept this worship of Lakhshmi. It was beautiful to see the tiny lights in among the trees, for there is not another light and these tiny lamps must be filled

often with mustard oil and the rag wicks kept pulled up so the tiny spark will keep alive. These must be kept burning all night because if they should go out then the goddess will turn away and you will fail in your attempts to raise a crop or to make a good bargain for your grain. This story seems to be common all over India but there are many versions of it. The ones in the villages have more to do with the crops and grain. The sacrifice takes place about one o'clock at night when the offering is made before the idol or picture of Lakhshmi. This lasts only for one night and must be all cleared by noon of the next day. The coming of the electric lights has somewhat taken the place of the beautiful lamps in the Bengali shops, but street lights are off for the evening. It is lovely to be in a town on the river banks for the festival as they set lights afloat in tiny boats made of banana leaves or the pith. I do not know of any other printed form of the story though many descriptions of it have been written.

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#### 29. SHOWERS OF GOLD.

An old man and his wife had seven sons. When the eldest son was married and brought his bride home they asked her to cook for them. After about two years the second son was married and brought his wife home. Now she was asked to do the cooking. In this way one by one they all were married and each new wife was asked to be the cook for the family. But when the seventh son brought his wife and she was asked to cook she said, 'I will be the cook but be it sister-in-law or brother-in-law or these whom I have taken to be my father and mother, if they come from the field or from any other work, whatsoever it may be, let them bring something in their hand. Should they not bring anything then I will not give them any rice to eat'. When they heard this everyone, great and small, began to complain, 'The work in the fields is so hard and where shall we get anything to bring home'. But the old man and his wife both said, 'This is a good plan and if I do not bring something home then do not give me anything to eat'. So it became a rule that no one of them could come home empty-handed. There is a saying that, 'He who wishes to eat and live, must attend to the calls of nature also'.

So it was that he who worked in the field would bring home a fish, some arum, some fern leaves, a bit of wood, etc. But whatever he brought he would place it in the courtyard and call out, 'Oh, bride, come out'. She would come out and receive whatever was brought, then they would go, have a bath, and come back to eat and rest. Then in the afternoon they went out to their work again. One day one of them could not find

anything to bring but saw a dead snake skin and decided to take that home. All of the others had nice things but all he had was this snake skin. When he gave it he said, 'I could find nothing else so have brought this'. She looked at it and said, 'Throw it on the roof of the house'. He was quite relieved and having taken his bath came back for his rice. Another day one could find nothing but some dung. So he took an arum leaf and carefully wrapped it up and took it home. The young wife was somewhat angry at this but told him to put it away very carefully in the cowshed, which he did, and after bathing was allowed to have his meal.

One day the King's daughter, when she went to the river to bathe, took off her necklace of gold and laid it on the sand while she went into the water. This bright shining thing caught the eye of a hawk who came down and caught it up in his beak and flew away. The princess sent a man to follow the hawk and try to recover her necklace. The hawk circled about for some time and at last came to rest on the roof of the old man's house. Here he saw the old dry snake skin and after looking at it for some time decided to take it and leave the golden trinket there. The man who was following the hawk arrived in the courtyard just in time to see the exchange. He shouted out to the old man, 'The hawk snatched up the princess' necklace and has dropped it on your roof. Will you please let me get it down so that I may return it to her?' The young wife came out and heard what had happened. She said, 'Unless you will give one-half of its value I cannot allow you to take it'. When the man ran to tell the princess she was very willing to give half the value and sent to her father for the money at once. When the man returned the young wife asked her husband to get the necklace down for him. The whole family was so pleased with the wise words of the young wife that they forgot all the unkind thoughts they had had and rejoiced in this new wealth.

About this time one of the King's enemies was successful in poisoning his food so that the King was about to die. Word was sent out that the only thing that could save the King's life was some twelve-year-old dung. Men were sent out to go from house to house in search of it and then they remembered that one of the sons brought in some a long time ago and put it in the cowshed. This they took to the palace and very soon the King was restored. As soon as the King was able he asked who had saved his life and the men told him that they found what they needed at the house of the old man with seven sons. The King caused his kingdom to be divided into four parts and bestowed one-quarter on the family as a sign of his appreciation. This increased still more the family pride in the young wife.

There was an old Brahman living in the village who, when he heard of the good fortune of the family, began to plan how, when the old man died, he would get a goodly portion of this

for his part in the funeral rites. He became anxious that the old man die soon but how was this to be brought about. So he went to the astrologer and explained his desire to him. The astrologer began to find out the good and bad omens that might influence the old man. Finally he smiled and said, 'There is one bamboo in particular that leans over the roof of his house. If you can get this without harming it in any way, take it home, dry it, and burn it, the old man will surely die and his wife too. Go now and do exactly as I have told you. Get only that one that hangs over the roof'. The old Brahman did not wait but went straight to the house of the old man. When he entered the courtyard the old man greeted him with, 'Well, my Lord, what can be your business today?' The Brahman answered at once, 'You have something which I need very much. I see that you have many bamboos and there is one which leans over the roof, I need a bamboo like that very much'. 'Well, when the boys come in from work I will have them cut it for you'. As they sat waiting for the sons to come in from work they talked of many things. But as soon as they did come the father asked them to cut the bamboo for the Brahman. They said, 'What could you do with that one? Why not take a good one? This one is so crooked it is of no use', when they saw which one they were to cut. 'But I need one that is bent like that,' answered the Brahman. Just as the boys cut the bamboo the old brown cow in the shed became restless and the young wife went out to set her free. She went straight to the newly cut bamboo and began to eat the leaves. The Brahman picked up his bamboo and carried it home. Then he split it and placed it in the sun to dry. In a few days it was dry and he watched it burn with great satisfaction. But even though he waited he received no word of the old man or his wife's death. He then went back to the astrologer and told him all that he had done but it brought no results. 'But,' said the astrologer, 'you say that when the bamboo was cut the brown cow came and ate some of the leaves. I told you that you were to bring it to your house without harming it in any way. This you have not done. Now if you can bring away the cow then your desire will be fulfilled, but if not, it cannot be done'.

The Brahman then instructed his son what to say and do and took him with him to the old man's house. The boy at once began to shout saying, 'Oh father, ask the old man to give me the brown cow. I want her'. Hearing this the old man told his sons saying, 'The Brahman's son wishes to have our brown cow. I think he especially wants the calf. What shall we do?' The sons said, 'Give her to him. Take her son'. When they went to the shed there stood the brown cow with the tears running down her face. Then the young wife came out, took a new towel from her pocket, and wiped the tears from the cow's face and put the towel back in her pocket. Then one of

the sons led the cow out of the shed and gave her to the Brahman's son. They went off home happily. But after a week when there still was no news of the old man's death they did not know what to do. The Brahman could endure it no longer and went again to the astrologer. The astrologer looked at him kindly but said, 'How many times must you bother me? Why do you not complete the thing at once? You worry me. The cow cried when you talked of taking her, didn't she? Then the young wife went out and wiped the tears with a towel and put the towel back in her pocket. Now you must get that towel if you desire the death of the old man'. Immediately the Brahman returned home and began to instruct his son what to say. The two of them again called on the old man and again the son called out, 'Father, that day when we took the brown cow the daughter-in-law wiped the tears off her face with a towel and took it back into the house. I must have that towel'. The old man could not see why he should not have it, so ordered his daughter-in-law to give the towel to the boy. She brought out the towel but the boy said it was not the one. Then another and he said it was not that one, until at last she brought out the one that had been used. She broke off a couple of threads and handed it to the boy who was so pleased that they soon went home. This time they were sure that within the week the old man would die. But he lived on and the Brahman went again to the astrologer. After he explained everything the astrologer looked at his book and said, 'You did bring the towel but the wife broke off two or three threads and swallowed them. So now you must kill the young woman before the old man will die'. Then the Brahman went home very sad but at last he thought up a plan. When he again called on the old man he was received with such respect and given the seat of honour. The old man asked, 'My Lord, what words do you bring today?' 'I have come to try to save you and your family from a very great danger. A great misfortune is coming to you and we must think of some way of escape. Your youngest daughter-in-law is expecting a child, is she not? I have had a vision in which I have been warned that your daughter-in-law is about to give birth to a monster, one who will eat human flesh. When he is born he will eat you and your wife first and then your sons and their wives and his own father and mother and then he will eat the neighbours. After that he will eat anyone he finds until all are destroyed. Therefore you must employ every means possible to prevent this'. The old man took all this in simple faith and went at once to try to find some means of killing his daughter-in-law.

In the evening when the sons all came in from work he called the youngest one aside and told him about this awful thing that was about to befall them. The only way for them to escape was for the young husband to kill her before she gave birth to

this monster. He also promised his son that if he would do this to save them then he would get him another beautiful wife. After they had eaten their rice the young man took his knife and began to sharpen it. His wife watching him said, 'That is so sharp that one could easily cut a man in two with it. It is not necessary to sharpen it any more'. 'I noticed that the jungle was very thick at the back of the garden and it will take a sharp knife to cut and clear that.' After that he took a couple of chews of 'pan', worshipped his God, and went off to bed. He waited until he was sure that his wife was asleep. Then he took out the knife and went over to her. Then just as he raised his knife the flare of the lamp seemed to chuckle saying; 'You will never get it, you will never get it'. Two or three times he raised his knife and lowered it again. Then his wife wakened and saw him there, ready with the knife in his hand. She jumped up from her bed and threw her arms about his neck crying, 'Why did you not kill me while I slept?' Then the young man's heart melted and he told her that they must leave. 'If we stay in this house I must kill you. We had better both of us go away at once.' So they gathered a few things and tied them into a bundle and left the house together.

The next morning when the pair were not to be found the family began to grieve, especially for the young son. A short time after that the old man died and his wife soon followed him, leaving the family sad indeed. The old Brahman came and performed all of the funeral rites and received much money and gifts. There is a saying like this, 'Potatoes seek curry, Brides seek a bridegroom, Brahman and vultures seek the dead, Astrologers seek the sick'. After this one misfortune after another came to the family until the six brothers and their wives became so poor that they did not have enough to eat.

Now let us turn to the younger brother and his wife. They entered deeper and deeper into the forest until it came time for the birth of the child. The woman said that she must rest there under the tree as her time was near. The husband said he would go on to the stream and get some water for her. But on his way the words of the Brahman came back to him. 'Your wife will give birth to a demon who will eat you all.' Then he thought, 'Now he is about to be born and if I am there he will surely eat me. Well, now that I have come away I shall stay away. I shall not go back'. So he followed the stream on and on. The young wife calling upon her God was left alone in the midst of the forest to give birth to her beautiful son. She waited for a very long time for her husband to bring the water to bathe the boy and had given up hope of getting it. Just then the great Lord Krishna and Parbhati were passing that way in their chariot. When Parbhati saw this woman she called out to the Great One, 'Stop the chariot and see what has happened. Let us see if we can find some help for her'.

Then the Great One said, 'Devi, how you do keep me going here and there to do things. There you had to bring a house for an elephant, then to keep watch over the tigers and bears. Then I had to make the long-horned buffalo give milk to feed the monkeys. I stole food from men's houses to feed other monkeys. Here I shall have to stay until the boy can walk'. When the child was a little larger she and her son bade Krishna and Parbhati a fond farewell and went to seek shelter from the people in a village. She found a place with a widow. Now this woman was barren and was also a widow. When she went out in search of food and rice she used to tell the woman that if the baby had a bowel movement she was not to wash him but that she herself would wash him when she returned. The widow answered angrily, 'Oh mother, do you think I am a servant that I would clean up for other peoples' children? Even if you had not have told me I should not have bathed him'. After a little while the baby's mother went to the village for rice and oil for her meal. When she returned she found that the widow had bathed the baby. So she asked her, 'Why did you bathe the baby? You said that you did not wish to care for another's child'. She said that she had done nothing with the baby. Why should she bathe him? 'Just as boiling water makes a noise, so those who live in another's house become dependent,' said she. The mother made no answer.

The widow had not thought much about the baby until the mother told her not to bathe the baby and then she became curious. The more she thought of it the more she wished to know, so she decided to examine the baby and she was surprised at what she found. The child had had a bowel movement but she did not find ordinary excretions but bits of gold which she took and put away very carefully. She was afraid that the mother would return any moment, so she had to work very quickly. The next day when the mother had gone out for her rice and supplies, one of the late King's ministers came to the village in search of a likely child who might become the future ruler, as the King had died without an heir. Royal servants had been sent throughout the kingdom to search for a boy who might become the future king. When the minister saw this baby he decided that here was one who should be chosen. When he asked who was the child's mother the widow said that it was her child. So the minister took the woman and child with him back to the palace. When the mother had obtained enough rice and other food she returned to the house to find her baby gone. The widow was also gone and when she asked the neighbours they told her all that had happened during her absence. She ran straight to the King's palace and finding the widow began to scold her.

This of course attracted a great deal of attention and the officials tried to send this unknown woman home. At last they

decided to put the two women in the same room for the night and stationed two faithful men as a secret guard to listen and try to gain information. The widow woman said, 'They came to the house in search of a boy child and when they saw the baby they seemed to be pleased with him. Then I thought they will take him to become the future king and so I said I was the baby's mother. I have suffered so much and have cared for you and the baby all of this time, so why shouldn't I have a little comfort and ease in my last days. Now you have no gratitude for all I've done for you but try to take the little happiness I get away from me'. The mother answered, 'I do not wish to give anyone trouble nor do I have the power to give them happiness. Under what trying circumstances did I give birth to my son. How much we have endured together since? Now you knowing some of this would take him as your son and leave me empty. What shall I say? My heart is broken. I never thought you would do this to me'. So throughout the night the two women talked.

The next morning the guards reported the conversation to the officials. The officers were quite convinced that the woman who came alone was the real mother. They called the two women and told them that it was impossible that they both were the mother of the child. They said, 'We feel sure that the woman who claimed the child and was brought in by the minister is not his mother. She only said, "He is my son", because she thought he was to become the King and if she claimed to be his mother she could live at ease the rest of her days. We know that the woman who came later is the mother who suffered to give birth to the child and has endured much that her child might have food and shelter. We have decided to keep this woman, the true mother, here at the palace to care for him. Now you must leave the city at once and go back to your own village and stay'. The mother, with deep gratitude and such tenderness that there could be no doubt, received her son into her arms.

As the boy grew he soon made friends with other boys and used to enjoy playing with them. As children often do, they would sometimes in their play offend each other. When they were offended they used to call this child 'the boy without a father'. So one day he went crying to his mother saying, 'Where is my father? The boys call me, "the boy without a father"'. The mother's heart was very troubled because of her son's words but decided to tell him the whole truth in a story form. The boy was so surprised at the greed of the Brahman, the lack of love and courage of his uncles and especially his father, and the deceitfulness of the barren woman who was so eager for a little fame. Of course all this was in the past and so was beyond his control but he began to think of some way by which he could find his father. He must find where his father was, now that he knew something of what had happened.

The mother and son between them finally decided upon a plan which might help them. If they were to offer more money than the usual rate for some work then men from many parts of the kingdom might come. In this way they might find some one who could tell them of the father or they might be lucky enough to find the father. They decided to have a very large tank dug and they would pay the men who came to work ten times more than for other work and they were to receive their money, ten rupees, each evening. So the call for workmen was sent out and many poor men came to work for the King. Each evening the men came and stood in line to receive the day's wage. The mother had planned that they were to enter one door which she could see from her place behind the curtain and go out by another door. Thus she could see each and if any one were to be questioned they would ask them to wait inside. So the boy gave out to each man until seven men came together and the mother from her hiding place asked him to delay paying these men. As they entered the boy asked them to sit and wait until the others had received.

They were very surprised and began to plead with him saying, 'Great King, we have laboured all day and are hungry. If you will grant us our money now we may still go to market and buy food'. The King's only reply was, 'I shall not delay you long. Only wait and let me finish with these first'. Then they began to wonder and feared that there might be some danger near. They whispered to each other saying, 'What will he do with us? Why did he keep us and not the others?'

When he had finished with the others he went to his mother who told him, 'Those six are your uncles but that one, do you see him, the youngest one, is your father. Do not let them go home now. Tell them to have their baths and change their clothing as they are to stay here for the night and will have their food here'. So he returned to them and gave the message. The seven men went to bathe while his mother cooked the food for them and when they returned she served them. So as she served them she asked the one, 'Have you married? Have you any children?' The youngest one answered, 'Yes, I married, but there was some trouble about it'. 'What kind of trouble came to you? Tell us about it,' she said. He did not wish to tell but since the mother of the King had asked he felt he should. He began at the beginning to tell how the Brahman had sown doubt in his mind and how his father had told him what he must do. When he was nearly finished the young King could wait no longer and interrupted with, 'Tell me. Am I a demon or a man?' The man was astonished but answered at once, 'Your Honour, you are a man. Who says you are a demon?' 'But you believed the Brahman and at the time of her greatest need you left your wife alone in the jungle. Were you not a coward to do that?', asked the young King.

Then the mother made herself known to them. The brothers were very pleased and remembered how they used to come in and how she used to serve them.

Then the six brothers began to tell her what had happened after she left them, saying, 'After you and your husband left our house father died and mother followed him in a short time. The Brahman who performed the funeral rites took what he desired. What happened to the remainder we do not know but in a very short time it was all gone. We had to work here and there in order to get money enough to feed our families'. The mother was so surprised that she said, 'Then it was the Brahman who said that I must be killed. He found it necessary to get me out of the way so that he could kill the old man and his wife, did he? Of course when they died he could conduct the funeral and get a great amount of money for it and fulfill his heart's desire. But see what happened to the rest of you. Even though you did try to cut me in two, God has saved me and my baby and has given me great happiness. Now will you all come here and live with us? I shall be happy to have you and shall see that no harm comes to you as long as I live.'

The wives of the six brothers had heard from other workmen of the village that they had seen the youngest brother and that they were sure the brothers too had seen him. The wives then began to weep as their husbands had not returned and they feared some accident. They were very sad as their husbands had not returned and there was no money to buy food.

The six brothers were so pleased to see their younger brother and began to ask him about himself as they waited for their money. They told him, 'Our father and mother have both died. Since then all of our wealth has gone we know not where. We must go out working as servants in order to get money to buy food for our families'. He then told them about himself saying, 'When we left we went into the jungle and walked for days. When it came time for the child to be born my wife lay down under a tree and I told her I would go to a stream nearby and get some water for her. As I went along I could not but remember what the Brahman had said and became frightened. When I got to the stream I decided that this was a chance to escape and went on, never returning to see how my wife was. Since then I have worked for my food in different places'. The villagers went on to tell the wives that, 'Last evening we all went to the King's palace to receive our money. When the seven brothers went in he asked them to wait. We do not know what will be their fate'. The six women fasted all night long waiting for their husbands' return.

The next day when the six brothers returned to their homes they found their wives in tears. But there were soon smiles when they heard from their own husbands that they had found

the younger one and that the mother of the King was the youngest daughter-in-law. That when they had been detained they had been given food which she had prepared. That while they were eating she had made herself known. 'She has requested that we bring all of our families and come to live with her and says that as long as she lives we shall lack nothing. She wishes us there where she may look after our welfare. Now eat something and then we must put our things together as we must go at once.' So in a short time they were ready and all went to the King's palace to live.

N. C. DAS.

### 30. THE VILLAGE OF MULANATH.

In a certain country there was a village by the name of Mulanath. All of the shops of this village were run by men who were under the King and anything one wished to buy must be bought from one of the King's shops. They all wished to gain as much as they could for the King. If a stranger came they would try to get all he had to put into the King's treasury. Thus the King had a great collection of very curious things, and every one who saw them was very much astonished. One thing was a stone boat which when one got into it would go about all over the tank. Another was a very unusual tree that would blossom, bear fruit, mature the seed, and even the seed sprout and grow while one watched. As all the strange merchants saw these things they were very pleased and would praise the King for having had such a privilege. They all said that never in all their life had they seen such things. Then the King would ask, 'What strange things have you seen?' Then the stranger would tell all the wonderful things he had seen. The King would ask, 'Can you show me those things?' Of course the men were sure that they could and if they could then they were allowed to come and go and trade freely, but if not, the goods would all be taken and put into the King's treasury and the men held as captives.

These traders had seen those things and so were very sure they could show the King as well. But when they tried to find them either they could not find the place or the wonders would not appear. Of course the King knew that these things were not real but appeared to be real to the strangers. So as many as went to that village to trade all met the same fate.

One day an old merchant called his son and told him to trade any place but never to go to the village of Mulanath as there was no chance of gain in that village. The following year the old man died leaving all of the wealth to his son. The young man began to think of the trade and especially of this village where it was said to be impossible to gain. He decided that

he would like to see the place, so prepared his boat for the journey. He loosed his boat and started downstream but was surprised to find himself entering the village he sought so soon. As he came near the docks a white rice bird flew over. When he had fastened his boat he saw a washerman who was washing the King's clothing. When he spoke to him the washerman told him that he watched the rice bird and washed the King's clothing until it was as white as the bird's wing. The merchant then asked, 'If this is your bird, why do you not keep it more carefully? Your bird has eaten the spawn which my fish have laid. Make your bird give me back the spawn or we shall not have any fish in February (Magh)'. The merchant had brought some special sengra fish there to spawn. So the merchant took the spawn away from the bird. Now the poor washerman was undone because he said the bird was worth one hundred thousand rupees.

Soon after he left the docks the merchant met a blind man who said, 'Merchant, your father took my eye to sell and he said as he left me, "I'll send your eye back with my son, or I'll send a lac of rupees". Now give me the eye or the money'. Then the merchant answered, 'I have brought your eye now. You may either take out your bad eye and put this in or I will do it'. The blind man was not willing to do either and so quickly left the merchant.

Now the merchant had been successful in these first two trials but the third and harder one was to come. This was to play cards with the King. The King explained before they started that the stakes were to be high. If the King won the merchant would lose all of his wealth and himself become the King's servant. If the merchant won then all of the former merchants who had been kept prisoners and whose wealth was put into the King's treasury were to be his. They sat down to play and fastened the light on the back of the King's pet rat. The King had a secret way by which he could always win, so the merchant had brought a pet cat with him under his shawl. Just as they started to play the merchant let the cat out so the rat could see it and off went their light. When they had gotten a light again the merchant had arranged everything so that when they played he won. The King wished to play again thinking that another time he would surely win but the merchant said he had won and would not give in. So by winning the game he won the freedom of the others and all of their wealth. He returned to his home rejoicing that he had gained where his father had said there could be no gain.

N. C. DAS.

## 31. DISGUISE.

Once there was a man who had such a bad character that his neighbours could not endure him. At last the men of the village took sticks and drove him away. After having received so much punishment he began to think as he walked along toward another village. Finally he decided, 'If I do live in this village, as I did in my own, they too may drive me away. If the people who have always known me became so angry that they drove me out, what about these strangers? As it is my life is of little value. I think I shall sit like a priest and I shall mumble prayers and they will think that I am a holy man and they will honour me. They will give me food and I shall be able to eat all I want and live without working'. So he dressed himself in rags, found a cord which he put on in the approved manner and went along the way mumbling. When the people of the village saw him they thought him to be a holy man and bowed before him, brought him food and offerings.

But one day a man from his own village saw him and heard that he only mumbled the prayers. When he went to him he said,

'Count your prayers with great austerity,  
As the foam rises on the Lohit.

That you may become religious,  
How are you now?'

'I am thus now,  
That in the future I may be religious.  
I was unable to endure it  
So I do this.

The people think me a priest.'

Hearing this the man walked away and left him.

N. C. DAS.

## 32. HOLY DAY AND UNHOLY DAY.

Once there was a king who had an only son. He used to keep a low caste boy as a companion to care for and play with his son. When the people saw them they always saluted the young prince but they did not like to salute the low caste boy who was always with him. At last they told the young prince that he should not have this boy with him so much, because if he continued to allow him to sit with him everywhere they could not honour the prince without seeming to honour the servant too. The young prince thought this over very seriously and at last decided to tell his companion that he wished to travel alone and see the world. But the boy answered

very obediently that he would be willing to go any place and would not think of letting him take such a journey alone. So they started off together to visit different parts of the kingdom and see the world.

One day as they travelled they came to a lovely palace. This was the palace of a friendly king whose daughter had been promised to the prince. When the girl's mother saw him she was very eager to know how he had come without being announced and where he came from. The prince told how he had visited his own kingdom and then had gone to other places to see something of the world. The future mother-in-law urged him to stay on for a time. The king too later talked with him saying that now that he was here they might as well have the wedding. The prince consented and soon the arrangements were made. His companion watched all of this with great interest. Soon after the wedding the prince wished to take his bride to his father's palace and planned the return journey. The companion, of course, went with the bridal pair as they began their return trip.

As they went the companion was trying to think of a plan whereby he could get this girl for his own. Then he remembered that the prince was very particular about the auspicious and inauspicious days. So he called out, 'Oh prince, is this an auspicious day?' To which the prince answered, 'This is an auspicious day and anyone who makes it otherwise will be destroyed'. 'Then if everyone says it is an auspicious day that is well. But if someone says it is not, what will you give me?' 'If anyone says that it is inauspicious then I will give you what I have on', answered the prince. Soon they saw an old man leaning on his cane and weeping as he came wearily down the road. As he came nearer they heard him saying 'My! My! what an evil day! That I should ever see the day when I should have to take a beating from a son!' The servant went to him then and asked, 'Would you say this is an auspicious day or an inauspicious day?' 'I say that it is very inauspicious that I, an old man, should receive punishment from my son,' answered the old man bitterly. When the prince heard this he was surprised but borrowing a cloth from his wife he at once took off his own clothing and gave it to the servant.

They walked on in silence but the low caste boy having won this victory was anxious to try his luck again. Again he asked the prince and the prince again answered, 'I say these are auspicious days and I still say so. They are not evil days'. 'Very well,' answered the companion, 'if the next person says this is an auspicious day I will give you back all the clothing I have on. But if they say it is an evil day what will you give me?' The prince said, 'I have nothing to give. I gave you all I had'. 'But your bride has a lovely chain about her neck. You could give that,' answered the covetous boy. 'My friend you have

been very bold to think of such a thing. Well, even that I will give if this is an inauspicious day,' answered the prince.

It was some time before they met anyone but when they did who should it be but an old woman. She too was weeping as she trudged along in the dusty road. The boy went to her and asked, 'Mother, do you say this is a good day?' The old woman answered, 'Son, evil certainly has a very strong hold on the world. What men are saying is true, that sons do not obey their fathers, disciples do not follow their masters, wives even disobey their husbands, and the young people disrespect their elders. My own children have scolded me and have turned me out of their houses. Now I must go about begging for food. These certainly are evil days'. Then the boy called to the prince saying, 'Did you hear what she said?' The prince answered, 'Yes, I heard and I am taking off the chain. Come and get it'. So the companion took the chain and tied it securely in the corner of his cloth. They talked of many things as they walked along but again the question of the days came up. The prince still held to his point saying, 'I have said and still say that this is a good day'. Then the friend said, 'I will ask again and if they say it is a good day then I shall give you back the chain. But if they should say it is an evil day, what will you give me?' The prince was puzzled and said, 'I have not a single thing to give. What do you expect?' Then the servant said, 'You do have your bride, do you not? You could give her if you are so sure'. The prince was surprised and asked sadly, 'So you have come to that, have you? Well, of course I do not hold my own life dear as against religion. This is an auspicious day'.

After some time they met a little child in the road. The little fellow was alone and without food, clothing or shelter. The companion went up to him and said, 'Son, is this a good or an evil day?' The child was uncertain but said, 'Well, from the way the people treat me and my own wretched condition, I would say that it must be an evil day.' This delighted the low caste boy so he called to the prince, 'Did you hear what the child said? Now you must give me your wife'. There was no other way out for the prince and he had to give her up. But the companion could not find courage to take the bride right before the eyes of the prince. He must think of some other way. So he said that he would try again and asked the same question of the prince. Again the prince said, 'I have given you everything that I have. Everything that I held dear you have. What more could you ask?' The boy said, 'You still have your eyes'. So the prince promised, 'Yes, I still say this is an auspicious day. I am willing to give my two eyes should I be wrong'.

Next they met a woman screaming and crying as she came. When they asked her she began to tell all of her troubles saying,

‘My! what shall I do? My husband does not love me. I work day and night to please him. I do not spare myself a bit. I do not get a bit of food for myself but even so he only listens to the relatives and accuses me all the time. He even beats me and now he has turned me out of his house. I have no father or mother, or brother or sister. Where shall I go and what shall I do? Where shall I die? Where is religion to allow such? There is no religion, all is gone and this is an evil day indeed’. The boy was so sure of his prize now that he shouted to the prince, ‘Now what do you say? She too says this is an evil day’. The prince only said, ‘I will give my eyes but not now. You know that if a young vulture has not eaten the flesh of man its wings will not grow and it cannot fly. See that nest over there in the tree. There is a young vulture which seems to be fully grown but he is not able to fly. Let us go there under the tree and you will put out my two eyes and the young vulture will eat my flesh and be able to fly’. So they all went over and the prince lay down on the ground ready to have his eyes out. The companion thought his heart’s desire was within reach as he went up to put out the eyes of the prince. The prince rolled in agony and the boy unable to endure the sight took the young bride and started away.

The young vulture left its nest and went out on a limb of the tree where it could better see what was going on below. When the mother vulture came back with food for her young one she was surprised to find that the young bird was intent on some thing on the ground. It said, ‘Look mother! What is the matter with that man?’ Then he told all that had happened to his mother. She said, ‘Now if someone does not heal this man’s eyes he will die. If he dies I shall not eat and I too shall die’. The mother hearing this went off in search of some herbs which she knew about and brought them back in her mouth and rubbed them into his eyes. The prince’s eyes were restored and when he recovered his senses he had a bit of the herbs in his hand. But then he discovered that even the cloth he had borrowed from his wife had been taken by the false friend and he was naked. He could not leave the place because he had no clothing.

Just then as he rested he saw a blind goat wandering about. When the boy came to get his goat he called to him to bring the goat close to the tree. When the boy brought it near, the prince applied the herbs to its eyes and it being healed ran off to its own house. The boy in astonishment ran after the goat but saw that it went straight home and that it could see. When he reached home the boy called out, ‘Mother, mother, there is a young man over there under the tree who rubbed something in our goat’s eyes and caused it to see’. The woman started at once to thank the young man. When the prince saw her coming he called out to her, ‘Mother, do not come near me as

I have no clothing on'. When she heard this she turned back to her house found some clothing which she brought and gave to him. She told him to put on this clothing and come to her house and she would give him food and shelter. When he came she said, 'Son, you have healed my goat of its blindness. What can I do for you? You must stay with us and let me give you food and shelter as long as you need'.

The news of the healing of the goat spread throughout the land and came at last to the ears of the king. Now the king was blind and had been so for many years. When he heard this good news he sent at once for the young man to come and bring his medicine. The young man approached the king with fear and trembling. But when the king heard his steps he called out, 'Doctor, I have not seen for many years. If you can heal my blindness then I shall give you the whole of my kingdom'. So the young man went near and the king permitted him to apply the herbs to his eyes and his sight was restored. In his joy he at once placed the young prince on the throne and ordered his elephants that he might go out to see his kingdom. When he returned he had a big wedding for his daughter and the young prince to whom he had promised to give her as soon as his sight was restored. Now he could take his ease and enjoy the rest of his life.

Not long after that the prince told his father, 'Father, I wish to have a very big tank made, for we need more water. I do not wish to do this without your permission and it will cost as much as rupees four hundred every day'. The old king answered, 'Son, I have told you that you may do just as you wish. I have no objection to this new tank'. The next day the prince called for one man from each village. Then he explained that he was to be the overseer for his village. He was to bring all the men of his village who had been married but had no children. He was to be very careful that there were no unmarried men and no men who had children in the group. This was all explained very carefully and the men were sent home to collect the men and bring them to work on the morrow.

In the evening the men came for their money passing in one door and out the other. The young king was busy giving out when one man said, 'Your Honour, I too have worked'. Then the king answered, 'This is not an auspicious day it is inauspicious. Sit down and wait a while. I cannot give to you just now'. So the king continued with the men for some time. Again the man spoke up and the king said, 'Be quiet. These are not good days'. When he had finished with all of the others he called a servant and asked him to bring a live coal. This was put into a large cooking vessel. This was placed on the head of the man and the overseer was ordered to take him throughout the village stopping at every door when the man was to call out, 'Today is an inauspicious day. Whoever says it

is auspicious must do evil work as his punishment'. The overseer was to beat him with a piece of rattan if he did not say it at every door.

Thus the overseer took him off but as they went the coal burned all of his hair and even his head. Later the king ordered that he was to be trampled to death by the elephants so that no one who called the day an evil day should live. Then he called the overseer and asked how long this man had lived in his village. The overseer fell on his knees and said, 'Your Honour, this man recently came to our village and I do not know who his people were or where he came from'. Then the king asked about his wife. Again the man fell on his knees to answer, 'Your Highness, I did see the woman but she did not seem to be happy. "A tiger and a black leopard will feed together but they will never agree" (The high and the low have little in common) is the way to express it. Just as Ram and Robin could never agree but always fought each other'.

Then the king said, 'From what you have said I can understand much. Now go to this house and say, "The one whom you married is now the king. The man who took you has been killed. The king orders you to come with me"'. The man bowed and left the palace. When he reached his village he went at once to the house of the woman to give the king's message. The woman was very willing to go to the palace with him when she had heard all. As soon as they entered the palace gates the prince saw them and came running to meet them. He embraced the woman and they both began to cry. He led her into the palace and sent word to the father. When the old king and queen heard the news they sent for them to come into the inner courts. The prince began at the beginning and told them all that had happened. Then he told of his joy at finding this his bride. Then the king and queen blessed them both and accepted her as another daughter. The young prince who was faithful to his auspicious days had been restored to life, had been made king, and had regained his wife. The one who held that the days were evil or inauspicious days had lost everything, even his own life. So they accepted the two queens. They asked the young king to love them and care for them equally so that neither would suffer because of the other.

N. C. DAS.

### 33. THE PROUD TOAD.

Once there was a toad who started out from his home for a long journey. As he went along the way he saw a two-anna piece on the ground. His eyes grew large as he picked it up and looked at it. He stopped in his tracks and just looked and looked at this wonderful thing. Some of his friends came

along and found him there in the middle of the road looking at the beautiful bright thing. They said, 'Stand aside and let us pass'. But he only answered, 'Just look what I have found!' Then his friends having admired it again told him to step aside as the trampling of so many feet, big and small, was dangerous. Someone might not see him and step on him and his life will be crushed out of him. But he had swelled himself up as big as he could in his happiness over the great treasure. He therefore paid no attention to the warning but went on dreaming of the future and how great he would be.

His friends went on their way but he was too absorbed. Many animals did come that way, both great and small, and among them was an elephant. He, of course, could not see the toad but planted his great feet firmly in the dusty road and one great foot landed squarely on the toad. What chance was there even for a proud toad who had found two annas? When the elephant passed by he lay in the dust as flat as his lovely two-anna piece.

JUGASWAR SAIKIA.

One hot summer evening about twenty girls and I sat on the grass and listened to this story as told by a man who had come to conduct our evening vesper service. While Jugaswar has not received much education in the schools still he is a keen observer and has learned much in the 'school of life'. He had been reminding the girls of his lack of education and told them he had a very humble message to give them. He asked them to remember that these blessings they had received were given so that they might be used. Then he told the story of 'The Proud Toad' to illustrate what comes to those who become 'puffed up with pride'.

The story was a new one to the girls as it was to me. Several of them spoke to me about it later saying what a good story it was. They said they would find it useful in their own lives and hoped to be able to help others by it.

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#### 34. ALL GOD'S WORKS ARE GOOD.

Once upon a time a blind man and a hunchback became very good friends. They went everywhere together. Neither of them could work so they used to go about from place to place begging. Whatever was given to them the lame man used to divide and give the blind man his share.

One day a woman gave them some milk. In the evening when they were sharing the things of the day the lame man asked the blind one if he wanted some of the milk. The blind man said, 'What's that you say "milk"? What is milk like?'

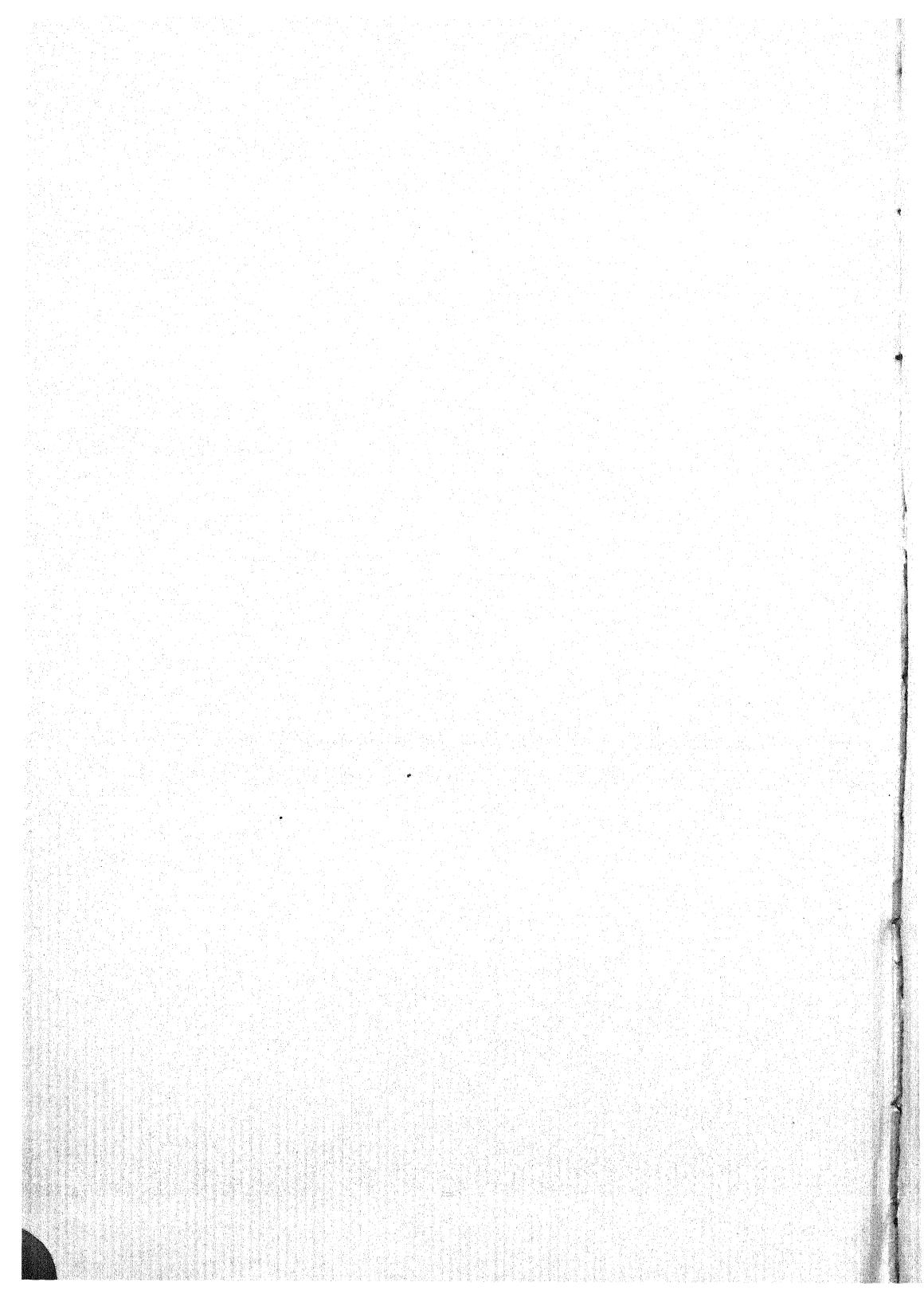
His friend laughed and said, 'It is white and moves as one who crawls'. 'Moves? How does it move? What is it like?' So the lame man put his finger into the milk and said, 'See it moves like this'. When the blind man took hold of his friend's hand and felt it carefully he said, 'Oh my, that long thing and it moves? How can one eat it? It seems to me that would stick in one's throat. You may eat that. I'll not take what I do not know or see'. So the lame man did drink all of the milk. As they lay down for the night he thought to himself, 'This blind man is a fool'.

Another day when they were begging they found a bag of gold in the road. The lame man kept thinking how lucky they were as this much gold would provide for them many days and they would not need to beg from house to house any more. So he said to the blind one, 'Oh, blind one! Today we have found gold, come let us sit down and divide it. You sit here'. As they sat facing each other the lame man dug a hole in the soft earth and put his share in it. Then he put the other pile out on the sand so that they would seem about equal. When he had it all done to his satisfaction he said, 'Now you choose which pile you want and take that and I will have the other'. The blind man put out his hand and felt about a little then said 'I shall take this', with his hand on that in the hole. The lame man said, 'Now I see I have made a mistake and the two are not the same'. He did not wish the blind man to know he had chosen the larger share. So he said, 'Wait, I shall do it better this time'. But each time the blind man chose the larger share.

Then the lame man decided that his friend was not really blind but had been deceiving him all these days. He was so angry now that he said, 'All right, you wait, I'll see to your blindness', and gave him such a slap on the cheek that the blind man was hurt. He stood up and struck the lame man such a blow on his back that it was straightened. Then he realized that his eyes were opened.

T. C. HANDIQUE.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

**IRĀQI: THE SONG OF LOVERS ('USHSHĀQ-NĀMA).** EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY ARTHUR J. ARBERRY. 8½×5. Translation pp. i-xxii, 1-84, and text pp. 1-99. Islamic Research Association Series, Bombay, Publication No. 8. Oxford University Press, 1939. Rs.5.

The text and translation of the 'Ushshāq-Nāma by Fakhrū'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm *ibn* Shāhriyār of Hamadān or 'Irāqī prepared by Dr. A. J. Arberry and published by the Islamic Research Association of Bombay is a very useful addition to the literature of the lesser known Persian poets of the 7/13 century.

'Irāqī's 'Ushshāq-Nāma is a treatise in ten chapters consisting of 66 sections of *Ghazals* (poems) and *Mathnawis* (verses) 'on the subject of Divine Love, the mystical-philosophical discourse being illustrated and enlivened with anecdotes of famous mystics and others'. With the text, which is based on a collation of four manuscripts, is issued the text and an abridged translation of an hitherto unpublished biography of the poet by some unknown author. The important variants in the four MSS. are published in an appendix of some 12 pages and a few useful notes regarding various important personalities referred to in the poem and special references to the Holy Qurān are also dealt with in a short section. The lithographed text, which is remarkably free from misprints, is a proof of the great labour expended in producing a faithful text both by the editor and the copyist. In trying to produce a 'faithful and literal' translation, the editor has, however, at times confused the sense of the original and the translation as a result does not conform closely to the Persian text. In a few passages of the translation such as in 'After wandering lost that day and night' (p. xv), apparently some words have been missed. On the whole, however, the work is a very valuable addition to the published texts of the period, and the editor deserves to be congratulated on his excellent performance. It would, however, have been useful if the editor had discussed at greater length the style, composition and the basic theme of the composition of 'Ushshāq-Nāma.

B. PRASHAD.

**ALIVARDI AND HIS TIMES:** By KALIKINKAR DATTA, M.A., Ph.D., Asst. Professor of History, Patna College. Published by the University of Calcutta. Royal Octavo, pp. xix + 306. There is a useful index at the end. No price is mentioned. Neatly bound in cloth. The book is evidently the thesis which won for the author the Doctorate of the University of Calcutta; but there is no express mention of the fact anywhere in the body of the book.

Dr. Datta is a quiet scholar and it is always a pleasure to read his contributions. They are always homely and plain and seldom brilliant, dealing most often with familiar subjects. But the honest industry of the author begins to incline the reader in his favour from the very first page of his books. The present monograph on Alivardi has all the above characteristics. It has been a pleasure to read it through and the profit and instruction gained is also very considerable. The reviewer could note only one notable omission. While the discussion on Hindu society is fairly satisfactory and readable, the author appears to have purposely omitted describing and criticizing Muslim society and the morals of the Muslim ladies and gentlemen of the period, probably under the apprehension that the community in Bengal may not at present be in a mood to appreciate such criticism. But that Dr. Datta does not lack historical insight is sufficiently indicated by the following able and spirited passage by which he pronounces on Alivardi's victory over Sarfaraz, his master's son:—

‘The political atmosphere of the time was utterly vitiated by the vices of inordinate ambition, treachery and ingratitude. Alivardi’s behaviour towards Sarfaraz, son of his benefactor to whom he was indebted for his early prosperity, was highly abominable . . . . A nemesis followed it when his favourite grandson Sirajuddaulah fell a victim to the same forces that had been used by him to overthrow Sarfaraz. It might be very well said that the battle of Palassey was the reply of historical justice to the battle of Geria.’ (P. 41.)

If the well-known portrait of Alivardi preserved in the palace of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad and reproduced in the book under review is a true representation of the great Nawab, he looks more like a soft-hearted poet than a stern administrator and we easily see in him the indulgent grandfather and the doting father. The purity of his personal character, which bears such a sharp contrast to the generality of characters of the period, is also found reflected in his mien. That such a man had to face the ravages of the terrible Maratha raids and ultimately had to take recourse to treachery to get rid of the Maratha general Bhaskar Pandit, is only a very sad feature

of the times. The scrupulous chivalry of Alivardi towards the captured female members of his enemies' families was a brilliant feature of his character. Alivardi's Begam is also brought out in a very pleasant light by the author:—

'Alivardi's Begam occasionally appeared on the battle-field with her husband and also "played the rôle of a supreme political officer in Bengal, whilst her husband fought the battles with the Marathas". She encouraged her husband when the latter gave way to despair. . . . Holwell writes about her: "A woman whose magnanimity, wisdom, benevolence and every amiable quality reflected high honour on her sex and stations. She much influenced Alivardi's Councils and was consulted by him in every material movement in the State except when sanguinary and treacherous measures were judged necessary, which he knew, she would oppose, as she ever condemned them when perpetrated . . . . predicting always that such politics would end in the ruin of his family".'

The noble soul of a pious and high-minded lady shines forth in the above picture and it is sad to ruminate that the offsprings of such a high-souled pair turned out so badly.

The conclusion of the author is worth quoting:—

'The period supplies a student of history with two important lessons. It shows that even in political circles crime begets crime and that a power gained by treachery and force cannot be a source of real peace and happiness to a usurping adventurer or his family. . . . It also demonstrates that it was even then not impossible for a wise and tactful ruler of a country, so much internally divided as Bengal, to secure ordinarily the support of all the communities in his administration.'

There are occasional lapses in language and diction but they will surely be removed if the book sees a second edition. We conclude by inviting the author to undertake an authoritative monograph on Sirajuddaulah, for which task few scholars appear to be better fitted than the author of the book under review.

N. K. BHATTASALI.



J.  
M.

### Siva-seal of Mohenjo-daro.

By A. AIYAPPAN.

(Communicated by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.)

A figure seated in the yogic pose on a low stool, with its arms stretched out and hands placed on the knees, and with the head adorned by a pair of horns, engraved on a few of the seals of Mohenjo-daro (numbers 222, 420, 235 figured in Mackay's *Further Excavations*) has raised more than usual interest for the reason that Sir John Marshall has tentatively identified it as Śiva-Paśupati. Dr. Saletore<sup>1</sup> has recently tried to identify the same figure as Agni. As our knowledge of the Indus Valley culture is still meagre, differences in interpretation are of course inevitable. When at a future date the legends on the seals are satisfactorily deciphered, all the explanations given, including the one attempted here, may turn out to be wrong, but that eventuality does not deter us from seeking the true meaning of the figure with the material at our disposal.

In spite of the view expressed by some eminent archaeologists that the Harappa culture is exotic, evidence is accumulating to show that it was locally evolved. The latest bit of evidence is from the study of the Proto-Neolithic cultures of Sukkur and Rohri in the neighbourhood of Mohenjo-daro, which show close affinity to the stone artifacts of the Chalcolithic culture of the latter. Scholars are much exercised over the origins of the Harappa culture, and the issue will be weighed very much in favour of the Aryan hypothesis if Saletore's identification were found to be unassailable. A dimorphism between the Aryan and the Pre-Aryan or Dravidian cultures has been vehemently denied by some students, and equally strongly asserted by others. Granting that the two have been blending with each other for centuries making it very difficult to classify their special traits, I think it is yet possible to recognize a Dravidian culture complex as distinguished from the Aryan, with its peculiarities in language, social organization, architecture and religion. Agni is a distinctively Aryan deity without any counterpart in the Pre-Aryan cultures known to us. The importance, therefore, of Agni in the discussion of Mohenjo-daro origins is unequalled.

Marshall's arguments in support of his thesis are so well known that they do not require to be enumerated here.

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<sup>1</sup> *New Review*, 55, X, 1939.

According to him, the trident-like head-dress of the figure, the yogic pose, the erect *membrum virile*, and the numerous animals sculptured round it, are all cumulatively suggestive of Śiva. Saletore's objections to this are: (1) that the Śiva-*liṅga* cult is of post-Mahābhārata date as there is no reference to it in the great Epic; (2) the Mohenjo-daro figure is two-eyed or possibly three-eyed, while Śiva is three-eyed; (3) Śiva's trident is in his hands, not on his head as in the figure under discussion; and (4) the horns of the trident-like head-dress are not the speciality of a pre-Aryan deity, for, the Vedic god, Agni, also has horns.

Dr. Moraes has answered most of these points in a subsequent issue of the *New Review*, but he agrees with Saletore in regarding the Mohenjo-daro figure as three-horned. Saletore's arguments require this figure to be three-horned, and therefore he says that the central cap-like part of the head-dress may be regarded as a third horn which has been rounded off by the sculptor for some reason not known to us!

This head-dress is such a prominent and definite feature of the figure that it should, in my opinion, be regarded as the key to our understanding of the nature of the religious representation intended by the seal. Taken as a group, the seals with this type of head-dress leave no doubt about the fact that the sculptor of Mohenjo-daro wanted this figure to be only two-horned. Though Agni has been described sometimes as three-horned, in certain other contexts he has been mentioned as four-horned. It is impossible to say whether these horns meant animal horns and if so, of any particular animal, or whether the term was used figuratively for some of Agni's attributes. It is well-known that Yāska explains the horns, etc., of Agni in the terminology of the fire sacrifice, and Patañjali regards them as references to *sabda* or speech. According to Macdonnel, 'the anthropomorphism of his (Agni's) physical appearance is only rudimentary, his bodily parts having a clear reference to the phenomena of terrestrial fire, mainly in its sacrificial aspects'. Vogel has made the following remarks on the iconography of Agni:

' . . . the epithets applied to Agni in the earliest Vedas, such as "butter-backed", "butter-faced", "seven-tongued", "thousand-eyed", do not find expression in later iconography. Even the epithet "flame-haired" does not readily apply to sculptural representation which shows the flame as quite distinct from Agni's hair and surrounding his head after the manner of a halo.'<sup>1</sup>

All later sculptures show the ram as Agni's vehicle. In the Rg Veda, Agni is likened to various animals such as the bull, steed, winged bird, etc., and in the epics he is described as a goat

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, LXXII (1933), pp. 228ff.

or goat-faced. Nowhere do we have any suggestion that Agni should have a pair of bison or buffalo horns such as those sculptured on the Mohenjo-daro Seals.

To the ethnologist the head-dress of the figure on the Śiva seal is full of interest. At least three different types of it are represented in the seals numbered 222, 235, 420, and 430 (fig. 1). In the first two, the central segment of the head-dress

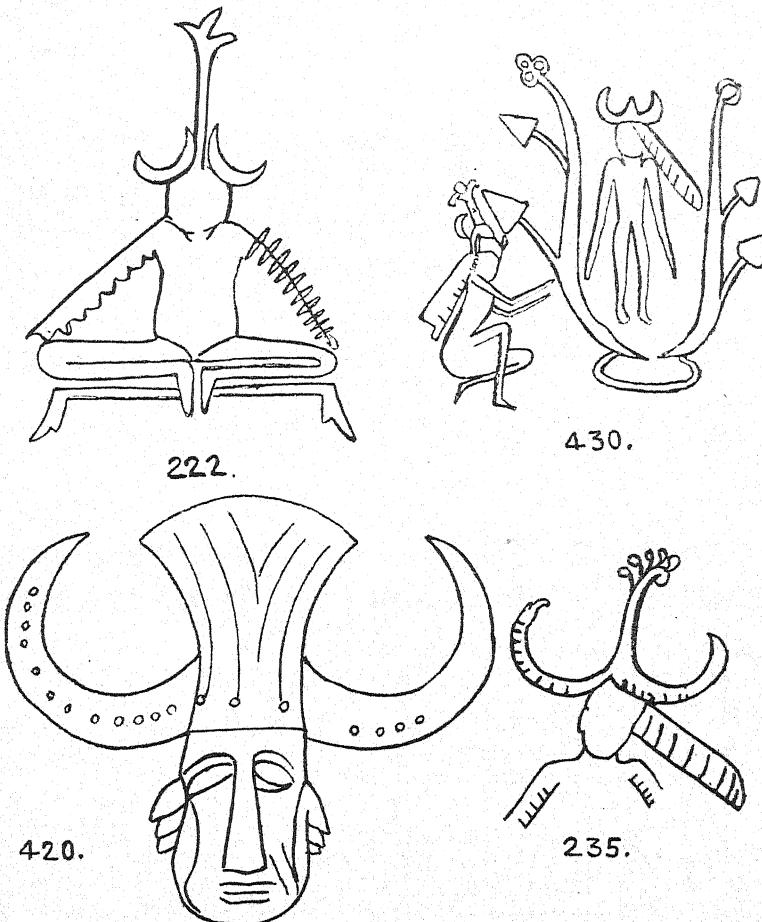


FIG. 1. The Head-dresses of Divine Beings sculptured on Mohenjo-daro Seals.

is narrow and surmounted by twigs or plumes. In 420 it is broad and arched at the top, while in the last it is conical. All these types have their counterparts in the head-dresses of

modern Indian tribes such as the Bison-horn Gonds, the Koyas and Savaras of the Eastern Ghats, and the Naga tribes of Assam. The elaborate head-dress of the Kalyo Kengyu warrior of the Naga Hills described by Dr. C. von Furer-Haimendorf is almost a modern copy of the head-dress of the Mohenjo-daro figures. In 235, the figure seems to have only one face—though Mackay thinks it has three—and it has a pig-tail of considerable length. The standing 'tree-spirit' of seals 430 and the seated figures are thus linked up by the similarity of the head-dress and the pig-tail. The kneeling worshipper of the so-called 'tree-spirit' has the plumed head-dress similar to that depicted in seal 222. If, as I presume, the 'tree-spirit' is the same as the seated figure of the other seals, the horned chief, priest or worshipper is offering to the god the animal behind him as sacrifice. We have no tradition whatsoever of Agni's priests being horned, whereas, among the non-Aryan tribes, divine as well as earthly chiefs were entitled to wear the horned head-dress.

The meaning of the horned head-dress of Mohenjo-daro can, I believe, be understood only if it is considered from the ethnological angle. I have already indicated the close resemblance between the tribal and the prehistoric head-dresses. In spite of the similarities, it will be hazardous to postulate that the two are identical in their significance. Among the Naga tribes such as the Lhotas the priests—*puthis*—and warriors of eminence are entitled to wear a head-dress embellished with boar tusks<sup>1</sup> and two *mithan* (*Bos frontalis*) horns one on each side. These horns, however, are not mere ornaments. There is a close relationship, according to Naga belief, between the human and the *mithan* souls: human souls in heaven reside in heavenly *mithan* bodies, and divine spirits in earthly *mithans*. Among the Nagas and their neighbours buffalo and bison horns are used as emblematic of fertility and prosperity. The Aos attach them to the heads of the human victims of the head-hunting raids, the object of the ritual act being fertility. Warriors among the Konyaks have the horn motif tattooed on their chest and arms. Among the Angamis the horns are carved on doors as a symbol of wealth.

Sections of the Gond tribes use the bison-horn head-dress in their dances, but it does not seem nowadays to have any special significance. The Koyas of the Godavari District, and the Khonds and Savaras of the Districts to the north have the bison-horn head-dress embellished with plumes of peacock feathers, but the significance of it remains yet to be investigated. The Koyas and the backward Hindu castes of the Telugu country worship a godling, Potturaju by name. The name of the godling is itself significant. It means literally 'the male

<sup>1</sup> I have a strong feeling that the crescent moon that forms a part of Siva's head ornaments originated from the use of the boar tusk as is seen on the Naga warrior's head-dress.

king'. *Pottu* in the sister languages, Tamil and Malayalam means the buffalo. Now, Potturaju is the younger brother of all the mother-goddesses of the Telugu folk pantheon, and three wooden rods, carved and looking very much like the *hanal* poles planted near Gond graves, representing Potturaju can be seen in front of all mother-goddess shrines. Potturaju spends all his time in the company of the female deities. He stands between the villagers and the wrath of the mother-goddesses who are the distributors of pestilences. After offering sacrifices to the mother-goddesses, and requesting them to leave the village limits, the villagers utter the following conditional curse: If you return again to our village, we shall consider you as having committed incest with your younger brother, Potturaju. Potturaju is thus the protector of the villages from plagues and pestilence, and has precedence when offerings are made at the village shrines. Some of the carved rods representing Potturaju are phallic in form; his name is suggestive not only of masculinity but also of the buffalo; and his function is essentially that of protection, while the mother-goddesses are mainly malevolent. I have dealt with the Potturaju cult to show that rites associated with fertility and buffaloes exist among many tribes and even among some Hindu castes, though they are vestigial and attenuated. There is nothing improbable in our holding that the people of Mohenjo-daro and the Gond tribes might have had cultural contacts in prehistoric times. In a cultural *cul-de-sac* like Assam Hills, an ancient religious trait with the buffalo or bison horn as its central point still survives in a living form, while it has left only mere relics in the remaining regions of India.

The horn motif has survived in architecture and in religious sculpture of the Hindus in historical times. In Pallava sculptures and shrines, a form of the trident showing the horns in the most unmistakable manner can be seen. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry has pointed out an important characteristic of the *Dvārapālas* (door-keepers) of Siva shrines of Southern India, namely, that in all early types of them, the head is adorned with a pair of horns. A beautiful specimen of a Pallava door-keeper in the Madras Museum shows this interesting feature.

The *Mahishāsura* sculptured in Pallava shrines in his anthropomorphic form has the typical bison-horn head-dress which resembles the Koya one or that on seal number 430 of Mohenjo-daro. Whether the story of *Mahishāsuramarddini* has a historical core or not as suggested by Gopinatha Rao is immaterial in the present context, but the sculptured representation of the theme shows that the bison-horn head-dress had some real significance in the stories of the Hindus. What became a mythological relic may have been a living cult at the time when the culture of Mohenjo-daro flourished.

To return to the seated figure of Mohenjo-daro, the animals surrounding the deity do not merely indicate his attribute of creatorship. The tiger, for example, is represented as threatening to attack the seated figure, but he remains unperturbed. The performance of feats of physical and mental endurance was a part of religious exercises of which the epics tell a good deal. I should like to suggest that there is in the scene depicted on the seal a suggestion of a great *tapas*. The *tapas* of the Hindus and the vision-seeking of the American Indians are essentially a quest of power.

It has to be pointed out that the Mohenjo-daro deity does not possess many of the attributes of the Śiva of modern Hinduism, but his most fundamental qualities are nevertheless suggestively indicated in it. The horns are suggestive of the trident, and less directly of the fertility aspect of Śiva; the erect *membrum virile*, of the phallic aspect of Śaivism; and the pose and the surroundings of Śiva's yogic characteristics. On the other hand we look in vain for the club, the axe, the girdle of serpents, the bow, etc., but it might be asked whether these were not later accretions that grew on the archetype that they had at Mohenjo-daro, in the course of the millennia that have since elapsed. The conclusion that I should like to draw is that this figure is nearer Śiva than Agni or even Rudra.

Digvijaya of King Chandra of the Meharauli Pillar  
Inscription.

By DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

(Communicated by Dr. Kalidas Nag.)

Exaggeration with reference to the achievements of kings is a remarkable feature of royal *prāśastis* of the medieval period.<sup>1</sup> It is however by no means absent in the earliest Indian literature. There are, for instance, the following two *gāthās* in the *Sat. Br.* (XIII, iii, 5, 11 and 13):

(1) अश्वासप्तिं भरतो दौष्ट्यन्तिर्यमुनामनुगङ्गायां वृच्छेऽबध्वात्  
पञ्चपञ्चाशतं ह्यानिति ।

(2) परः सहस्रानिन्द्रायास्त्रमेधानाहरदिजित्य एषिवौं सर्वामिति ।

According to the first *gāthā*, Bharata, son of Dushyanta, performed 78 Aśvamedhas on the Jumna and 55 on the Ganges—in all 133 horse-sacrifices. According to the second *gāthā* however Bharata celebrated more than 1,000 Aśvamedhas after conquering the whole earth. Critics cannot fail to note the difference between the definite nature of the statements in the first *gāthā* and the vagueness of the number 'more than 1,000' and of the expression 'after conquering the whole earth' in the second *gāthā*. Conquest of the whole earth means the same thing as *digvijaya* (conquest of all the quarters, i.e. of all

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the absurd claim of Dhaṅga in the following verse of an inscription discovered at Khajuraho :

का लं काच्चीन्दपतिवनिता का लमन्त्राधिपस्ती  
का लं राडापरिदृवधूः का लमङ्गेन्द्रपस्ती ।  
इत्याख्यापाः समरजयिनो यस्य वैरिप्रियाणां

कारागारे सजल्लयनेन्द्रीवराणां वभूदः॥ (Ep. Ind., I, p. 145.)

There is always a considerable amount of exaggeration in the royal *prāśastis*; generally however, the earlier the record is, the greater is the amount of truth in the claims. Definite statements (e.g. mention of the personal names of adversaries) are generally more trustworthy than vague claims. Whatever be the amount of exaggeration, there is certainly a considerable amount of truth in the claims put forward in records like the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola.

countries in the north, east, south and west).<sup>1</sup> One who has control over this 'whole earth' is called Sārvabhauma, Chakravartin, etc.

The conception of a mighty king performing *digvijaya*, that is to say, conquering the whole earth, as we find in the case of Bharata, permeates the whole body of the epic and Puranic literature. Epic heroes like Karna (*Mbh.*, III, 253) and the brothers of Yudhishthira (*ib.*, II, 26-32) are described as conquering the quarters or the whole earth. Karna completed his *digvijaya* by conquering all the countries in the north, east, south and west, and

एवं स पृथिवीं सर्वां वशे छत्वा महारथः ।

विजित्य पुरुषव्याघो नागसाह्यमागमत् ॥ (*op. cit.*, v. 22.)

It is however interesting to note that the lists of countries (in the four different directions) conquered by the epic *digvijayins* are practically the same as the lists of countries and peoples of the Bhāratavarsha, as found in the geographical sections of the epics, Purāṇas and other works. The Bhāratavarsha, as we all know, is:

हिमालयादासमुद्रं पृथग्नेत्रं भारतम् । (ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण) ;

and एतत् भारतं वर्षं चतुःसंस्थानसंस्थितम् ।

दक्षिणेऽपरतोह्यस्य पूर्वेण च महोदधिः ।

हिमवानुक्तरेणास्य कार्मुकस्य यथा गुणः ॥ (मार्कण्डेयपुराण) <sup>2</sup>

It is significant that the land traversed by the epic *digvijayins* (as indicated by the lists of countries conquered) is also bounded, roughly speaking, by the Himalayas in the north, and the ocean in the east, south and west. According to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (IX, i), 'the land which extends north to south from the Himalaya to the sea is the Kshetra of a Chakravartin'. There can therefore be no question that 'the whole earth' conquered by the *digvijayins* is the epic and Puranic Bhāratavarsha.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. दिशाम्पति = king (literally ruler of the quarters), Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* explains दिग्विजय as 'conquest of the directions, conquest of various countries in all the directions, conquest of the world'.

<sup>2</sup> See also Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 77-79. Cf. reference to fame spreading 'from the Himalayas to Rāma's bridge' in the Eklingji stone inscription (Ray, *Dynastic History*, II, p. 1171). Apparently this land has been called Jambudvīpa in an inscription of Aśoka, and in such Puranic passages as in *Kurma*, I, 35, 41. Prof. Raychaudhuri draws my attention to the use of *Puṣṭhavi* in the sense of *Vijita* in R.E.V. (Dhauli) of Aśoka.

Stories of the epic *dīvijayins* were no doubt very popular during the age of the early Gupta kings. This is proved not only by the references to epic heroes in records dating from the 2nd century A.D., but also by inscriptions and literary works of the early Gupta period. Raghu's conquest of all the quarters<sup>1</sup> in the *Raghuvamśa* (Canto IV) of Kālidāsa who lived in the 4th-5th century A.D. is obviously modelled on the epic description of the *dīvijayas* of Karṇa, the Pāṇḍava brothers and others. It is again interesting to note that inscriptions refer to the conquest or possession of the whole earth by all the early Gupta kings. Passages like सर्वपृथ्वीविजयजनितोदयामानविज्ञावनि-तत्त्वां<sup>2</sup>, वत्सपृथ्वीजयार्थेन राजैवेह सद्गतः<sup>3</sup>, चतुःसमुद्रानविज्ञावनि-तत्त्वां<sup>4</sup> and एवं स जिला पृथ्वीं समग्रां<sup>5</sup>, found respectively in the records of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, directly refer to the epic traditions of *dīvijaya*. In inscriptions and literary works the boundaries of this 'whole earth' are described in two different ways. Sometimes it is vaguely said to be bounded by the conventional *chatuh-samudra* or four oceans in the four different directions.<sup>6</sup> In some records and works however definite localities (some of them are sometimes mythical) are mentioned in the north, east, south and west of 'the whole earth', and, as expected, they practically correspond to the boundaries of the epic and Puranic Bhāratavarsha.

In the Karhāḍ grant (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 284-85) of Kṛiṣṇa III, the king's dominions are referred to in the verse:

वनमद्वा पूर्वपृथग्जलनिधिहिमप्लैलसिंहलद्वौपात् ।  
यं जनकाज्ञावप्तमपि मग्नलिनस्त्राहदग्नभयात् ॥

Here the boundaries given are—N. the Himalayas; E. the eastern ocean (Bay of Bengal); S. Ceylon; W. the western ocean (Arabian Sea).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. इनि जिला दिशो जियुर्न्यवर्जन रथोद्धतम् (*ib.* IV, 85). Mallinātha rightly explains the conquest of quarters as indicating एकच्छत्रत्व, universal sovereignty.

<sup>2</sup> Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, No. 1, l. 29).

<sup>3</sup> Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II (*ib.*, No. 6). Chandragupta II extirpated the Śakas of Ujjayinī and extended the Gupta empire up to the western end of Kaṭhīāwād.

<sup>4</sup> Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman (*ib.*, No. 18, verse 23).

<sup>5</sup> Junagarh rock inscription of Skandagupta (*ib.*, No. 14, verse 7).

<sup>6</sup> See D. C. Sircar in *Ind. Cult.*, VI, pp. 74-75.

In the Pāla inscriptions, the whole earth ( सप्तशूल्या उच्चौ ) ruled by Devapāla is described in the verse:

आ गङ्गागममहितात् सप्तशूल्याम्  
 आ सेतोः प्रथितदशास्यकेतुकीर्तेः ।  
 उच्चौमावरणनिकेतनाच्च सिन्धो-  
 रा लक्ष्मीकुलभवनाच्च यो बुभोज ॥

(*Gauralekhamālā*, p. 38.)

Here the boundaries given are—N. the Himalayas; E. the eastern ocean; S. Rāma's bridge; W. the western ocean.<sup>1</sup>

In the records of the Pālas, the *digvijaya* of three different kings (Vigrahapāla II or III in some records, but Rājyapāla II in others) is described in the verse:

देशे प्राचि प्रचुरपर्यसि खच्छसापौश तोयं  
 स्वैरं खान्वा तदनु मलयोपव्यकाचन्दनेषु ।  
 छत्वा सान्त्रैर्मरुषु जडतां शौकरैरभतुस्याः  
 प्रालेयादेः कटकमभजन् यस्य सेनागजेन्द्राः ॥ (ib., p. 95.)

Here the boundaries indicated are—N. the Himalayas; E. the eastern country (home of the Pāla kings); S. the Malaya mountain (in the Pāndya country)<sup>2</sup>; W. Maru (i.e. the Rajputana desert; cf. Marwar).

In this connection we may note another verse of the Pāla inscriptions describing the *digvijaya* of Dharmapāla:

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that another record describes Devapāla as conquering the 'earth' bounded by the fathers of Revā and Gauri (i.e. the Himalayas and the Vindhyas) and the eastern and western oceans which turn red at the time respectively of the rising and setting of the sun (*Gauralekhamālā*, p. 72). Cf.

आ वेराजनकान्मतश्चामदस्तिगच्छ लासंहते-  
 रा गौरीपितुरौश्वरेन्दुकिरणैः पुष्टु सितिन्द्रो गिरे ।  
 मान्त्रेण्डासामयोदयारणजलादावारिराशिद्वयात्  
 नौत्या यस्य भुवं चक्वार करदां त्रौदेवपालो व्यपः ॥

These boundaries of North India are evidently based on Manu's celebrated definition of the Āryavarta. North Indian kings (e.g. Vigrahārāja Chāhamāna; see Ray, *Dynastic History*, II, p. 1076) sometimes modestly claim to have been conquerors of the earth from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas and south Indian kings (e.g. Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi) of the country bounded by the three seas.

<sup>2</sup> See Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 110-11.

केदारे विधिनोपयुक्तपयसां गङ्गासमेताम्बुद्धौ  
 गोकर्णादिषु चायनुष्ठितवतां तौर्येषु धर्मज्ञाः क्रियाः ।  
 भृत्याणां सुखमेव यस्य सकलानुद्भूत्य दुष्टानिमान्  
 लोकान् साधयतोऽनुषङ्गजनिता सिद्धिः परचायभूत् ॥  
 (ib., p. 36.)

Here the boundaries indicated are—N. Kedāratīrtha (in the Himalayas); E. Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama; S. and W. Gokarna<sup>1</sup> and other *tirthas*.

Similar boundaries of the Kshetra of a Chakravartin or a Digvijayin are furnished by works of classical Sanskrit literature. Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*,<sup>2</sup> for instance, says: यज्ञ जलनिधि-तरङ्गधौतमेखलात् \* \* \* आशैलादुदयनाम्बः, \* \* \* आ सितुबन्धात्, \* \* \* आ मन्दराचलात्, नरनारायणचरणसुद्राङ्गित वदरिकाम्रमरमणीयात् कुवेरपुर-सुन्दरौभृषणरवसुखरितिंखरात् \* \* \* आगम्भादनात् \* \* \* भजवल्लविजिताः प्रणेमुररणीयतयः. Here we get the following boundaries of the kingdom of Chandrāpīḍa, described as a king of the Bhāratavarsha.<sup>3</sup> N. the Gandhamādana on which stands Vadariकाशrama; E. the mythical Udaya mountain in the eastern ocean; S. Rāma's bridge; W. the mythical Mandara mountain (evidently in the western ocean).

In his *Harshacharita*,<sup>4</sup> in connection with Harsha's attempt to conquer the quarters, the same author gives a slightly different description of the boundaries: आ \* \* \* उदयाचलात्, आ चिकूट-कटक-कुट्टाक-टङ्गलिखित-काकुतस्त्राङ्गलुप्तनव्यतिकरात् सुवेलात्, आ वारणीमदस्त्वलिनवरुणवरनारीनूपुरवसुखरकुचरकुचरसगिरिः, आ \* \* \* गम्भादनात्, सर्वेषां राज्ञां सज्जीक्रियनां कराः करदानाय ग्रस्तग्रहणाय वा \* \* \*.

Here the boundaries given are: N. Gandhamādana (in the Himalayas); E. the mythical Udaya mountain in the eastern

<sup>1</sup> According to some, Gokarna in the Bombay Presidency, which is even now a place of pilgrimage frequented by Hindu devotees from all parts of India, represents the western limit of the land traversed during this *digvijaya* (*Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 42, note 4). *Raghuvamśa*, VIII, 33, however locates Gokarna, a *tīrtha* sacred to Śiva, on the coast of the southern or Indian ocean (रोधसि दक्षिणोदधे). May this Gokarna be the same as Rāmēśvara? The *Vāyu P.* (58, 30) places Gokarna to the east of the *dvīpa* containing Laṅkāpuri and on the sea-shore.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Haridās Siddhāntavāgiś, Calcutta, pp. 194-95.

<sup>3</sup> Ib., pp. 683, 685.

<sup>4</sup> Nirnaysagar Press ed., p. 217.

ocean; S. the Suvela range in Ceylon with the Trikūta mountain<sup>1</sup> on which are signs of the conquest of Laṅkā by Rāma; W. the mythical Asta mountain in the western ocean.

Similar boundaries are also found in two early records. The first of these is the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman. There we have the verse:

च्छा लौहित्योपकरणात्तलवलग्नोपद्यकादामहेन्द्रा-  
दा गङ्गाप्लिष्टसानोखुहिनश्चिह्निः पश्चिमादा पथोदेः ।  
सामन्तैर्यस्य बाहुद्रविण्यहतमदैः पादयोरानमद्वि-  
च्छुद्धारत्रांशुशचित्करप्लवला भूमिभागाः क्रियन्ते ॥ २

The verse gives the following boundaries: N. the Himalayas; E. the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra river; S. the Mahendra mountain assigned by the *Rāmāyana* to the Pāṇḍya<sup>3</sup> country and identified by Pargiter with Mahendragiri in the Tinnevelly District; W. the western ocean.

The other early record referring to similar boundaries is the Meharauli pillar inscription of king Chandra. A verse of this record reads:

यस्योदर्त्यतः प्रतौपसुरसा धूनसमेत्यागतान्  
वङ्गेष्वाहवर्त्तिनोऽभिलिखिता खङ्गेण कौर्त्तिर्भुजे ।  
तौत्त्वा सप्तमुखानि समरे येन सिन्धोर्जिता वाक्तिका  
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिब्बैर्यानिलैर्दक्षिणः ॥ ४

Here the boundaries of the earth conquered by Chandra are given as: N. Bāhlika or Bactria<sup>5</sup>; E. Vāṅga or parts of eastern,

<sup>1</sup> Trikūta is the name of a mountain in Ceylon on the top of which was situated Laṅkā the Capital of Rāvana. See *Sisupālavāda*, II, 5, and Apte, *op. cit.* Aptे identifies Trikūta and Suvela. For Laṅkā on Trikūta, see also *Vāyu P.*, 58, verses 26-28.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, No. 33, verse 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. युक्तं कपाटं पाष्ठग्राणं गता इक्ष्यथ वानराः ।

ततः सपुत्रमासाद्य सम्प्रधार्याथ निश्चयम् ॥

अगस्येनानरे लत्र सागरे विभिवेश्चितः ॥

चिचसानुरंगः श्रीमान् महेन्द्रः पर्वतोत्तमः ॥

जातरूपस्यः श्रीमानवगाढो महार्णवम् ॥ (किञ्चन्याकाण्ड, 41, 18-20.)

See Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 108-09.

<sup>4</sup> *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, No. 32, verse 1.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*J.A.H.R.S.*, X, p. 87) places this Vālhika on the Vipāśā on the strength of *Rāmāyana*, II, 68, 18-19. The reading

southern and central Bengal; S. the southern ocean (i.e. the Indian Ocean); W. the seven mouths of the Indus (falling in the western ocean or Arabian sea). It should be noted that the style of this verse is exactly similar to that of the verses quoted above that describe the *digvijaya* of Dharmapāla and Vigrahapāla II and III and Rājyapāla II. It is also to be noted that the description of Chandra's *digvijaya* very closely resembles that of the conquests of Kālidāsa's Raghu. Raghu too conquered the Vaṅgas on the eastern boundary, and, on the northern, the Hūnas who were dwelling on the Vamkshu<sup>1</sup> or Oxus in Bactria. Raghu who went by the *sthālavartma* (land-route) from Aparānta (Northern Konkan) to the country of the Pārasikas (Persians) who were *pāśchātyas* (westerners), must necessarily have crossed the mouths of the Indus.

The verses and passages quoted prove beyond doubt that the description of the land claimed either to have been under the rule of, or to have been traversed in course of *digvijaya* by, a king is conventional. Of course I do not mean to say that the claims are absolutely without any foundation; but known cases such as that of Devapāla would definitely prove that the amount of exaggeration always exceeded that of truth.

The Meharauli inscription thus represents Chandra as a *digvijayin*, conqueror of 'the quarters' and of 'the earth'. In my opinion, Hoernle is perfectly right in assigning this record palaeographically to the fifth century A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, XXI, pp. 43-44). We have therefore to look for a king (1) who lived about the beginning of the 5th century, (2) whose name or part of the name<sup>2</sup> was Chandra, and (3) who claimed to have conquered 'the quarters' or 'the whole earth'. Of course, there might have been more than one king who would satisfy the three conditions. We however know only of one king (1) who reigned in c. 375-414 A.D., (2) whose name was Chandragupta, but who is sometimes called Chandra and Narendra-Chandra on his coins,<sup>3</sup> and (3) who is known to have set out for the

वाह्नीकान् in the *Rāmāyaṇa* passage is however certainly a mistake for वाह्नीकान्. For the well-known Vāhīka country watered by the Indus and its five tributaries, see Cunningham, *A.G.I.*, 1924, pp. 247, 686-87; *Ind. Cult.*, VI, p. 1 ff.; *Mbh.*, VII, 44-45.

<sup>1</sup> This reading is adopted in Vallabha's commentary on the *Raghuvamśa*. Mallinātha's reading सिन्धु is undoubtedly wrong.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. भौम for भौमचेन.

<sup>3</sup> Allan says (*Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. xxxvii), 'There is no analogy for the abbreviation *Chandra* for Chandragupta in inscriptions; its occurrence in the field of coins is hardly a parallel...'. It may however be pointed out that Chandragupta II is called both Devagupta and Devarāja and *gupta* is not found in the latter form. Skandagupta is called Skanda in verse 6 of the Bihar pillar inscription (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, No. 12).

conquest of 'the whole earth' ( वन्तस्तुष्वौजय ). This king is Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, and in the present state of our knowledge—until further evidence comes for the solution of the problem of Chandra's identity—Chandragupta's identification with Chandra may be tolerated. I am of opinion that Chandra's identification with any other known king cannot be supported in the present state of our knowledge by anything but conjectures which are bound to be less convincing.<sup>1</sup>

Fleet<sup>2</sup> offered an alternative suggestion that the name of the king of the Meharauli inscription might actually have been Dhāva. He read धावेन instead of भावेन in the third *pāda* of the verse:

प्रामेन खसुजार्जितच्च सुचिरच्चाकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ  
चन्द्राह्वेन समग्रचन्द्रसदृशौ वक्त्रश्रियं विभता ।  
तेनायं प्रणिथाय भूमिपतिना भावेन विष्णौ मतिं  
प्रांशुर्विष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्वजः स्थापितः ॥

There can however be no question that the first letter (with its serif) is not ष (which has no serif) but भ with an additional bottom-stroke from left to right which appears to be caused by the engraver's slip.<sup>3</sup> The reading is भावेन. It may however be tempting to conjecture it to be a mistake for देवेन, as in that case the king's name would be Chandrāhva Deva, i.e. Deva surnamed Chandra, and Chandragupta, we know, had another name, Devagupta or Devarāja.<sup>4</sup> However that may be, there is no doubt that the king's devotion to Bhagavān Vishṇu strengthens his identification with Chandragupta II who is the

<sup>1</sup> Chandra's identification with Chandragupta I is improbable as the latter is not proved to have been a devotee of Vishṇu, nor did the Delhi region (where the pillar stands) form part of his kingdom. In the genealogical portion of early Gupta records, devotion to Vishṇu is ascribed only to Chandragupta II and his successors, just as the title *Mahārājādhīrāja* is given only to Chandragupta I and his successors. The Allahabad pillar inscription referring to Samudragupta's conquests in Āryāvarta and the Purāṇas referring to Gupta rule in Prayāga on the Ganges, Sāketa and Magadha prove that the kingdom of Chandragupta I included the Allahabad District in the west. Chandra's identification with the Nāga king Chandramā is conjectural. His identification with Maurya Chandragupta is fanciful. Such a record as this may be posthumous only by a few months, and certainly not by about seven centuries.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 142, note 2.

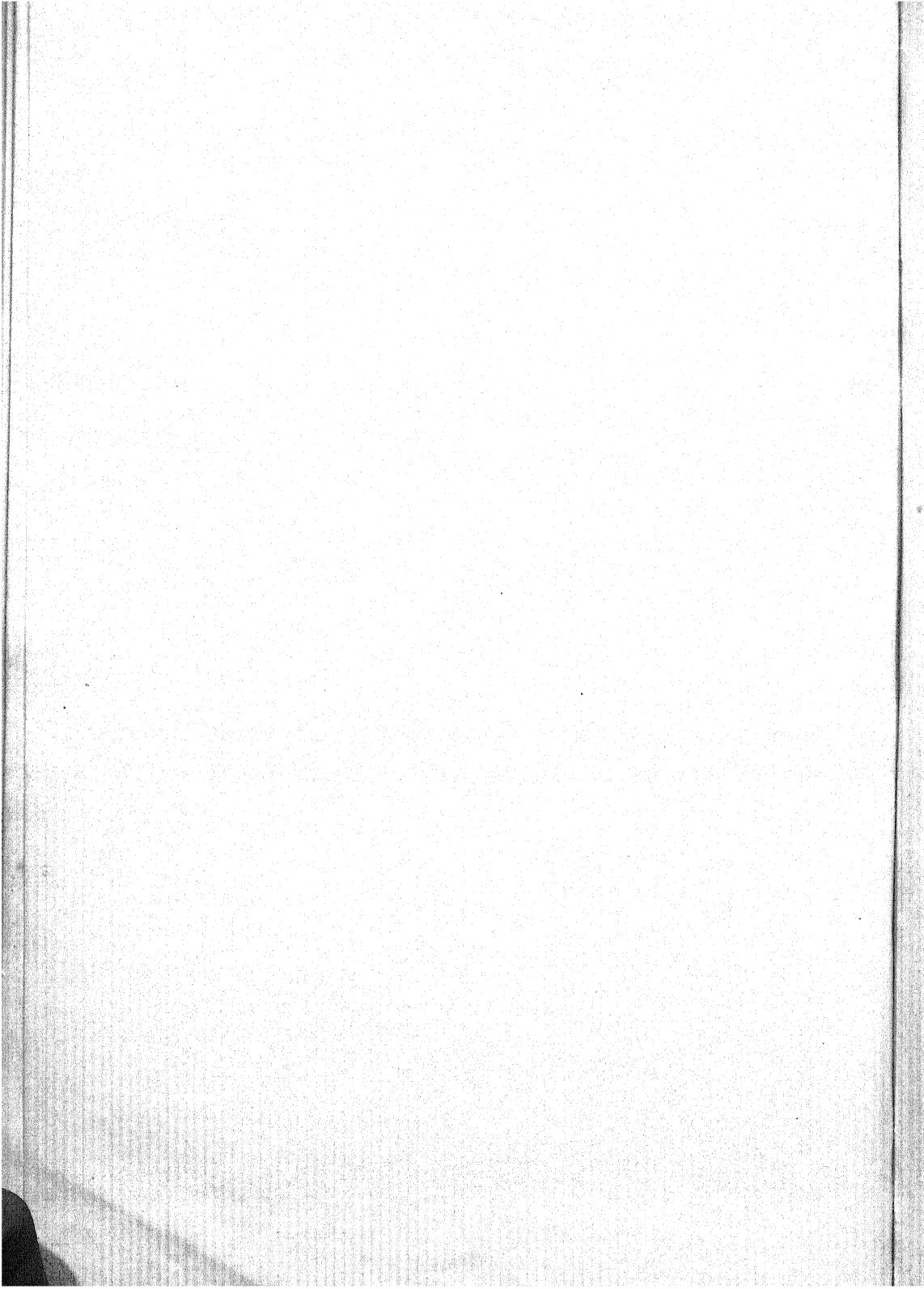
<sup>3</sup> Allan, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1262, 1704.

first *paramabhāgavata*<sup>1</sup> amongst the Gupta kings (and possibly amongst all Indian kings) and was at the root of the revival of Bhāgavatism during the early medieval period.

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<sup>1</sup> Allan says (*loc. cit.*) that *paramabhāgavata* 'is so stereotyped an epithet of his that the fact that it is not used here is rather an argument against identifying Chandra with Chandragupta II'. It is however too much to expect the stereo-typed epithet in a metrical record. It may be pointed out that it is not used in the Sanchi and the two Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandragupta II (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, Nos. 3, 5 and 6).



Cult of the Old Lady.

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI.

(Communicated by Prof. H. C. Chakladar.)

In the course of investigation into the folk cults of Bengal the existence of two independent cults of the Old Lady (*Burī Pūjā*) has come to our notice. These cults are interesting as revealing how the tribal religion has reacted to the increasing pressure of the Hindu religion. While sometimes the tribal religion has compromised by Hinduizing its deities evidence is not lacking of orthodox members of the Hindu pantheon losing their position and even caste, gradually, as their worship spreads among tribes living under more or less pronounced primitive conditions. As a rule, tribes exposed to Hindu influence show a tendency to Hinduize their cults, while tribes removed from Hindu influence sometimes borrow Hindu cults which completely lose their distinctive features in the process of assimilation. Reaction works thus in two ways, producing nearly opposite results. One of the two processes, both of which operate imperceptibly, reaches its culmination when tribal deities on promotion come to be affiliated to some or other of the old Hindu deities or their local forms. The origin of such deities may be detected through survival of some or other of the elements originally associated with their worship. Observation has shown that the operation of both the processes can be best studied among the lower castes of Hindus, composed in many areas predominantly of Hinduized tribes. In the present article it is proposed to examine the operation of one of the two processes, and show how the cult of a tribal clan deity called the Old Lady (the *Burī*) has, while retaining its old tribal characteristics, assimilated features of the Hindu worship and secured its acceptance by the Hindus who have *brahmanized* the clan deity and affiliated it to the great Devi. In the other cult of the Old Lady which we propose to examine separately on a future occasion and which is fairly widespread in Bengal, she is represented by the *sheora* tree (*Tropis aspera*) and is worshipped by women for the welfare of their children.

The cult of the Old Lady as a tribal clan deity prevails in parts of Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Chota Nagpur. The Old Lady is sometimes called simply *Burī* and sometimes *Mātā*, *Māi*, *Thākurānī* etc. are added to her name. Thus the Dhimals in North Bengal worship *Burī Thākurānī*,<sup>1</sup> the Rautiyas of

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Hunter: Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. X, p. 378.

Chota Nagpur worship *Burhiā Mātā*,<sup>1</sup> the Badi Nats and Malar Nats (Upper India) worship *Burhi Mātā* and *Burhi Māi*.<sup>2</sup> The worship of one Old Lady with a very descriptive name is reported from Midnapore. She is called *Hāhī-dharā-Burī*, that is, the Old Lady who catches elephants with her hands. It is told that formerly the locality where her humble shrine is situated was covered with jungles in which wild elephants roamed at large. The goddess destroyed these elephants single-handed so that people might clear the jungles and settle down there. In the course of time this Old Lady rose higher and higher to dignity and has now come to be worshipped in the Brahmanical form.<sup>3</sup> Allied to these cults of the Old Lady is the cult of *Burā-Burī* (the Old Man and the Old Lady) which prevails in different parts of Bengal, Bihar and Assam. According to Dalton, the pair are derived from *Rishi* and his consort *Charipak* worshipped by the Rabhas and they have come to be *brahmanized* as *Śiva* and *Durgā*.<sup>4</sup> This view of the origin of the pair is, however, open to doubt. In Assam and Bengal they are generally worshipped as clan deities by several Hinduized tribes.<sup>5</sup> Another cult which appears to be allied to the worship of *Burā-Burī* is the cult of *Korā-Kuri*, which prevails in North Bengal among the Rajvansi caste and appears to be confined to women.<sup>6</sup>

It appears from the notices of these cults in the works of Dalton, Risley and Crooke and from independent reports that the Old Lady is regarded as the creatrix or ancestress of mankind.

We shall now turn to the allied cult of the Old Lady as prevailing in Rungpur in North Bengal.

An interesting and elaborate account of the cult has been kindly supplied by an enlightened zamindar of the district in reply to a questionnaire. We shall give extracts from his report:—

‘Two forms of the worship of *Vrddheśvarī* or *Burī* are prevalent, namely, the worship proper of the *Burī* and *Burīr Jāt*.... As regards the worship of the *Burī* no time is fixed for it. Ordinarily it is performed in the month of Baisakh or Jyaiṣṭha. There is no image. A vessel made of the sheath of the plantain tree containing China roses, vermillion etc. is worshipped as the goddess. The worship is not performed with any particular object. This *pūjā* prevails among the Rajvansis, Jeliyas, Beharas, Kaivarttas and other castes. There are many shrines of the *Burī* known as *Burīr thān* in the estates of the zamindars

<sup>1</sup> Sir Herbert H. Risley: Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 203, 1891, Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> W. Crooke: Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Vol. I, p. 74, 1896, Calcutta.

<sup>3</sup> Reported by Mr. K. C. Chakravarti, Midnapore.

<sup>4</sup> Col. E. T. Dalton: Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p. 88, 1872, Calcutta.

<sup>5</sup> Risley: *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 381, 458; Vol. II, p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 498.

to which rent-free lands have been given and fixed annual contributions are also made towards the expenses of the worship. The priest officiating at the worship is known as *deodā* or *deāshi*. He is either a Rajvansi or a Kaivartta.

The cult prevails also among the higher castes among whom the *Buri* is known as *Vrddhesvari*. A Brahman officiates as priest. In the Brahmanical form of worship the goddess is meditated on as follows: "Goddess fair-complexioned, adorned with all kinds of ornaments, dressed in yellow garments, two-eyed, two-armed, beautiful and smiling, who always grants boons to her votaries". She is invoked as the nurse of the universe (*Jagatāṁ dhātri*) and consort of Rudra (*Rudrakāntā*). Goats and pigeons are sacrificed to her. . .<sup>1</sup>

From the above the following points may be noted in regard to the worship proper of the *Buri*: The absence of any image of the deity and any particular object of worship, the name *thān* given to the shrines of the deity and the name *deāshi* or *deodā* given to the priest officiating at the non-Brahmanical worship point to the real tribal character of the deity. After her acceptance by the higher castes the name *Buri* has been Sanskritized into *Vrddhā* and the suffix *īswarī* has been added simply to denote her divinity and facilitate her affiliation to the Devī. The affiliation of a tribal or local deity by the addition of the suffix *īswarī* is common and is illustrated in such names as *Mundeśvari*, *Kuleśvari*, *Paṭeśvari*, *Kicakeśvari* etc.

To turn now to the second form of worship, namely, the *Burīr Jāt*. 'As regards the *Burīr Jāt* it may be described as follows: Mango twigs and white and black *chāmars* (yak's tail) are tied to the tops of long, slender bamboo poles which are wrapped up with white, black and red strips of cloth. These decorated bamboos are known as *Burīr bans* or bamboo. These bamboos are offered to the goddess by the *deāshi* who acquaints her with the desire of each of the givers of this bamboo offering and prays for his welfare. Thereafter, the devotees carry these bamboos in their hands and move round the shrine dancing to the accompaniment of rhythmical beating of drums. Then they all assemble and with drums beating pass through the main thoroughfares of the village, rhythmically moving the bamboos carried by them and visit the houses of notable men of the village where dancing is performed with many gestures and in different styles. The celebration continues for three days. In the afternoon of the last day a special worship is offered to the goddess and there is a special exhibition of dancing with bamboos. The ceremony ends at evening. Goats and pigeons are sacrificed. On the same day a number of *bhaktas* pass iron rods ( $\frac{1}{8}$ th inch thick) through their tongues, palms, arms or the skin on both

<sup>1</sup> Reported by Rai Bahadur Mritunjaya Rai Chaudhuri, Zamindar, Sadyapuskarini, Rungpur.

sides of the stomach, bind lighted torches (two cubits long) to the ends of the iron rods and perform dances. On the last day of the celebration a *melā* is held near the shrine and a large number of people attend the *melā*. This festival is held in Baisakh or Jyaiṣṭha.<sup>1</sup>

We see from the above that there are two important features in the festival known as the *Burīr Jāt*, namely, dancing with dressed up bamboo poles and dancing with lighted torches tied to ends of iron rods passed through different limbs. With regard to the first feature it may be observed that this part of the celebration has similarity to the bamboo festival of the Kacharis of Assam and the Ghāzi Miyāñi's festival celebrated by Moslems in different parts of India. Referring to the bamboo festival of the Kacharis Dalton writes: 'On this occasion, thirteen men carry as many lofty poles decorated with clothing, and having a yak's tail at the head. It is very strange that the low class Mussalmans of Chota Nagpur called Jholas have a festival which they celebrate in Chait, the most singular part of which is the exhibition of long bamboo poles decorated in precisely the same manner'.<sup>2</sup> In his Statistical Account of Bengal, Hunter quotes at length from a memorandum submitted by the Superintendent of Police, Bogra, to the District Magistrate, regarding the local Moslem practice of marrying girls to a bamboo which was called Ghāzi Miyāñi. In the month of Jyaiṣṭha at a fair held at Kelna Kushiya near Sherpur in Bogra 'the ceremony is performed by the neighbouring villagers, who collect at the appointed time carrying bamboos with strips of cloth, white, red, black, etc. wound spirally from the bottom to the top, the whole ending in a *chāmar* or a tuft of cow's hair. These bamboos are called Ghāzi Miyāñi, Hotila Sahib, Bibir bāns, Shāh Mādār etc.'.<sup>3</sup> Referring to the cult of the five saints which is very popular in Upper India, Crooke writes: 'The whole worship centres round Ghāzi Miyan. . . Nowadays, at his festival, a long spear or pole is paraded about, crowned at the top with bushy hair representing the head of the martyr, which, it is said, kept rolling on the ground long after it was severed from the trunk'.<sup>4</sup> The festival is held also in Calcutta by Moslems when several long bamboo poles wrapped in strips of cloth of different colour with black or white *chāmars* at the top are paraded in the streets. It attracts such large crowds that ordinary traffic has to be stopped for several hours. But in Calcutta and some other parts of Bengal the festival appears to be held in honour of Shāh Mādār and not Ghāzi Miyāñi.

<sup>1</sup> Reported by Rai Bahadur Mritunjaya Rai Chaudhuri, Zamindar, Sadyapuskarini, Rungpur.

<sup>2</sup> Dalton: *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Hunter: *Op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> W. Crooke: *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 228, 1894, Allahabad.

The tomb of Sayed Salar Masud, known as Ghāzi Miyāñ at Barhaich, is well known and draws numerous votaries from distant places at the time when the festival known as Ghāzi Miyāñ's marriage is celebrated. A bamboo pole, similarly dressed up, is brought by every village party of devotees coming from the neighbouring places and thus a large number of bamboo pole representations of Ghāzi Miyāñ collect at the place. These poles are paraded in the streets with music. A special feature of the festival is that a large number of *Hijārās* (eunuchs) join the processionists, carrying poles, singing songs and beating tom-toms.<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that the custom of marrying girls to Ghāzi Miyāñ's bamboo, as reported by Hunter, had for its object a desire for increase of offspring.

The other important feature in the *Burīr Jāt* is dancing with lighted torches tied to iron rods passed through palms, arms, tongue, etc. This part of the ceremony has a striking similarity to many of the rites in the well-known *Cadaka Pūjā* and in the *Gambhīrā* and *Gājana* festivals of Bengal involving self-torture by infliction of wounds on one's person. Some of the extreme forms of these rites associated with the *Cadaka Pūjā* have been abolished by Government. The practice of piercing one's limbs with darts, rods, thorns, etc. is known as *Vāṇafodā*.

The rite of *Vāṇafodā* is associated with the worship of Śiva. Its Puranic basis is to be found in the legend of Vāṇa Daitya. Vāṇa, the king of Śonitapura, was a devout worshipper of Śiva. For having imprisoned Aniruddha, grandson of Kṛṣṇa, he was attacked and defeated by Kṛṣṇa. It is stated that severely wounded by Kṛṣṇa, Vāṇa ran away to Śiva to escape death from Kṛṣṇa's discus, and implored Śiva to take pity on him and save him, by dancing before him wounded as he was with blood dripping from all his limbs. The great god was highly pleased with Vāṇa and granted him several boons including immortality, his own sonhood, etc. and ordained that any man worshipping him by dancing in such a state as Vāṇa's, would acquire the same merits as Vāṇa. Referring to this legend which is told at length in *Dharma Samhitā*, *Śiva Purāna*, etc., Mr. Haridās Pālit writes that this is the motive with which the devotees in the Chaitra festival perform orgiastic dances with their bodies pierced by darts and covered with blood. Fasting, dancing and singing of songs are meant to propitiate Śiva. With this faith boys and girls still dance at the shrine during the festival of *Ādyer Gambhīrā*.<sup>2</sup>

In the rite of *Vāṇafodā* in the *Gājana* and *Gambhīrā* festivals, several parts of the body such as the forehead, ribs, back etc. were pierced by small, thin iron darts. Strips of cloth soaked in ghee were wrapped round the ends of the darts projecting

<sup>1</sup> Reported by Maulvi S. H. Quareshi of Ballia, U.P.

<sup>2</sup> Haridās Pālit: *Ādyer Gambhīrā*, p. 180, 1319 B.S., Maldah.

out of the skin and kept burning while the votaries danced. The tongue was perforated by iron rods of the thickness of the thumb and 6 to 9 cubits long. The darts were worshipped before use.<sup>1</sup> Hook-swinging has disappeared and nowadays instead of iron rods thorns of marmelos tree are used. In other parts of the country too, the practice has been modified. Referring to the hook-swinging festival celebrated in connection with the worship of *Durgāmmā* in S. India, Bishop Whitehead writes: 'It is quite common for devotees to come to the shrine with silver pins fastened through their cheeks and with a lighted lamp on a brass dish on their head'.<sup>2</sup>

There are three different features in this practice to which attention may be drawn, namely,

- (1) Self-torture for religious purpose,
- (2) Dancing as a part of worship,
- (3) Kindling of fire as a part of worship.

The self-torture, as practised in the *Vāṇafodā* rites in the Chaitra, Gambhirā and Gājana festivals and in the *Burir Jāt* described above, does not involve mutilation. There is no suggestion in any of the accounts of these rites that the motive of these rites representing ritual self-torture is penance. It may be taken, therefore, that the motive is self-mortification for pleasing the deity, for imploring his pity and to induce him to grant the votary's desire. A noteworthy fact, mentioned by Mr. Haridās Pālit in his interesting account of the Gambhirā and Gājana festivals, is that the primary purpose of a votary going through these rites is to draw out blood from his limbs and that blood-letting by any means, either by piercing the limbs with iron darts or with thorns, is called *Vāṇafodā* in the Gājana festival.<sup>3</sup> It is not reported, however, whether the blood thus let out is considered to be an offering to the deity or not. This is an important point, because blood-offering would presuppose a motive quite different from the motive of mere propitiation by self-mortification. With the positive evidence of blood-letting and the absence of any idea of penance as noted above, it is possible to see in the practice of drawing out blood through ritual self-torture a substitute for human sacrifice. It is evident from the fact that no further use of the blood thus drawn out is reported and other details connected with these rites, referred to above, such as orgiastic dancing, possession, etc., that this vicarious human sacrifice is connected not with the idea of fertility but with the idea of establishing communion with the deity. The lighting of torches tied to parts of darts passing through limbs, interpreted as lamp-offering, would corroborate this theory of

<sup>1</sup> Haridās Pālit: *Ādyer Gambhirā*, pp. 304f.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Whitehead: *The Village Gods of South India*, p. 76, 1921, Calcutta.

<sup>3</sup> Haridās Pālit: *Op. cit.*, p. 308.

vicarious sacrifice if we rely on the testimony of the Purāṇas. Several of the Śākta Purāṇas prescribe that blood from one's arms, shoulders, cheeks, ears etc. may be offered to the Devī and a man making such an offering attains his desires. Offering of lamp is prescribed in the same connection. The blood of sacrificed animals or man and the blood from one's own body should be offered with a burning lamp placed to the right or front of the devotee. When the head of a sacrificed buffalo is offered the lamp may be put on the head.<sup>1</sup> The instance reported by Bishop Whitehead of votaries visiting *Durgāmmā* with pins fastened in their cheeks and lamps on their heads may be interpreted as an instance of vicarious sacrifice and lamp-offering.

Dancing as a mode of worship is well known and is of old origin. It is practised in the worship of the Devī and Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, but it is particularly appropriate in the case of Śiva who is the presiding deity of dancing and music.<sup>2</sup> Fondness for dancing is an important trait in the composite conception of Rudra-Śiva, and his tāṇḍava or orgiastic dancing is famous. Votaries in the Chaitra, Gambhirā and Gājana festivals, who call themselves *sannyāsis* or *bhaktas* indulge in orgiastic dancing until some one of them becomes possessed (*bhara*).<sup>3</sup> Dancing in the rites mentioned above is, therefore, clearly a method of inducing ecstasy for establishing communion between the deity and the community of devotees represented by the possessed person. Now, the *Vāṇafodā* rites in the *Burīr Jāt* involving self-mortification or blood-offering, lamp-offering and dancing are but replicas of the same rites as practised in the Chaitra, Gambhirā and Gājana festivals. The festivals are generally held on the last day of Chaitra, but Gambhirā and Gājana festivals are held sometimes in Baiśākh or Jyaiṣṭha in some places.<sup>4</sup> The *Burīr Jāt*, as reported, is held in Jyaiṣṭha. It would appear, therefore, that in respect of an important aspect the *Burīr Jāt* is an extension of the old Saiva festivals, held generally on the last day of Chaitra known as Caḍaka, Gambhirā or Gājana festival.

With regard to the other important feature of it, namely, dancing with dressed up bamboo poles, we have seen that the custom prevails among certain tribal peoples and among Moslems in different parts of the country. Among Moslems the custom of exhibition of such bamboo poles is associated, as we have seen, with the idea of marriage and fertility. The bamboo pole occupies an important place in certain parts of the marriage ceremony among Hindus in Bengal, Bihar and Assam. In North Bengal in the *Sātpāka* rite the bridegroom is made to

<sup>1</sup> Kālikā Purāṇa: Bangavasi Edition, Chapter 67.

<sup>2</sup> Mahābhārata Anuśāsana Parvvan, Ch. 17, Verse 50; Santi P., Ch. 284. Bangavasi Edition.

<sup>3</sup> Haridās Pālit: *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

stand against a bamboo pole on a wooden stool while the bride, seated on a wooden seat (*pirā*), is carried by her male relatives and made to circumambulate the groom seven times in that state. In some parts of East Bengal bamboo poles instead of plantain trees are planted in four corners of the marriage quadrangle known as *chādnātālā*. The same practice obtains in some parts of Assam. In Bihar a bamboo post is planted when the *matkorā* rite is performed.<sup>1</sup> A painted bamboo post is set up in the nuptial booth in parts of South India and worshipped with offerings of cocoanut flowers. Bishop Whitehead thinks that the post may represent the spirit who presides over the procreation of children.<sup>2</sup> Writing of the Garos, Major Playfair notes that bamboo poles are erected by them as offerings to spirits or the dead.<sup>3</sup> That bamboo poles offered to the dead are not memorial posts is proved by the setting up of *kimus* (carved memorial posts) near houses when people die and the existence of *Asong* stones to which sacrifices are made. What purpose these bamboo-offerings are meant to serve is not clearly stated but it seems likely that they are intended as temporary perches for the spirits of the dead. They may in some cases be intended to ward off evil. Bamboo posts are fixed in the ground in front of each house by the Mal Paharias to ward off evil spirits.<sup>4</sup> No instance of the practice of exhibiting dressed up bamboos among the Garos is given by Playfair, and Dalton in his account of the Garos does not mention any such practice among them. We owe to Hunter an interesting account of a festival of the Rajvansis in North Bengal which throws some light on the significance of the practice as obtaining among Hinduized tribes. 'Every year', writes Hunter, 'on the 14th day of the moon in the month of Chaitra the Rajvansis worship *Madan Kāmdeo*, the god of love. Large, straight bamboos covered with red cloth and surmounted by *chāmars* (yak's tail) are erected in the courtyard and great rejoicing prevails. Songs of a loose description used to be sung on this occasion. The worship is continued for three days and on the fourth day the cloth is taken off the bamboos and thrown away'.<sup>5</sup>

There is no mention of the practice of exhibition of dressed up bamboos in the account, but it clearly brings out the connection of the festival with fertility rites. It would appear that the bamboo festival of the Kacharis mentioned by Dalton and the practice of exhibition of dressed up bamboo poles in the *Burir Jāt* are connected with the same rites. The so-called marriage festival of Ghāzi Miyāñi or Shāh Mādār celebrated by Moslems in a similar fashion is also connected with the same

<sup>1</sup> George A. Grierson: Bihar Peasant Life, p. 363, 1885, Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> Whitehead: *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Major A. Playfair: The Garos, p. 90, 1909, London.

<sup>4</sup> Dalton: *Op. cit.*, p. 272.

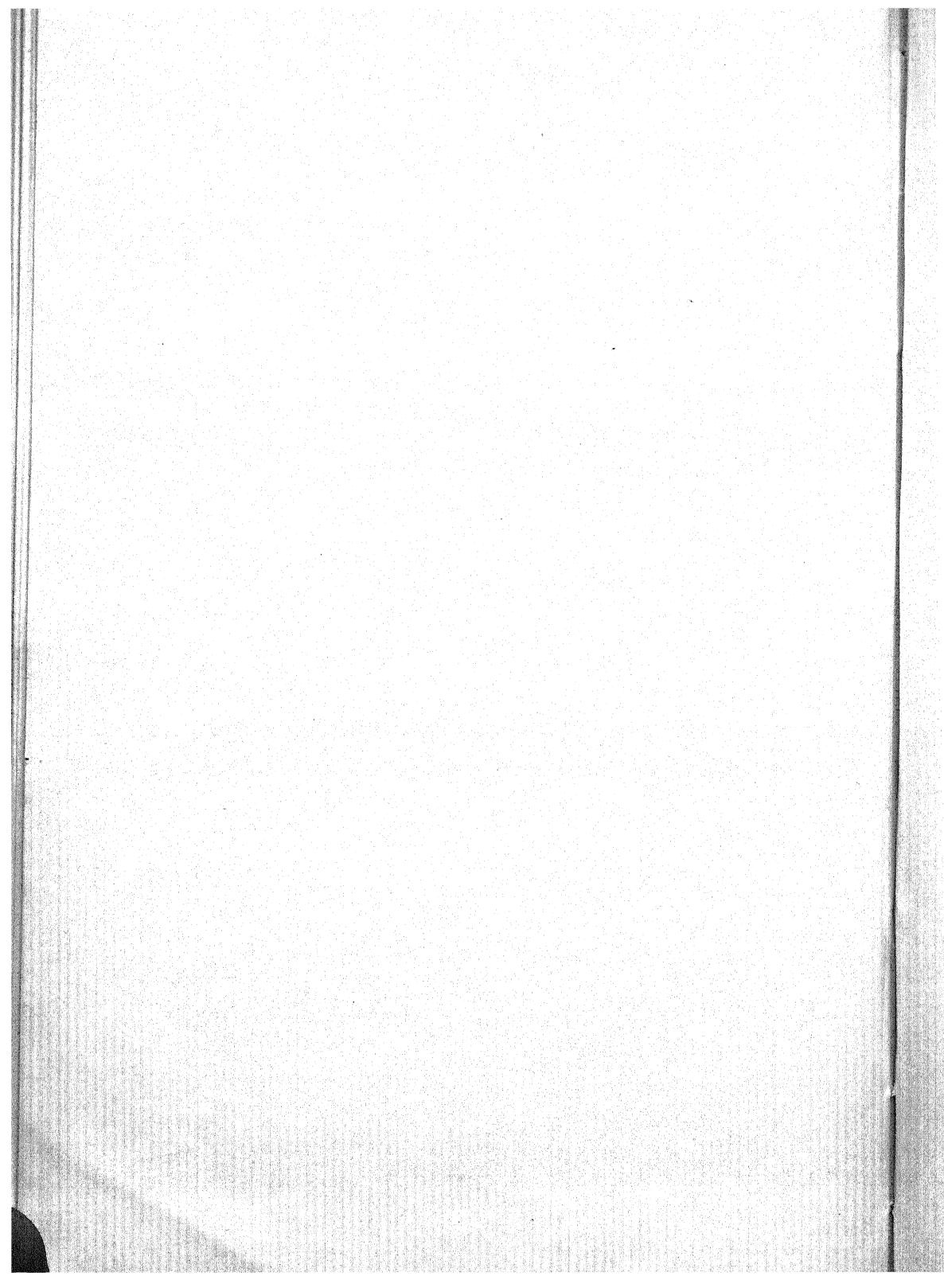
<sup>5</sup> Hunter: *Op. cit.*, Vol. X, p. 376.

rites. In the case of Bogra Moslems we have it on the testimony of Hunter that the festival had as its object a desire for increase of offspring. The instances of the association of bamboo poles with marriage ceremony in Bengal, Bihar and Assam would further establish this connection of bamboo poles with fertility rites.

The specific instances mentioned above would also indicate the place occupied by dressed up bamboo poles in the fertility rites. The erection of dressed up bamboo poles in the courtyard in honour of the god of love and singing of obscene songs clearly indicate that they were regarded as phallic symbols. This view is in some measure corroborated, as we have seen, by Bishop Whitehead.

We find thus that the *Burīr Jāt*, which forms a part of the cult of the Old Lady, has assimilated features on the one hand from the ancient Chaitra festivals of Saiva character and on the other, from a tribal fertility cult. This composite product has been brought into intimate connection with the cult of a tribal clandestinity who has, undoubtedly due to the important position of her votaries in that part of the country where her cult prevails, secured sufficient recognition from the members of the Brahmanical society so as to be worshipped in the Brahmanical form,—the tribal worship existing side by side—and affiliated, under the name *Vṛddhaśvari*, to the great Devi the mother of the universe.

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Some Notes on Bongaism.

By W. J. CULSHAW.

Professor D. N. Majumdar, in his work on the Hos (*A Tribe in Transition*, published in 1937) has coined the term 'Bongaism' to describe the religion of the Hos. In Bodding's *Santali-English Dictionary* the word 'bonga' is defined to mean 'a spirit, godling, demon'. Without question, this is correct so far as common usage among the Santals is concerned, but Professor Majumdar in his work has discussed at some length the meaning of the word, and he comes to a somewhat different conclusion, which if found to be justified, would be of great interest to students of primitive religion. He maintains that the meaning of 'bonga' is 'a power, a force'.<sup>1</sup> This power is impersonal and supernatural, and the Hos have derived the idea of 'bongas', or spirits, from the original idea of a vague and mysterious power. In other words, he identifies it with the conception of 'mana' as it is found in Melanesia. As he not only draws on his observation among the Hos to arrive at this conclusion, but implies by reference to the Mundas and Santals that it is valid for them also, these notes based on experience among the Santals, chiefly in the Bankura District, are offered as a contribution to the discussion.

The evidence of the Santali language is suggestive in this connection. We find in Santali grammar that a distinction is drawn between the animate and the inanimate. 'This distinction is not between living and dead matter, or between spirit and matter, but between what, according to Santal ideas, has a soul and what has not.'<sup>2</sup> The Santals regard as animate all those beings which from their experience, and arguing from the analogy of human behaviour, appear to be independent agents; those entities, which either in fact or in myth, display what we may call 'personality'. 'Jivi', soul, is always constructed as inanimate, being apparently regarded as a 'stuff'; but when 'hormo' (body), and 'jivi' are joined together, an animate being is the result. Certain words may according to meaning be constructed with either form; an instructive instance is the word 'buru'—when referring to spirits this is animate, but when meaning a mountain it is inanimate in construction. 'Bonga', however, is always constructed with the animate form. If there were any evidence of 'bonga' being regarded as impersonal,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'A Tribe in Transition', pp. 131 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Bodding, 'Materials for a Santali Grammar', Part 2, p. 29.

and therefore (for a Santal) as inanimate, we would expect to find it reflected in the way in which the word is constructed in speech. When a Ho dies, we are told he is 'bongaia', which is interpreted to mean the union of a fraction of 'bonga' with the whole. The phrase 'bongaia jana', meaning 'to die', is contrasted with 'menaia', 'to exist'. In Santali, 'menaea', 'he exists', is opposed by 'banugic'a', 'he does not exist', or, 'he is not present'. The root of this verb, 'ba', is the ordinary Santali negation. The corresponding form in Ho is 'bañak'ea',<sup>1</sup> and one is tempted to wonder whether the similarity in form between this word and 'bonga', has misled Professor Majumdar.

However, it is also true of the Santals that they occasionally use the expression, 'goc'ko doko bongaakana', 'the dead ones have become "bongas"', and this does represent the common belief. In reply to my question as to what a Santal means by this phrase, an educated Santal once informed me that it meant that the dead ones have no shape or form. He used the Bengali word *ବୀର୍ଣ୍ଣ*, and he was probably rationalizing. This does not necessarily imply impersonal 'bonga', and indeed the use of the animate pronominal suffix '-ko' tells against it. A more simple explanation may be found in the fact that every dead Santal—with the exception of certain people who die in well-defined 'unnatural' circumstances—becomes a 'bonga' to someone. Thus, a man or a woman who dies and whose funeral rites have been duly performed takes his place among the 'ancestors', who are one of the most important classes of spirits, to whom offerings are regularly made. The importance of a particular 'bonga' of this class is dependent on the position he occupied in Santal society while alive. At the bottom of the scale we find the ordinary person who becomes a 'bonga' to his own descendants. The village 'mañjhi', on the other hand, takes his place in the 'mañjhithan'; in the Santal Parganas he is generally represented by a stone, in the Bankura District at the present day he is often represented by a clay elephant or horse. The due offering of sacrifices to the dead 'mañjis' is a matter of vital concern to the whole village. But whether humble or exalted, the 'bonga' in every case preserves an individual entity.

It would be attractive to derive from this a theory of the origin of all 'bongas' from ancestor worship. The Santals themselves have a saying, 'Horge bonga, dakge handi paura', meaning, 'Men are bongas, and water is beer and spirits', and they use it to express the belief that all the bongas were originally men. However, one fact connected with the cultus militates against any such simplification. When offerings are made to the ancestors, the 'hapramko', the animal is slain by a blow on the back of the head, without blood-shedding. In the case of

<sup>1</sup> Bodding, *op. cit.*, page 283.

offerings to other 'bongas', the animal is beheaded. These latter 'bongas' are therefore more likely to be connected with fertility cults, and any discussion of which is anterior in time is fruitless until we know more about the cultural relations of the ancestors of the Kol tribes of to-day in the course of their wanderings. The Santals, further, make no offerings at all to the Supreme God, called 'Sín bonga', 'Cando bonga', or 'Thakur', and vaguely identified with the sun. He is acknowledged as the Creator and the Sustainer of all; but the rest of the 'bongas' stand in a definite relationship with the Santals, and this explains why a non-Santal may do with impunity what no Santal would dare to do; the jurisdiction of the 'bongas' is limited to Santal society.

A few years ago, near the village of Bānkādaha in Bankura District, a well-known Santal 'ojha' or medicine man, died. In the ordinary course of events, his powers of exorcism and healing would descend to his disciples, and they would carry out ceremonies to ensure that the powers he possessed would pass to them. As he was a well-known man, his disciples kept watch over the spot on which he had been cremated, in order to forestall others who might be tempted to steal his powers. My informant used the phrase, 'uniko dokholea', 'They will (attempt to) possess him'. Here there is no notion of an impersonal power, but of bringing the spirit of the departed into control, and through him, the powers he possessed. The method consists of drawing an image of the dead man in the ground, and making offerings to it in his name, a fact which bears out the interpretation that the 'bonga' is still conceived of as personal, and not as 'a part of a larger whole which is "bonga"'.

Professor Majumdar draws an interesting distinction between malevolent and benevolent spirits, stating that those who are regarded as malevolent are borrowed from Hinduism. The Mundas, according to S. C. Roy,<sup>1</sup> recognize two classes of spirits, the 'Manita-bongas' and the 'Banita-bongas', the latter being 'evil spirits' who are not worshipped. Such a distinction does not appear to be found among the Santals. The deities of the Hindus are called 'bongas'<sup>2</sup> but they are not worshipped. The early missionaries were prone to regard all the 'bongas' as evil spirits, but the truth would rather seem to be that the 'bongas' are somewhat unreliable. Like human beings, they cannot always be relied upon, and it is important for the Santals to be in their good books. A Santal once said, 'The chief reason for

<sup>1</sup> S. C. Roy, 'The Mundas', page 469.

<sup>2</sup> I once heard an interesting use of the word 'bonga', probably connected with this fact. I was standing by my bicycle, conversing with some Santals, when a child of about two, carried in his father's arms, pointed to the trade mark of a lion on the cycle, and said 'bonga'. My surmise is that the child had seen pictures of Hindu deities in his village, and thought that all pictures were 'bongas'.

worshipping the "bongas" is that they may leave us in peace'. Actually, the less dealings the Santal has with his 'bongas', the better he is pleased; when things go wrong, one possibility is always that some 'bonga' has been offended. The Santals do not, however, live in perpetual fear of the 'bongas'; that the word has a neutral connotation is perhaps indicated by the following phrase which occurs in a song composed by a Santal Christian convert, 'Jisu Masi sari bonga do'. (Jesus Christ is the true 'bonga'.) Their fears of the supernatural are spasmodic, and are more closely linked with their dread of witchcraft than their belief in the 'bongas'. Yet there is little of what we understand by reverence in their attitude. They believe that the 'bongas' can be controlled by proper ceremonies, and that they will play their part, of non-interference rather than active benevolence, if the ceremonies are correctly performed. The language of the invocations, and also the manner in which they are recited, is often bullying in the extreme. It is interesting that Dessoali, who occupies an important place in the tribal cultus of the Hos, is an 'abge bonga' (private family spirit, whose name should not be revealed) of a section of the Santals.

Professor Majumdar states that among the Hos the word 'bonga' is 'commonly used to explain the source of all prohibitions'. One could have wished for examples, for the evidence among the Santals does not support this statement. Regarding marriage taboos, the exogamy of the septs is regarded by the Santals themselves as being due to the fact that each sept has a common ancestry. Other marriage taboos, e.g., the taboo against the marriage of a Kisku with a Marndi, or the marriage of a Tudu with a Besra, have their traditional 'explanation' in myths which are quite unconnected with the belief in 'bongas'. An interesting prohibition connected with 'bonga-worship' among the Santals of Bankura and Midnapore has its source not in the 'bongas' themselves, but in their recognition of a higher authority. It is that they will not celebrate the Baha festival (flower festival of spring) before the Dol Kunami (full-moon). The reason given is that 'Thakure aithak'a'. (God will be served with the leavings of the offerings to the bongas.) The Santals do not themselves take any part in the religious ceremonies of Dol Jatra, but the saying seems to imply a recognition of Hinduism as a higher religion, one that is more closely in touch with the supreme being than they are themselves.

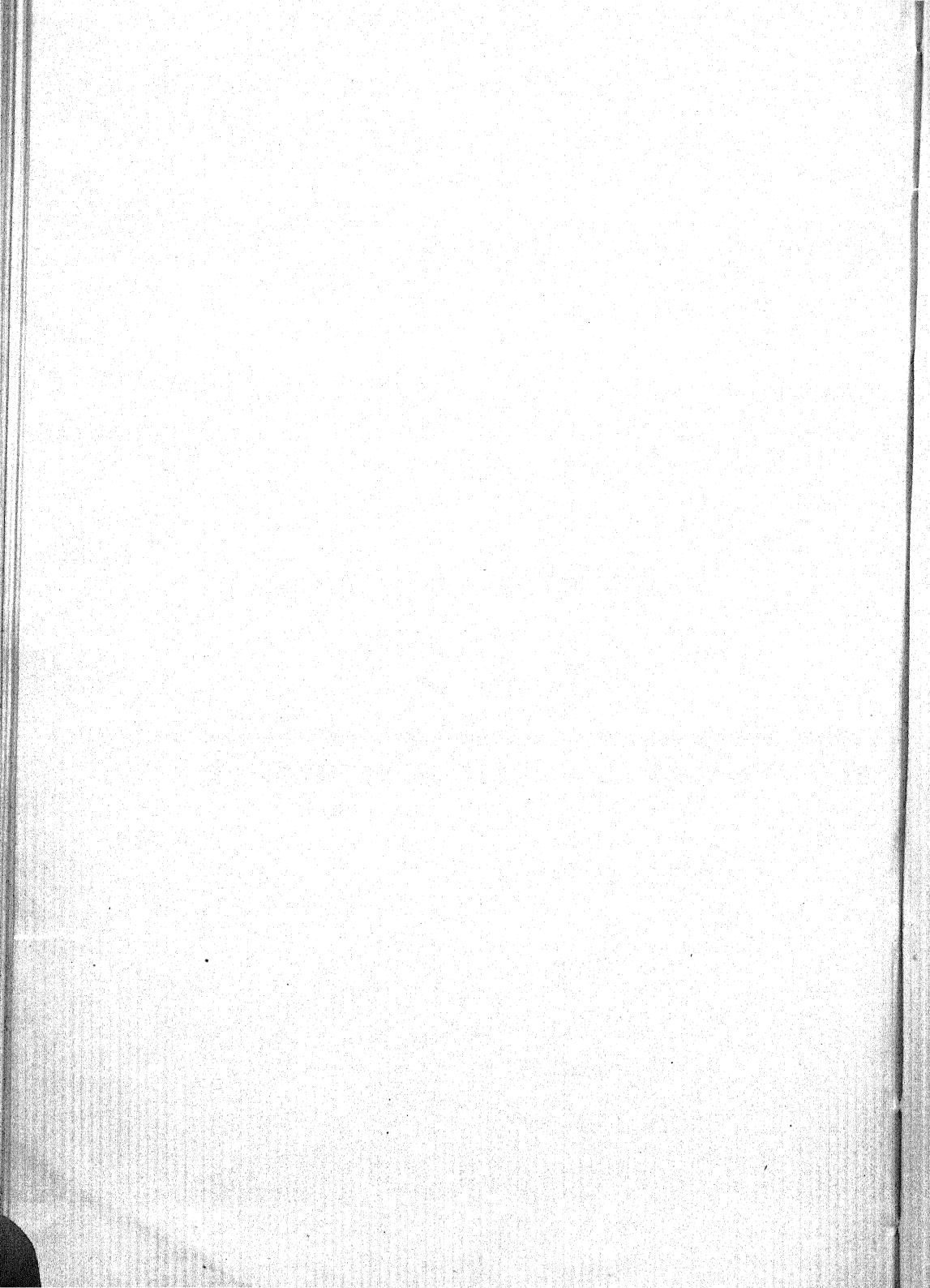
#### SUMMARY.

Among the Santals there is no evidence to show that they either now or in the past have held beliefs which would justify us in maintaining that the word 'bonga' can mean an impersonal and all-pervading power. Pantheistic notions among present-day Santals are a late accretion due to Hindu influences, and are

in no way reflected in their customary practices and beliefs. It would seem that we must look elsewhere than in their 'Bongaism' for traces of a conception analogous to 'Mana'.

*Note.*—The spelling of Santali words is in accordance with Bodding's Dictionary.

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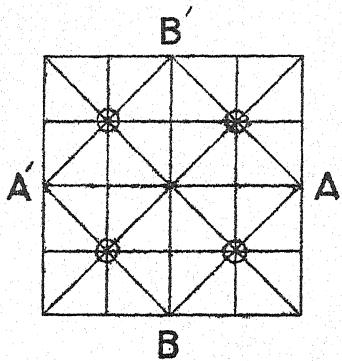


**Sedentary Games—proposed nomenclature of its points.**

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.)

In describing the various sedentary games, the usual method adopted is to give the diagram and indicate on it, either by marks, or lettering, or by lengthy descriptions, the points occupied by the pieces of the opposing parties. The movements of the pieces are then described in a sentence or two, such as 'the usual rule of capture is followed by jumping over to a vacant point', 'successive captures are allowed', etc. etc. But we think the method suggested below will not unnecessarily encumber the diagram with marks or distinguishing letters; and when several games are described on the same diagram different pictures of the same will not be required; and further—and this is most important, the movements of the several pieces can be described far more accurately.



Let us now describe the method suggested. Let the diagram be described; and the points on it be numbered 1, 2, 3, 4 . . . . along the horizontal lines successively, beginning with the topmost left-hand corner and ending with the bottom righthand corner. All the points need not be numbered in the diagram as printed; it will be sufficient if we give only the numbers on the rim of the figure at significant points, e.g. on the extreme left-hand and righthand sides of the horizontal lines. When this method becomes familiar and well-accepted, it will not even be necessary to number the various points. The advantages of our suggested method will be apparent from a consideration of

the diagram of *Bagh-Bandi*, or *Bagh-Chal*. It has been described in *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XXIX, (1933), p. 169.

The two tigers are placed either at points marked A, A' or at points marked B, B'. The goats are grouped at the points enclosed by circles. There are several variants of the game. In our proposed nomenclature it would be sufficient to say that the two tigers are placed either at points 3, 23 or at 11, 15. The twenty goats are grouped together, five each, at points 7, 9, 17 and 19. Usually the tiger captures one goat at a time by jumping over it to a vacant point opposite, such as from A' to B'; but in some variants of the game successive captures are allowed in one direction only, but not by jumping forward and backward over the same point. For example, the tiger may proceed from A' to B', then to A, and B, and back to A'; then it can proceed again to B', A, B, etc. But it is not permissible for the tiger to jump from A' to B'; and back from B' to A'. The tiger can also jump from A' to the topmost lefthand corner; and from it to B' and back to A'; but it is not permissible for it to proceed to B' first, and then from B' to the topmost lefthand corner. In other words, the tiger can move clock-wise, or towards the right-hand side, but not anti-clockwise. In our proposed nomenclature it would be sufficient to say that the tiger can proceed from 11 to 3, then to 15, and 23, and back to 11. It can proceed from 11 to 1, then to 3, and back to 11; but if it goes from 11 to 3 first, it cannot go from 3 to 1. The description of the game would be far more exact and concise; and variations in the game can be described easily.

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**The Indian Theatre of Anglo-Dutch Competition  
(1600 to 1652).**

By J. C. DE.

The tenacious Dutch attacked Goa in 1603, and three years later inflicted a crushing defeat on Nuno Pereira commanding five Portuguese ships. Portuguese ships were seized and Goa blockaded. In the meantime, they obtained trading concessions from the 'Zamorin, Emperor of Malabar', at Calicut. Their aim which seems to be more aggressive than that of the English prompted them to seek permission to build a fort. Their struggle with the Portuguese continued, and while Portugal sought the alliance of the Mughul, the Dutch aided the king of Arakan in attacking the Catholic Power. The year 1616 sees the presentation of the nineteen articles by Roe to Jahángír and the conclusion of an agreement by Captain Keeling with Calicut. The Captain had named Surat as the chief factory of the English in the Mughal Empire just a month ago. In August of the same year, Pieter van den Broecke, a native of Antwerp, wanted to establish a factory at Surat. But this was not the first Dutch attempt to trade with Western India. As early as 1602, De Wolff and Lafer in trying to do so lost their lives in the hands of the Portuguese. Then in 1606 David van Deynsen and two others tried their luck at Surat. But Portuguese persecution drove van Deynsen to commit suicide. The Dutch at Masulipatam sent Pieter Gillis van Ravesteyn and Hendrik Adriaensen to liquidate his effects, and also to find out any prospect of commerce with the locality. But van Ravesteyn felt much discouraged on his arrival, as the Mughul did not seem to be anxious to grant trade concessions and the Portuguese continued to be definitely hostile. In 1616 he pointed out in his report that it was not possible to overcome the obstacles in the way of having a factory. But on 23rd July of that year the Nassau under Pieter van den Broecke sailed into the mouth of the Tapti. The English showed hospitality but would not encourage the stay of the Dutch by any means though their ambassador feared European complications if actual force was used against the new comers. In addition, the Mughul Viceroy was not friendly to them, apparently because he received 800 rials from the English. The English agents perceived that they would have to face two difficulties if the Dutch were allowed to continue prowling into and about Surat. They might 'doe some spoyle on the coast in revenge of certaine debts oweing'.

They might even venture to 'robb Sultan Caronns shipp' which was on its way from 'Moha'. If they did so, 'it would bee very ill taken of the (Mughul)' because the English had been telling the Indian authorities in season and out of season that the Dutch were really more or less a vassal nation of England's. 'He (the Emperor) had often heard,' Roe was told by a grandee, 'that they were a nation, though not subject, yett some way dependant upon the King of England'. The Dutchman had already on his way to Surat plundered a rich Portuguese vessel laden probably with Ceylon products. Roe however admits that 'any enterprize on the coast' by the Dutch was 'not so urgent as I pretended'. But in his letter of 30th August, 1617, he suspected them of 'robb(ing) with English Coulors'. 'I know no reason', he says in a privateering complex, 'why we should not beate them off at sea'. Secondly, if the Dutch settled 'a factory ....they would both', added the ambassador, 'outpresent, outbribe, and outbuy us in all things'. Therefore Roe tried every move to get the Dutch away from their objective. 'I would.....lay such rubbs in the Hollanders way as should not easily be remooved.' The Dutchman after all failed. But in 1617, he was forced by the wind to the Daman coast, and his ship, the *Middelburg*, got wrecked. The *Duif* which was its consort also became stranded. Van den Broecke journeyed to Gandevi and established himself there with his company.

Kerridge and Rastell writing in November again suspected that the main objective of this Dutch voyage was to plunder ships on the high seas and thus 'strengthen(-) their begun trade'. In any case, when the Dutch Captain begged the English to take himself and his crew to Bantam, or to sell to them a captured Portuguese vessel, Roe encouraged his countrymen in 'no way to releeve them', and the party had to proceed to Masulipatam by land. But 'they (the Dutch)' left at Surat 'a President, three other merchants four or five ..... assistants' and others.

Pieter Gillis van Ravesteyn the new Surat factor undertook a mission to Court. He knew well how to grease the wheels of diplomacy, and brought 'a great present of China ware, sanders' (candana) 'parrots and cloaves'. Again the boasts of the English that the Dutch were a dependent nation of theirs made the Mughul ask the English (as their 'friends') to present them to Court. The English ambassador could not very well decline to comply with this request, and their commercial rivals had to be introduced by the English themselves. Ultimately, van Ravesteyn wrote to the Directors that some, though not all the concessions they had solicited, were granted to them. 'The Fleminge,' laments Roe on 14th February, 1618, 'is planted at Suratt', (and) 'hath obteyned a firmaen upon as good termes almost as wee', in spite of all his efforts to 'crosse him'.

We may note incidentally that Roe complained to Ravesteyn about the Dutch quasi-privateerings in the Archipelago, and

threatened reprisals. The Dutch representative, however, professed to be undaunted at that prospect.

But the menace of the Dutch had to be checked. In his letter of 1618 Roe adds 'The Dutch.....wrong you in all parts and grow to insufferable insolencies.....you must speedelye looke to this maggat; els, wee talke of the Portugall, but these will eate a woorme in your sides'.

Their hostile relations with the English are again frequently testified to by the documents of the period which follows. Rastell and others wrote from Surat to Batavia early in 1622, 'We pray God that theare mischevous practizes transfer not hither'. About a couple of months later, Batavia informed the Company that the Dutch had refused to carry twenty bales of English merchandise which were lying at Palikat.

They even refused to allow letters to the English be sent with their own to Masulipatam towards the close of that year.

Then in February, 1623, came the Amboyna tragedy, and the English factors in India became deeply agitated. On 8th September, Mills and Duke referred in their letter from Masulipatam to 'the lamentable death of soe many our good friends in Amboyna, performed on them by the Dutches crultie'. Brockedon, the President, mentioned, 'the blody execution of our innocent people' at Amboyna in his letter to Surat of 27th March, 1624.

In England 'sundry of the greatest' in the Royal Council 'shed tears', and the Company gave out that if the King continued his policy of not taking steps to bring the Dutch to book, they were going 'to fetch home what they have in the Indies'. 'The True Relation' was presented to James, and at last on the 16th July, 1624, he declared that he would extort satisfaction by seizing Dutch ships if necessary, and ordered the ambassador in Holland to threaten reprisals on Dutch subjects and 'an irreconcilable war'.

On the recommendation of the Committee appointed in September, 1624, which included the Lord President, the Lord Steward, the Earl Marshal the Lord Chamberlain and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Buckingham was asked by an order in council dated the 30th of that month to despatch men of war for capturing Dutch ships bound for and from the East. The Dutch, however, continued to trifle with the weak English king, and practically nothing was done. Charles came to the throne, and actually seized three Dutch vessels on one occasion; but a present of 30,000*l.* probably made him release them.

In England it was probably held at this time that unless an Englishman was proved to be a pirate, he could not be executed on any other charge, while in the East.

The English, however, helped the Persian to expel the Portuguese from Ormus in April, 1622, and Portugal determined on revenge seemed eager to strike hard at English interests in the

East. This fact made the English keen to conclude an alliance with the Dutch who were also ready to take advantage of any opportunity to further their commercial interests in India and the Gulf. The fleets of the two nations fought side by side on several occasions against the Portuguese during the period which followed. To take an example or two.

'Captain Weddell aboard the *Royal James*' wrote to the Company on 27th April, 1625, that when the Anglo-Dutch fleet came face to face with the Portuguese navy of eight led by the dauntless Nuno Alvarez Botelho, the Dutch agreed with the English in maintaining the contest to the end, and said that they 'would sticke as close unto us as the sherts on our backs, wee promisinge the like unto them'.

Becker, the Dutch Commander, led the way with his *Zuid Holland*. In the afternoon, he was, however, hit by a shot and instantly killed. He was 'so much lamented by Dutch and Englesh, in respecte that hee had shewed himselfe soe valient and maintained that dayes fighte with as much resolucion as mighte bee'. The fight continued. 'Our ordinance went of licke muskete; the dromes beate and our trumpeters (were) sounding, and the flying shoot tearing each other sayles and rigging.' Without any manouevring worth noting, the ship to ship fight went on throughout the greater part of the 1st of February. After a joint consultation on the 2nd the allies attacked fiercely on the 3rd. On this day also according to the Marine Records Weddell was 'bravelly seconded by..... the Dutch'. Weddell who led the way in the *James* was beset by the enemy 'who behaved themselves verey stoutley'. But the English 'so plyed their ordnance upon them that thaye all refused to staye by us, but fled all afore us as smocke afore the wynd'.

On 13th February the allied flotilla left Gombroon, and the Portuguese weighed anchor and sailed ahead of them. 'It was four of the clocke in the afternoone before wee got up with them. Our Admirall, with the *Jonas* and three Hollanders gave them a brave farewell, which continued untill seven at nighte at which time the Portingales stooed in for Suar and wee on our course for India. In all this fighte there was slayne outrighte 29.... of the English, and more of the Dutch by three or four.' The brave sailors had however made a miscalculation, and for that reason on March the 1st, 'this day beinge shrove Tuesday, wee had noe pancakes, by reason it was taken for the 29th February'.

The Portuguese were not however going to give up the contest easily. The brave Botelho lost two of his fleet. But with the remaining ones, he 'rood at Swalley and sent his challenge to the English and Dutch to fight with on or more shipp or ships of them as they pleassed'. The Anglo-Dutch forces however did not dare accept the challenge. Prowling near the Indian coast, Botelho caught the three English ships coming from

England under Captain Blyth. Their other consort—the *Falcon*—under Francis Pinder had straggled away. After a fight the English succeeded in escaping the enemy. Shortly afterwards, however, Ruy Freire attacked one of these, the *Lion*, and burnt her.

Then on 24th November, 1625, the Dutch *Goede Fortuin*, *Nieuw Bantam*, *Beer*, *Goude Leeuw*, *Walcheren* and *Heusden* left for Persia in company with the *Royal James* and three others. They could not find Botelho anywhere, because at that moment his ships rode in 'a hole called Bombayee'. On the 8th October, 1626, again the Anglo-Dutch sailed in search of the elusive Portuguese, reached Bombay, and bombarded the settlement.

But all this joint action did not bring about co-ordination of interests. Over a scheme of fortifying Bombay, for example, the allies fell out. The English 'invite(d) the Dutch principalls in the behaulf of both companies unto a frendlie conjunction in the attempt'. But the Dutch 'in their reply....merely reject(ed) the project as incommodious and to our apprehension absolutely refuse(d) any conjoyning'. The persistent Dutch commercial competition in the East is referred to very forcibly by President Wylye two years later. The Dutch had 'five shippes from Jaccatra, with large caviddal for' Surat and Persia. If the English company continued to 'neglect these northern factories but one or two yeaire more as they have done those two past', then their rivals, 'with intente onlie to beat (the English) out of trade, so to leave the same wholie unto them' would 'overbearre us'.

Another letter of Wydle of the 21st December, 1628, mentions that the 'insolency' of their rivals has compelled the English to take away their agents from Batavia. 'Wee in theise parts (western India) live upon faire and freindly termes with them; yet doe wee not lett to thinke it is more for want of power to doe us wronge then will to effect itt'. The English are, he adds, also ready to take up the challenge, 'had wee warrant for our action'.

Again in 1626, Mills and two other factors of the Company had obtained some commercial concessions from an Indian prince 'written upon an ola', as a result of which the Dutch were excluded from the trade with Armagaon and Kottapatnam. Dutch documents tell us that because they had carried on commerce with the latter place for a number of years, the exclusion from Kottapatnam was decidedly irksome. While the negotiations between the English and the *Nayaka* were going on, a Dutch emissary armed with presents and promises had arrived to foil the English attempt.

Then again the Dutch protected some Asiatic ships against seizure by the English. Thereupon Captain Hall and others informed them on the 14th March, 1624, that 'the estate and condition of 'the English President and Council 'are both betrayed and

intrahauled by your instigations and underhand dealing with our enemies, these people'. Thus the Dutch, the English held, were violating the Treaty of Defence.

On the 6th February, 1626, President Hawley pointed out from Batavia that English trade at Masulipatam 'lieth there also on bleeding', and one of the causes which had led to the existence of such a state of affairs was 'the disagreements between us and the Dutch'. At the same time the documents also testifies to the strength of the European feeling in the East when it envisages the possibility of joint action by the Dutch and English against the oppressive 'Governours of Musulpatam'. The general effect of Dutch competition on the English Company's trading ventures was one of the main causes of the extreme lack of interest shown by subscribers in response to a call for contributions in June, 1628. A new subscription for a Third Joint Stock also failed.

The English also complained that the Dutch war with Bantam was handicapping their pepper trade.

During the period which immediately followed in spite of expectations of co-operation against the Portuguese (for example in Rastell's letter of 24th October, 1630, from Surat) the Dutch pushed on vigorously with their commercial ventures in the Archipelago, and English trade remained sadly impaired. Suspicion of their 'treacherous craft' lay uppermost in the minds of the English factors in Western India. In Japan they were free from European competition and their Chinese projects continued to be keenly pursued. In India and Persia their abundant spices and specie made them easily obtain the upper-hand over the English. The letter to the Company from Swally of 13th April, 1630, says, 'their proceed in...all....comodities in our apprehencions tendes to noe other end then to beate you from this trade alsoe'. It adds that 'the Dutches clothe of the same colours and prices excel(ling) yours in goodnes and well dressing above the one halfe'. On the 31st December, 1630, Rastell said in his letter from Surat that the Dutch and others bought 'indicoe' at an unusually high price. So 'there is left but a poore remaines of refuse stuff behinde, enough only for this countreys service'. Skibbow and Bangham then in Bantam Road informed the Company on the 22nd December, 1631, 'itt seems all goes nott well betwext England and them (the Dutch) for they have order not to send their shippes through the Channell butt to goe abouute the Backside of Ireland and Scotland'.

In matters of Anglo-Dutch co-operation, the common bond does not seem to be so much mutual friendship as the existence of the equal danger. In the commercial field, the competition was sometimes carried to an absurd limit by offering European commodities at ridiculously cheap prices and buying Indian goods at ruinous rates, thus almost bringing

English trade to a standstill and endangering the Anglo-Mughul entente.

We also remember in this connection the effects on Anglo-Dutch relationships of the agreement concluded between the Portuguese and the Dutch regarding their position in Ceylon and elsewhere on 10th November, 1644.

Dutch ships came to Bengal first in 1615 and immediately afterwards fought the Portuguese off Arakan. A Dutch establishment probably existed at Chinsura in 1625. In any case in 1653, the Dutch hold on Chinsura became firm while Balasore was still in their hands. In 1655, the Directorate of Bengal came into existence. Many concessions were also granted to them by the Nawáb of Bengal.

When the Mughul 'leet (the indigo) oute to forme to one of his nobblemen' so that the Dutch and the English had to buy that commodity only through him, agreements were made between the two nations. But owing to various causes no satisfactory results followed.

Again when the Anglo-Portuguese accord was made between Conde de Linhares and President Methwold in 1635, the Dutch intrigued with the Mughul to annul it. Sháhjahán was willing to do so, provided the Dutch protected his shipping against English privateerings which might follow. Pieterszoon, the Dutch official, warmly supported the idea. But Batavia was too timid to take John Bull by the horn. The scheme consequently did not bear fruit. The effort of the Mughul to play the Dutch off against the English in connection with some restrictions which he wanted to impose on the Europeans by about this time, also failed.

The negotiations of the English with Golconda for commercial concessions and the grant of 'the Golden Farmán' to them on 26th February, 1634, were again not at all liked by the Dutch.

Various causes impeded English trade with Golconda, and the Dutch certainly 'outpresented' them when the King and his queens visited their factories.

The English had however to promise 3,000 pagodas, when their ships came.

The Portuguese were now hard pressed by the Dutch, and the English tried on occasion to help them. For example, Cogan and Wylde, two English merchants who reached Surat in 1639, had concluded an agreement with the Portuguese to carry supplies to Malacca which was besieged by the Dutch. But no ships were available for the purpose. The Portuguese were even expected in 1640 'to offer their forts and forces to the King of Englands command provided he bee pleased to protect them against the Dutch and graunt them' freedom of worship. Malacca however fell to the Dutch in 1641.

Commercial competition was fiercely continued, and (to take an instance) the sale of cloves brought in by the Expedition suffered from Dutch competition. They also hindered the English project of having a factory at Pondicheri, and when Tromp succeeded in defeating the Spanish fleet in English waters (on 11th October, 1639), the Dutch in the East 'shot from Chambers and handgüns' 'no lesse then a barrell of gunpowder', and piled up empty packing cases to make a bonfire which burnt for nearly two hours.

To the mortification of the English 'they were not nice to recount nor modest in magnifying theire (indeed) great victory against the Spaniard' to the local people, thus incidentally diminishing English prestige.

Not even the Royal flag of England protected a vessel against Dutch privateering. The *Bona Speranza* was carrying some Portuguese and their property through the Malacca straits. There they were met by two Dutch ships who wanted the English vessel to accompany them to Malacca. 'William Gourly' who 'was principall for the negotiateinge the intended designe' defied the Dutch commanders 'bidinge them looke up to there flagg'. The Dutch after negotiations probably opened fire, and the English 'in requitall fired a piece in her quarter'. The fight continued till about a hundred men were killed (according to Walter Clark's account of 17th December, 1643) on both sides. The Dutch ultimately carried 'them for Mallaca; imprisoned all the Portingalls'; forced English sailors to accept service with them; and all goods which were outside the 'ould' were 'seased on and shared by the souldiers as pillage'. They however 'appointed' 'the maimed' men to the hospital. The *Bona Speranza* did not belong to the Company.

But this vigorous Dutch action prevented their agents from carrying any Portuguese goods, for example, on the *Hind* when it was proposed to send her to Macao with Portuguese permission.

Even the trade with Basra which the English had so long carried on without interference was at last encroached on by the Dutch in 1645. Two of their ships reached that place on 19th July, and the English market was spoiled. In Persia the aggressive Dutch succeeded in extorting concessions while the English negotiations were impeded by the assassination of 'Edamont Dowlett (who) was killed in his owne hous' by Jánikhán and others. Arrangements were to be made with the new Itimáduddaula.

By the same time, the Fort St. George factors were prevented from getting a profitable lading for the *Swan* because of the fact that the Dutch had bought up all the good calicoes.

All the fault of the disagreements cannot, however, fall on the shoulders on the Dutch. The English were guilty of many indiscretions, for example, the purchase of Dutch property taken from them by an influential Indian named 'Malaya'.

It was by virtue of an additional article in the Treaty of as late as 13th August, 1814, between Great Britain and the Netherlands, that Baranagara was at last ceded to the British 'upon a payment of such sum annually as may be considered by Commissioners.....to be just and reasonable'.

In Europe the political sky was overcast with many a cloud. Diplomatic iniquities of which the British held the Dutch guilty, the sympathy for the Royalist cause, the question of French contraband in Dutch ships, the strengthening of the Dutch navy by the States-General, the competition with regard to the North Sea and Spitzbergen fisheries and the question of saluting the flag in British waters, all precipitated the war. 'The Dutch ever since our Death-Warrant to Charles first,' says Carlyle, 'looked askance at this New Commonwealth,' and 'accumulated offence on offence against it. Ambassador Doreslaus was assassinated in their country; Charles Second was entertained there, evasive answers were given to tough St. John.'

The Organists in Holland were eager to give full title to Charles II; the 'Regicides' who entered the Hague with a glittering following of about 250 and twenty-five gorgeous coaches were called among other unpleasant things, by at least a number of the Dutch, 'Cromwell's Bastards'; an unsatisfactory response was made to 'the wish of the Parliament to conclude a closer union of the two States, which would be for both more advantageous than heretofore, since it would not be dependant upon.....a single individual'. 'A more strict and intimate Alliance and Union.. . . . . whereby there may bee a more intrinsecall and mutual interest of each other' was not 'entred into', and navigation trade and fishery disputes could not be amicably settled. The Navigation Act of the 9th October, 1651, laid down that merchandise of non-European countries would not be allowed to enter any part of the British possessions if they not were carried there in English or Colonial ships. As regards European commodities, the concession was made that in the alternative they could be carried into British ports by ships of the country of origin. Dutch commerce specially with the West Indies suffered a very severe setback. In addition, the proviso that only English ships could carry salt-fish into and out of the country immediately affected the interests of Dutch fishermen. The Dutch who blocked the Scheldt to the detriment of Antwerp could not possibly object to the principle involved in the Act.

But the manner in which their ships were treated on the high-seas in execution of that measure justifiably provoked their resentment.

Again, it must be remembered that the whole outlook of the English Government at this time was more commercial than it had been before, because of its intimate connection with the chief traders of the Nation.

No list of causes of the Anglo-Dutch war would, however, be complete without a prominent place being assigned in it to the quasiprivateerings in Eastern Waters and cut-throat trade competition of the two nations in Hindusthána, the Archipelago and elsewhere in the East. 'The bloodie Amboyna businesse' and occupation of Pulu Run were mere games in the deciding set. Again the trade drive was not directed against the English in the East alone. It was part of a fierce one which spread across the Baltic, Russia and other places. During the war itself merchantmen had to be protected and carried into safety by the Dutch Admiral, and herring fisheries were destroyed by Blake. Among his instructions we find two which enjoin him to capture Dutch East Indiamen coming back by the North Scottish coast, and damage the Baltic trade of the Dutch.

Contemporary records of the Company naturally contain a number of references to the raisons d'être of this war, one of a series which deeply affect the East and West throughout the centuries that follow.

In explaining these we have to refer to many factors in Anglo-Dutch relationships of the preceding decades.

Fort St. George informed the Company on 18th January-1651, that Dutch (and Asiatic) competition 'on that coast be, tweene Ganges and the Streights of Mallacca' was keen. On 10th December, next year, the President points out that English policy, at that time, was not to provoke the Dutch but at the same time to be on guard against any dealings with them, however friendly these might appear to be at first sight. The probability of an armed conflict was recognized, and it was expected that 'our people would show themselves', if such an event came to pass, 'Englishmen here in India as well as our freinds at home'.

The petition which the Company submitted to Parliament in November, 1650, describes graphically the grievances they felt against the Dutch. The Dutch had violated the Treaty of 1619; ejected the English from 'their ancient and rightful inheritance' at Pulu Run, and also from Molucca, Lantore, Banda, and Amboyna; murdered Englishmen; destroyed spice trees; plundered and damaged English property at Batavia; prevented the English from retaliating on the Mughul; and committed 'piracies' on Turkish vessels under English colours. Among other specific charges special mention was made of the seizure of pepper from the Endymion. The Dutch in their turn pointed out that various claims they had on the English were not satisfied; three Dutch ships laden with Eastern merchandise were detained at Portsmouth and that the pepper trade at Bantam had suffered because of the English. The Dutch losses were assessed at about two million pounds: and it was pointed out that the ingratitude of the English became

palpable, when it was remembered that the Dutch, 'as becomes good trusty freinds' helped them with ships, food, etc., to evacuate Lagundy and return to Batavia, and thus escape an almost certain death in that unhealthy place. The English replied (after war had just broken out) that most of the claims rested on flimsy foundations, and that though the Dutch were certainly of service to them on the occasion of their return from Lagundy, it had to be remembered that it was because of the Dutch indignities showered on them in different parts of the Archipelago that the English had been compelled to migrate to that awful island. The English also claimed that their countrymen 'discovered' the Moluccas earlier than the Dutch, and that they established commercial relationships with India, Irán, Arabia, and elsewhere first. They could not thus be held guilty of any 'undercreeping'. The 'exercrable murthers' at Amboyna, etc., were again referred to. Further, the British complained that the Dutch did not dip their flags in salute to their navy in its own waters.

There was another immediate cause of the war. English ships had been given Letters of Marque against the French. The English privateers detained Dutch ships to search for French goods on board, as a consequence. The Dutch protested but these protests were unheeded. The news that the Dutch were adding quite a number of vessels to their fleet in defence of the right to sail unmolested was not certainly conducive to the continuance of peaceful relations.

Among the various papers relative to the English Company's losses which were collected for delivery to Swinglehurst (the Company's secretary) after the outbreak of the war, we find quite a good few which refer to the tragedy of Amboyna. This injury was rankling in the Englishman's mind all the time, and never ceased to cry for reparation. These papers also contained Edward Misselden's assessment of the gains which might be obtained from the rich Eastern trade which the Dutch were not to be allowed to monopolise on any account.

Blackman, the English President, summarized the Dutch war aims in the East when he wrote to Gombroon on 7th May, 1653, that the enemy desired not only the capture of all English ships but also 'the utter rooting us out of India, Persia, etc., that they may have the sole trade to themselves and commaund all in these parts as they doe in other places'.

At last a full-dress and tail-coat war broke out between the two Protestant democracies for maritime mastery, colonial supremacy and commercial facilities. Dean, Blake and Monck fought furiously with de With, Tromp and de Ruyter in Western Waters, and aimed not only at the destruction of each other's fighting fleets but also at that of all trade-activities.

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TERPSTRA: De Opkomst der westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische  
Compagnie.

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An Inquiry into the Origin of the City of Dacca.

By N. K. BHATTASALI.

It is well-known that Job Charnock was responsible for the foundation of Calcutta. But who founded Dacca? An inquiry into the origin of this second capital of Bengal reveals the strange fact that this city had no ceremonial foundation, but grew up of itself. No one came here with the intention of founding a city and none set about busily to do so. This sounds somewhat mystifying. It is necessary to take stock of the political condition of Bengal during this period, in order to clear up the mystery. The present paper is an attempt in that direction.

On the 11th July, 1576, Dāūd, the last independent Sultān of Bengal was captured and beheaded by the Mughals after his defeat in the battle of Rājmahal. Bengal nominally passed into the hands of the Mughals and became incorporated into the empire of the greatest of the Mughal Emperors, Akbar. But in reality from that date began a grim struggle between the leaderless chiefs of a kingless country and the mighty resources of the greatest emperor that Muslim India ever produced. These chiefs were generally known under the appellation of 'Bhūñās' and the period is usually called the period of the *Bāra* or the Twelve Bhūñās. There is no doubt that the number 'twelve' has no particular significance and is used to denote an indefinite number, as the number of the chiefs engaged in this struggle was certainly more than twelve. This rather remarkable struggle of the Hindu and the Muslim chiefs of Bengal has not received due recognition at the hands of the historians. Dr. V. A. Smith in his excellent work on Akbar practically ignores it. I crave the indulgence of the readers to quote from what I wrote elsewhere about this non-recognition by historians of this heroic struggle of the Bengal chiefs. 'I cannot but say that the thirty-eight years' (1575-1612 A.D.) struggle of the Bengal Chiefs for independence has not received the recognition it deserves. Rānā Pratāp of Mewār spent his life in fighting Akbar and ended his days sword in hand and independent. We have almost deified Rānā Pratāp and there is no name more honoured from one end of the country to the other than Rānā Pratāp's. But what then have the Bengal Chiefs done to deserve this oblivion? They did the same; they fought the greatest generals of Akbar, the very generals who had fought Rānā Pratāp. Rānā Pratāp was strong in cavalry, the Bengalees were strong in war-boats. The imperial generals were defeated again and again and driven out of Bengal. It was not before

1613 in the reign of Jahāngīr that Bengal was completely subjugated. And all these the Bengal Chiefs accomplished with the children of the soil and not with hirelings from Nepal or Rājputnā.<sup>1</sup>

I would only briefly outline the leading events of this grim struggle, in the form of a chronology :

11th July, 1576. Dāūd, the last independent Sultān of Bengal, beheaded after his defeat at Rājmahal. Khān Jahān, Governor of Bengal.

End of 1578. The Afghāns under 'Isā Khān Masnad-i-'Āli rise against the Mughals. Khān Jahān advances up to the border of present Mymensingh and Tippera and is severely defeated.

December, 1578. Death of Khān Jahān.

April, 1580. Muzaffar Khān, the next Governor, loses his life in his struggle with the rebels. Mughal sway disappears from Bengal. Half-hearted attempts of the next Governor Khān-i-'Ā'zam to recover Bengal.

April, 1583. Severe engagement near Tāndā between the rebels and the Mughals. Khān-i-'Ā'zam leaves Bengal without accomplishing anything. Shāhbāz Khān and Wazīr Khān succeed him one after another, but fare no better.

May, 1594. Māna Simhā appointed Subādār of Bengal.

Nov., 1595. Māna Simhā leaves Tāndā in Māldā district and removes his capital to Rājmahal, apprehensive of surprise attacks by the Bengal Chiefs.

1595-96. Māna Simhā engages 'Isā Khān Masnad-i-'Āli and Kedār Rāy of Vikrampur, with indifferent success.

March, 1597. Death of Himmat Simhā, son of Māna Simhā.

Sept., 1597. Durjan Simhā, son of Māna Simhā, killed in a naval action with 'Isā Khān off Vikrampur. Māna Simhā leaves Bengal in the hands of the rebels, and retires from the country. Bengal left practically without any Governor.

Sept., 1599. Death of 'Isā Khān.

Oct., 1599. Death of Jagat Simhā, son of Māna Simhā.

Beginning of 1601.<sup>2</sup> Māna Simhā, now old and decrepit, again sent to Bengal and fights the Chiefs this time with somewhat better success.

1604. Kedār Rāy of Vikrampur killed in battle. Māna Simhā departs from Bengal to join Court intrigue.

1605. Death of Akbar and succession of Jahāngīr.

1606. Māna Simhā, again sent to Bengal, serves for about 10 months and is recalled.

1606. Qutbu-d-dīn sent to Bengal as Governor but is killed by Sher Afghān at Burdwan. Bengal affairs again fall into confusion.

April, 1607. Islām Khān appointed Governor of Bengal.

<sup>1</sup> *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXXV, 1928, pp. 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> *Akbar-nāma*, III, Eng. Trans. by Beveridge, p. 1174.

Readers will now be able to judge for themselves how far Bengal was under the Mughals during the entire reign of Akbar, from the brief chronology compiled above. Tāndā, on the other side of the Ganges and not far from Gaur, became the capital of Bengal during the reign of Sulaimān Kararānī, father of Dāud. Mun'im Khān, the first Mughal Governor, removed the capital to the forsaken Gaur in 1575 and thereby invited the great plague at Gaur, which uprooted whatever Mughal rule there was in Bengal. Thereupon the capital was retransferred to Tāndā but the astute Māna Simhā removed it even further west to Rājmahal on the frontier of Bihar. Thus when in April, 1607, Islām Khān assumed the Governorship of Bengal, the capital of the province was situated outside its proper limits. It fell to the lot of Islām Khān to give the province a capital within itself.

The events of Islām Khān's Subadarship are now known in great detail from Mīrzā Nathan's Bahāristhān-i-Ghaybī, of which a unique copy exists in the Bibliothique Nationale of Paris. The credit of discovering this work belongs to Sir Jadunāth Sarkār. It was translated into English by Dr. Borah, Head of the Dept. of Persian, Dacca University, and published by the Dept. of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of the Assam Government, a work with which the writer of this paper had the privilege of being rather closely associated. From this work and from a subsidiary source, we can watch Islām Khān's progress in his struggles with the rebel chiefs from day to day.

The chief centres of trouble were the following:—

(1) Shahzādpur and Chātmohar in Pābnā district. One of the leaders of the struggle, viz. Ma'sūm Khān Kābulī, had his capital at Chātmohar. (2) The *parganas* of Sinduri, Khalsi and Chāndpratāp on either bank of the Dhaleśvarī in the Dacca district, then under Hindu Zamindārs, of whom several are mentioned. (3) The *parganas* of Sultānpratāp, Selimpratāp, Qāsimpur and Bhāwal within present Dacca district, under the Ghāzis. (4) The rest of the Dacca district and the entire districts of Mymensingh and Tippera under the sons of 'Isā Khān, 'Uthmān and a number of other Chiefs. Naturally therefore, Islām Khān was drawn to these quarters to fight these Chiefs struggling for their independence.

Details of Islām Khān's progress towards the east would be tedious and the inquisitive reader is referred to the work by Mīrzā Nathan just mentioned. Nathan was a lieutenant in this long campaign and saw everything with his own eyes. Before leaving for the east, Islām Khān had to be sure of his south. One of the most wealthy Chiefs of the time was Pratāpāditya of Jessore who had a revenue of 15 lakhs of rupees, a standing army 20,000 strong and about 700 war vessels.

Islām Khān came to Rājmahal towards the end of 1607. Pratāpāditya sent his son Sangrāmāditya and his minister

Shaikh Badi with sumptuous presents to Rājmahal to welcome the new Governor. Thus somewhat reassured on this score, Islām Khān started towards the east. At Vajrapur, near Nātore, Pratāpāditya of Jessore and Satrājīt of Bhuṣnā saw Islām Khān in April, 1608 and promised help. Much fiction has gathered round the name of Pratāpāditya and the demand for a national hero in the days of the Svadesī movement of 1905 very mistakenly took him up as one, though he was nothing of the kind. His father Śrihari Vikramāditya obtained Jessore practically as a bribe for his treachery against Dāūd, the last Afghān Sultān. He was therefore a Mughal partisan all along, and his son Pratāpāditya was no exception. The submissive behaviour of Pratāpāditya was quite in contrast to the hot reception that Islām Khān received at the hands of the Hindu and the Muslim Chiefs, as soon as he set foot on their soil. Incessant skirmishes raged like fire round Chātmohar and Shahzādpur in Pābnā district, but war began in real earnest when Islām Khān attempted to enter the Ichhāmatī from the Karatoyā side.

It is well to remember here that the Ganges in those days never met the Meghnā, but went straight to the Bay of Bengal through the Ārial Khān channel. The Brahmaputra also was in its old channel by Mymensingh and Bhairab Bazar. The river Ichhāmatī was then the only short cut to the Dacca region from the Ganges. As soon as Islām Khān attempted to enter the Ichhāmatī, the Hindu and the Muslim Chiefs unitedly offered him a very stubborn resistance. The place was known at that time as the *Mohānā* (confluence) of Kātāsgarh. The rivers Yamunā, Karatoyā and Ātreyī, all discharged their waters into the Ganges near Kātāsgarh, and the Ichhāmatī also started from the Ganges at this place and ran almost due east. At Kātāsgarh, at the offtake of the Ichhāmatī, a fierce encounter took place. The leader of the struggle was, of course, Mūsā Khān, son of Isā Khān, but he was ably supported by Mirzā Mūmin, son of Ma'sum Khān Kabuli; Bahādur Ghāzi, Sonā Ghāzi and Anwār Ghāzi of Bhawal; Madhav Rāy, Zamindār of Khalsī and Binod Rāy, Zamindār of Chāndpratāp. The battle began in the morning with a cannonade by Mūsā Khān. Islām Khān was at his morning meals. The first shot broke all his utensils and crockery. He escaped through good luck, but about thirty of his attendants perished. The second shot smashed the standard bearer and the standard of Islām Khān. The battle continued up to midday and the Chiefs repeatedly charged the Imperialists. A son of Madhav Rāy and a brother of Binod Rāy fell in battle, but these bold Chiefs continued to rush with their boats towards the bank in a spirit of vengeance. They effected a landing and a severe hand to hand fight went on. But on land, the infantry of the Chiefs was no match for the cavalry of the Mughals and the former gave way after the third assault.

Thus fighting every inch of the ground on either side of the Ichhāmatī and tinging this quiet old river with the blood of the Hindus and the Muslims, the Chiefs sullenly fell back step by step. Yātrāpur, Kalākupā, Pātharghāṭā, all well-known places even now, became centres of hot engagements. Ultimately the Dhaleśvari was reached, and Islām Khān entered Dacca by about the 18th July, 1608. The Chiefs fell back and made the river Laksyā their base for further struggle, but with that we are not concerned here.

What attracted Islām Khān to this place? To answer this question we have to take note of the topography of this region. The river on which Dacca stands is always called Dulāi by Mīrzā Nathan and never Budīgaṅgā, its present name. Nathan says that the Dulāi bifurcated into two branches, one going to Demrā and the other to Khizrpūr. Khizrpūr, as is well known, is the northern part of the modern town of Nārāyaṇgañj, and there is an old fort at this place. Demrā is a famous mart on the Laksyā, about eight miles above Nārāyaṇgañj. Numerous proofs can be adduced to show that the present channel south of Fatullā, by which the Budīgaṅgā joins the Dhaleśvari, did not then exist. The Budīgaṅgā, or the Dulāi river, as Mīrzā Nathan calls it, had only two openings to the Laksyā, namely the Demrā channel and the Khizrpūr channel. Dacca was very conveniently situated on the southernmost extremity of the stable red laterite soil, commanding these short cuts to the Laksyā and the Meghnā, and thus occupied a very strategic position. A Mughal outpost existed here from the early days of Mughal connection with Bengal and the strategic importance of the place was recognized even during the pre-Mughal rule. Nathan says that on either side of the place from which the channel to Demrā started, there was a fort called the fort of Beg Murād Khān. These forts must have been in existence before Islām Khān came on the site with his army of occupation. The temple of *Budā Śib* of hoary antiquity was here and the existence of a Muslim population is testified to by the presence of two pre-Mughal mosques, one at Nārāyaṇdiā, and the other at Chudihāṭṭā, close to Chakbāzār. Gold coins of the later-Gupta type and pre-Muhammadan stone images of Hindu and Buddhist deities have also been discovered from the locality. The fall of Kedār Rāy and his capital Śrīpur in 1604 made numerous weavers and other craftsmen remove from Śrīpur to this place, and there was a considerable Hindu settlement here when Islām Khān came with about a lakh of people and took up his quarters here. Once on this site, Islām Khān had to stay for a long period, fighting the Chiefs. The stay of the Governor with all the civil and military paraphernalia of the Provincial Court, quickly converted the place into a city, and thus arose Dacca, alias Jahāngirnagar, the capital of Bengal up to the year 1704. Coins of Jahāngir began to appear from the

new Jahāngīrnagar mint from 1617 and thus was the christening of the old city of Dacca under the new name of Jahāngīrnagar complete.

We get a welcome picture of Dacca of those early days from the pages of Nathan. The Lalbag fort of Dacca is a comparatively recent structure. It was begun by Prince Muhammad 'Azīm during his governorship in 1678, and left incomplete. The old fort of Dacca used to stand where the present jail stands. This structure has completely disappeared. The only vestige left is a tank with masonry banks and the name of the road that ran direct east from its eastern gate. This road was known, until recently, as the Purab Darwājā Road, meaning, the Eastern-gate Road. The name of a Municipal Commissioner has now replaced this historic name.

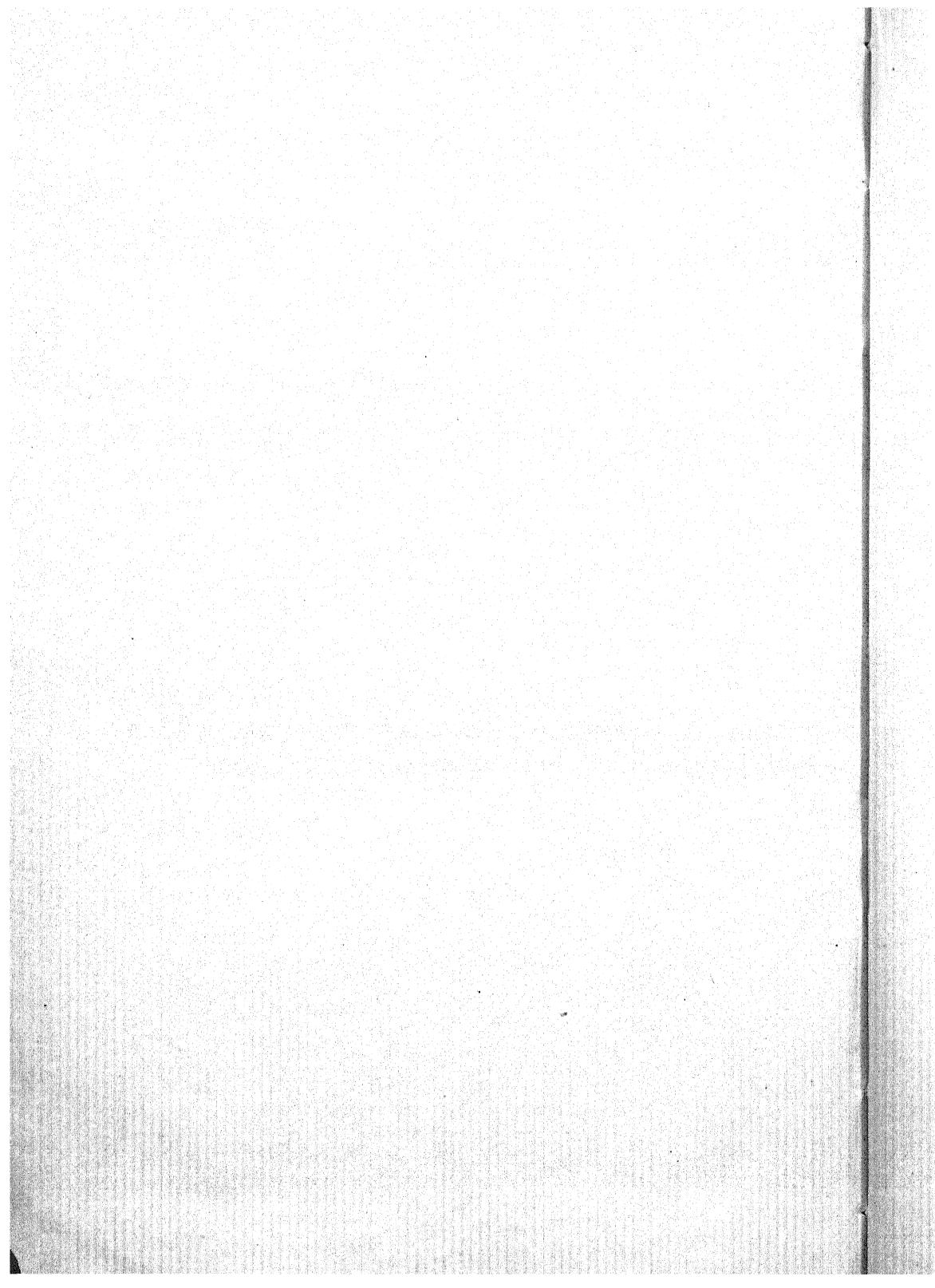
We have already said that there were two forts of Beg Murād Khān on either side of the starting point of the Dulāi canal. One was placed under the charge of Nathan and the other, of his father Ihtimām Khān. Nathan once had occasion to rebel against the Governor, but ultimately thought it better to turn a Qalandar. Islām Khān who was the grandson of Sālim Chisti, the famous saint of Fathpur Sikri, asked him to come to the fort to receive the blessings of a Chisti, in the new life that he had chosen for himself. The forts of Beg Murād Khān must have stood at the Budigaṅgā mouth of the Dulāi canal, one on the Farāsganj side and the other on the Faridābād side. Nathan started from his fort in a palanquin with his legs chained. When he reached the great *Pākur* tree which in those days (this was in 1611) marked the end of the old town and the beginning of the new, he found the road up to the fort guarded on either side by mounted soldiers. This information is important as showing that there was an old Dacca to which a new Dacca had been added by the advent of Islām Khān and his hosts. The site on which the Medical School stands at present is known as Pākurtalī, and is probably the site of this historic *Pākur* tree.

It will be observed that all the Hindu quarters are to the east of this point, namely Tāñtibāzār, Saṅkhāribāzār, Patuātuli, Kumārtulī, Goālnagar, Sutrāpur, Bāniyānagar, Lakṣmībāzār, Jāluānagar, etc. The localities to the west of this point are all associated with the new government. It is just like what again happened to Dacca when it again became the capital of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1905 and the British town of Ramna was added to the old town; or what has happened to Delhi by the addition of New Delhi.

The Chāndnīghāt, south of the present water-works, is several times mentioned by Nathan. It was the place for the review of war-boats. A Zamīndār of Bāniyāchaṅg, confined in the fort of Dacca, poisoned his guards, took a boat at Chāndnīghāt and fled to his native place. Dacca subsequently developed into a very big city and had a chequered history. It was once actually

plundered by the Maghs in 1625, but it outlived this set-back. Captain Bowry, who came to Dacca about 1670, gives the circuit of the Dacca city as 40 English miles. The city gradually spread inland, so much so, that the English when they started a factory here about 1660 had to go about four miles inland to secure a plot. Even then there was great trouble over this plot. Details will be found in my article on the English Factory at Dacca, *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIII, 1927, p. 25.

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Sanskrit Works of Maharaja Visvanath Singh of Rewah.

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

We learn from Volume IV of Captain Luard's *Rewah State Gazetteer* (Lucknow, 1907) that Visvanath Singh who succeeded his father Jai Singh in 1833 and ruled up to 1854, was 'like his father a lover of literature and learning to which he gave his support' (p. 17). It is further stated there that 'Maharaja Visvanath Singh, himself a good scholar, was a great patron of Sanskrit learning and invited Brahmins to settle in different parts of the State and form seminaries for teaching Sanskrit' (p. 69). There is no reference here to any books composed by the Maharaja. The *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Aufrecht, however, mentions manuscripts, found mostly in Oudh,<sup>1</sup> of as many as half a dozen works<sup>2</sup>—all on the cult of Rāma—by Maharaja Visvanath, who in all probability is identical with the above-mentioned ruler of Rewah. It is interesting to note that the author of the *Catalogus Catalogorum*, who apparently could not identify the whereabouts of the writer, refers (I. 585) to him as an officer of Sitārāmchandra Bāhādur presumably as Visvanath refers to himself as *Sitārāmacandrakṛpāpātrādhikārī* which seems to indicate that the Maharaja was an object of favour of Sitā and Rāma, his tutelary deity.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses five manuscripts of four of these works.<sup>3</sup>

One of these MSS. (e.g. *Rāmamantrārthanirṇaya*) is in Bengali characters, shewing that one at least of his works had travelled beyond the limits of his own territories. Three of these MSS. are dated. The MSS. of the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, the *Mantrārtha-nirṇaya* and the *Samgītaraghunandana* are stated to have been copied respectively in 1843 (1900 V.S.), 1850 (1907 V.S.) and 1880 (1937 V.S.). It will be seen that two of these MSS. were copied during the lifetime of Viśvanātha. The fact that one MS. was copied after his death and one was copied in Bengali

<sup>1</sup> It mentions only three MSS. outside Oudh:—Two MSS. of the *Rāmacandrāhnikā* described by R. L. Mitra (*Notices of Sans. MSS.*, I. 73) and P. Peterson (*Descr. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, State Library, Ulwar, No. 962) and the only MS. of *Sarvasiddhānta* (R. L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, VII. 2329).

<sup>2</sup> *Rāmagītātikā*, *Rāmacandrāhnikā* (with commentary), *Rāmamantrārthanirṇaya*, *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, *Sarvasiddhānta* and *Samgītaraghunandana*.

<sup>3</sup> Two MSS. of the *Rāmacandrāhnikā* described in the *Descr. Cat. Sans. MSS.*, *As. Soc. Beng.* (VII. 5255, 5256). One MS. of the *Samgītaraghunandana* described in the same Catalogue (VII. 5259). One MS. each of the *Mantrārthanirṇaya* and of the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*.

characters shows that the works concerned had gained some popularity.

Of the works of Viśvanātha two, *Rāmacandrāhnikā* and *Saṅgītaraghunandana*, are poems dealing with the story of Rāma. The remaining four are more or less of a philosophical character seeking to demonstrate the divinity and supremacy of Rāma. The *Rāmagītāṭikā* evidently elaborates the views of the *Rāmagītā* as regards the superiority of Rāma. The *Mantrārtha-nirṇaya*, besides pointing out the supremacy of the worship and the mantra of Rāma, gives an esoteric meaning of the latter.<sup>1</sup> The *Sarvasiddhānta*, the only known MS. of which has been partially described by R. L. Mitra,<sup>2</sup> identifies Rāma with the Supreme Being whose worship alone can bring in salvation. The most important of the works composed by Viśvanātha appears to be his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*, called the *Rādhāvallabhbhīyamataprakāśabhbhāṣya*, which seeks to elucidate the philosophical background of the views of the Rādhāvallabhbhī sect of the Vaiṣṇavas. The work begins by giving a legendary account of the origin of the Rādhāvallabhbhī school<sup>3</sup> of Vaiṣṇavism and discusses the possibility of the simultaneous worship of the two deities, Rāma and Rādhā, who are incidentally shown to be identical. This school of thought is claimed to be older than *Harivamśa* who is usually supposed to be the founder

<sup>1</sup> The work begins :—

नला श्रीरामचन्द्रं सकलगुणनिधिं कामदं यस्य नाम  
गौरीगौरीशपादौ गणपतिचरणौ वायुस्त्रोम्बस्थाङ्गौ ।  
श्रीमज्ज्ञानस्वरूपं सरसपतिगुरुं श्रीप्रियादासभौरं  
व्याख्यातुं राममन्तं निजमतिसद्गं वन्दते विश्वनाथः ।

The work ends :—

सर्वे सर्वे अवताराः सर्वेश्वरा रघुनन्दनमेवोपासते इत्यपि प्रसिद्धस् ।  
सर्वमन्तमहाराज सर्वेषां समुपासित ।  
विश्वनाथस्य सर्वस्व मन्त्रराजा नमोऽस्तु ते ॥

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, VII. 2329.

<sup>3</sup> .. ब्रह्मा नारायणं प्रणिपत्य भगवन् मे ब्रेमभक्तिः कथं स्थादिति विज्ञापया-  
मास । ततो नारायणो राधावङ्गभमन्तं ब्रह्माण्मुपदिश्य वैकुण्ठसाज्जागाम । ब्रह्मापि  
प्राप्तमनुः सत्यखोकमागत्य तन्मन्त्रप्रभावाभिर्भूतप्रेमा श्रीरामानन्दनिमध्यहृदयस्त्वौ ।।  
[ब्रह्मा] तन्मन्त्रं तस्मै [नारदाच] समुपदिशेत् ।

इथिवौं स उपागत्य वेदव्याससुपादिशत् ।  
स सुतं श्रीशुक्लैवं कश्यपं स चिरायुपमिति ॥  
कश्यपादयं सम्प्रदायः आश्रीहरिगुरुं प्रियादासाचार्यपादमागतः ।

—*Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (Fol. 2B-3B, RASB MS.).

of the school. The work is stated to have been composed for the exposition of the true nature of Rāmacandra, identified with the Supreme Being, who can be known and spiritually realized only through devotion, or rather through the worship of Rādhā who constitutes a typical personification of this devotion. The work has not been mentioned either by Wilson, Grouse or Sir George Grierson,<sup>1</sup> all of whom have given accounts of the school with its stray and scanty literature that is generally known. Only one manuscript of it has been referred to by Aufrecht.<sup>2</sup> It will be of interest to scholars to whom the school is known to represent a most degenerated form of Vaiṣṇavism. It draws attention to the philosophical outlook of the sect and the mystic significance of the rites and practices observed by the followers.

The special importance of the work lies in the fact that it deals with the doctrines of the Rādhāvallabhis written in the Sanskrit language when we know that this school of thought is comparatively of modern origin. It is also important considering the paucity of doctrinal literature concerning this sect. In view of these, the present work, though modern, is of great value. It is stated to have been composed in 1840 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

Some details about his personal history may be gathered from several of these works of Viśvanātha. As all the works deal with Rāma and his cult it is almost evident that he was a follower of the cult of Rāma. It seems, later in life he became a follower of the Rādhāvallabhi school when he commented on the *Brahmasūtra* according to the views of this school. In fact, in the beginning of the commentary he justifies his initiation into both the cults.<sup>4</sup> In this work he refers to himself as the eldest son of Jayasimha. The introductory portion of the *Sarvasiddhānta* mentions his minister Bhodulāla and his otherwise unknown work *Bhāṣārāmāyana*. This *Sarvasiddhānta* as well as the *Samgītaraghunandana* appear to have been composed when Viśvanātha was only a prince (*Kumāra*) and had not as yet formally assumed charges of his territories. Thus the colophons of both these work refer to him as *Mahārājakumāra*

<sup>1</sup> Hastings—*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. X, pp. 559-60, where Grierson gives references to Wilson and Grouse.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I. 385.

<sup>3</sup> अद्ये सप्तवाण्डाविरोधिन्यवर्जिते ।

वैशाखशुक्लपञ्चम्यां भाष्यमारभ्यं व्रतम् ॥

माघस्य छत्रपञ्चम्यां पूर्णतां सप्तगादिदम् ॥

—Last Fol. of the RASB MS.

<sup>4</sup> ननु ल्योभयमन्त्रपद्मणं व्रतमन्त्यैः पूर्वैऽनु नोभयग्रहणं व्रतमिति चेदुच्यते ।  
पूर्वं गृह्णौतराममन्त्रं अपि ब्रह्मानारदादथो विना प्रेम वाङ्मनोचरातीतः श्रीरामो न  
स्फुरतीति प्रेमप्राप्त्यर्थे राधावल्लभमन्त्रं जग्टः ।—Fol. 5B, RASB MS.

while the colophon to the latter work calls him also *Bābūsāheb*. The former work seems to be in the form of a dialogue between Viśvanātha and one Bhiksukācārya. In almost all his works Viśvanātha refers to his guru Priyādāsa in highly eulogistic terms. It is stated that it was the guru who residing in his heart composed the works.<sup>1</sup> Viśvanātha mentions by name a number of works by Priyādāsa (e.g. *Susidhāntottama*, *Śrutiśūtratātparyāmrta*, etc.) among which the views of the *Śrutiśūtratātparyāmrta* were followed in preparing the commentary of the *Brahmasūtra*.<sup>2</sup> The line of teachers (*guruparamparā*) of Viśvanātha is given at the end of the *Sarvasiddhānta*.

१ पतितोद्विनिभिमानः सद्यहृदयप्रियादासगुरुचरणाः ।

विश्वनाथहृदयस्थमतसिद्धान्तं तन्वते स्थमेव ॥—*Sarvasiddhānta*.

स एवेदानीं श्रीवाम्बवाधीश्वरमहाराजाधिराजसिद्धिवैज्ञान्यसिद्धिहृदेवज्ञेष्टनय-विश्वनाथसिद्धिहृदेवनाम्बो मम हृदयमलस्तिः उभयसन्तोषोपदेशकस्तात्पर्यटन्या वाङ्मो-गोचरातौतत्रीरामचन्द्रनिरूपये आसत्य तात्पर्यमवगत्य तत्स्फुनाणां शास्त्राभारभते ।

—*Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (Fol. 7B, RASB MS.).

गुरुरुपरम्परः श्रीप्रियादास इह विश्वनाथान्तरगीतकारी ।

—*Sāṅgitaraghunandana*.

This last statement led MM. H. P. Shastri to suppose that Priyādāsa was the author of the *Sāṅgitaraghunandana*, though the colophons clearly refer to Viśvanātha as the author.

२ स च सुषिद्धानोन्मस्तुमार्गश्रुतिस्तुतात्पर्यमृदनादीन् अन्यान् विधाय सकल-सत्ताविरोधं प्रदर्श्य श्रीराधाराणप्रेमाकुलहृदयस्थिरमिह लोके विचरितुमनिच्छन् मासुपदिष्य निजश्रुतिस्तुतात्पर्यमृदन्तप्रथमतानुसारेण श्रीभगवद्वेद्यास्तुतविक्षर-शास्त्राणां कर्तुमनुशास्य च वाङ्मोगोचरातौतरासप्तलं गलालङ्घतवान् ।

—*Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (Fol. 7B, RASB MS.).

The *Śrutiśūtratātparyāmrta* and a number of other works by Priyādāsa have been mentioned in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (I. 384). An account of some of his works has been given by H. D. Sharma (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XVI. 318-30).

A Note on the Buildings of Humāyūn.

By B. PRASHAD, D.Sc., F.R.A.S.B.

The Mughul emperors were great builders and left remarkable monuments of their reigns in almost all parts of the country. A critical general account of these monuments was recently published<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Percy Brown, based not only on a study of the available literature, but from an intimate personal knowledge of most of the monuments. In reference to Humāyūn, however, this study, in common with all others, is deficient. He remarks<sup>2</sup> :

'Had circumstances permitted, Bābur's son and successor, Humāyūn, would have left more than one monument as a record of his intermittent rule. But the political situation was unfavourable.'<sup>3</sup>

He then includes a short summary, with extracts<sup>4</sup> from Khwāndamīr's *Humāyūn-nāma*, of the foundation and building of *Dīnpanāh*, a new city on the ruins of Indraprastha of Mahābhārata fame; and finally concludes:

'The material records which have survived of both Bābur's and Humāyūn's contributions to the building art of the country are therefore almost negligible. . . . . Humāyūn's forced contact with the culture of the Safavids is reflected in that Persian influence noticeable in many of the Mughul buildings which followed.'<sup>5</sup>

Incidentally he refers to two mosques which 'remain of those built during Humāyūn's reign, one in a ruinous condition at Agra, and the other at Fathābād, Hissār, which indicate the methods of building in vogue at this period'. Havell, on the other hand, who is very definite in his remarks, wrote<sup>6</sup> 'Humayun

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge History of India, IV, Percy Brown, *Monuments of the Mughul Period*, pp. 523-578, (1937).

<sup>2</sup> Brown, P., *op. cit.*, p. 524.

<sup>3</sup> The three buildings built by Humāyūn, two at Agra and one at Gwāliār and the new city of *Dīnpanāh* at Delhi, appear to have been planned and executed during 1533-34, when he held a series of state festivities both at Agra and Delhi (see S. K. Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, pp. 58-67, 1938). About this time the political horizon was clouded by the news of Sultān Bahadur's activities in Gujarāt, but generally conditions were more favourable, and apparently Humāyūn made most of the quiet interlude.

<sup>4</sup> Extracts from Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, V, pp. 124-126, (1873).

<sup>5</sup> Brown, P., *op. cit.*, p. 525.

<sup>6</sup> Havell, E. B.—*A Handbook to Agra and the Taj, etc.*, p. 16, (1912).

left no memorial of himself at Agra', and growing more satirical added 'but he is to be remembered for two circumstances: the first that he was the father of great Akbar, who succeeded him; and the second, that the plan of his tomb at Delhi, built by Akbar, was the model on which the plan of the Taj was based'. Satire is a double-edged weapon, and must be employed with great skill and care; in this case the entire force of the satire is lost and it even strikes back at the author like a boomerang, as except for his reference to Akbar's parentage the rest of his statements are entirely incorrect. Humāyūn, as I show later, did erect two important buildings at Āgra, while his tomb at Delhi was neither planned nor built by Akbar, but by the widowed empress Hājī Bēgam,<sup>1</sup> earlier known as Bēga Bēgam and who was taken prisoner by Shēr Khān Sūr after the battle of Chausa<sup>2</sup> on June 26, 1539. The architect was Mirak Mirzā Ghīyāth, of Persian extraction well trained in Timurid tradition, and Akbar certainly was not responsible for the execution of this mausoleum.

In the so far available contemporary histories of Humāyūn's reign, such as Jauhar's *Tadzhkirat-ul-wāqī'āt* and Bāyazid Bayāt's *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn*, unfortunately there is no reference to any of the buildings erected by Humāyūn. Similarly the general histories of India, such as Abul Fadl's *Akbarnāma*, Khwājah Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 'Abd-ul-Qādir Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, M. Qāsim Hindū Shāh Firishta's *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Sujān Rāy Bhandārī's *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh*, etc., are generally silent about this subject. Of the works in English, Erskine's *A History of India under the two first Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Baber and Humayun*, vol. II (1854) and Banerji's monographic work *Humāyūn Bādshāh* (1938), which deal almost exclusively with the reign of this king, no mention is to be found of any of Humāyūn's monuments, except for the foundation and building of a new city of *Dinpanāh* at Delhi in the latter work based on translations of some extracts from Khwāndamīr's *Humāyūn-nāma* as given in Elliot and Dowson's History. Unfortunately in these extracts the editor had, with the exception of *Dinpanāh*, not included any of the passages dealing with the buildings erected by Humāyūn, and as Khwāndamīr's rare work *Humāyūn-nāma* or *Qāniq-i-Humāyūni*<sup>3</sup> was until recently<sup>4</sup> when it was published by M. Hidāyat Hosain, to use Mrs. Beveridge's words, 'a literary *parda-nishīn*', it was generally assumed that Humāyūn owing to

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Brown, P., *op. cit.*, p. 532.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Banerji, S. K.—*Humāyūn Bādshāh*, pp. 232, 233, (1938).

<sup>3</sup> Only a single manuscript of this work was known till recently, but a second manuscript found by the late Mr. H. Beveridge about 1902 is stated by Mrs. Beveridge to be in the British Museum Library; while another manuscript is catalogued by Baron Rosen in the Library of the Institute of Asiatic Languages at St. Petersburg.

<sup>4</sup> M. Hidāyat Hosain, Persian Text, *Bibl. Ind. Ser.*, (1940).

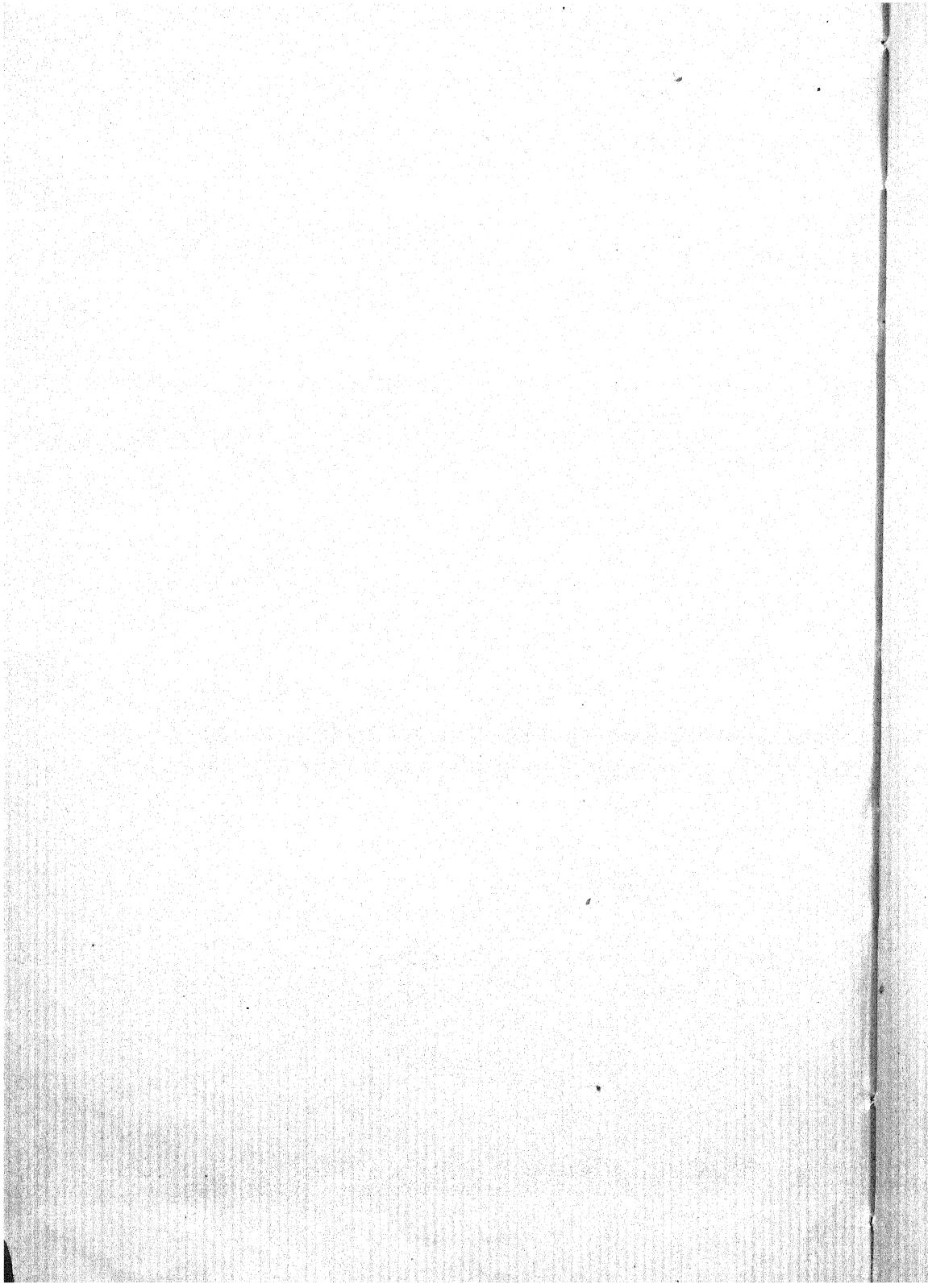
the turbulent times or other reasons did not erect any buildings. A reference to *Ahwāl-i-Humāyūn Bādshāh* or *Humāyūn-nāma*<sup>1</sup> by Gulbadan Bēgam composed about 1587 A.D. in deference to the royal command of Akbar, and which also till 1902 was unknown to scholars, however, shows that one of Humāyūn's buildings at Āgra, which is described in fair detail by *Khwāndamīr*, is referred to in her account of the feasts, while the starting of a building or buildings at Gwāliār is also mentioned.

In addition to the foundation and building of the new town of *Dīnpanāh* at Delhi detailed in Mr. Percy Brown's work referred to already, *Khwāndamīr* describes in some detail the following buildings of Humāyūn: (i) a wonderful building *عمارت طسم* at Āgra on the banks of the Jumna; (ii) a palace in the Fort of Āgra on the site of the treasury of the old Hindū rulers; and (iii) a building in the Fort of Gwāliār. A full account of these will be given in an annotated English translation of *Khwāndamīr's Humāyūn-nāma* which, it is hoped, will be printed before long.

It is unfortunate that none of the three buildings have been identified so far,<sup>2</sup> but it is hoped that with the information now available, if it is at all possible at this date, attempts will be made to trace the buildings which were, with the exception of the unidentified buildings of Bābur at Āgra, Dhūlpūr, Gwāliār, etc., apparently the first monuments of the great Mughuls.

<sup>1</sup> *The History of Humāyūn (Humāyūn-nāma)*, text and translation by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, translation pp. 117, 118, (1902).

<sup>2</sup> None of Humāyūn's buildings at Āgra are mentioned in M. Ashraf Husain's *An Historical Guide to the Agra Fort* (Delhi, 1937) or Havell's work cited already. Similarly in the various standard works on Gwāliār Fort no building is assigned to Humāyūn.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE WAQFIYAH OF 'AHMED PĀŞĀ. By MUHAMMED AHMED SIMSAR. Pp. i-x+1-203. (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1940.)

This valuable publication is not, as the name might indicate, only an edition of a manuscript of a Waqf-deed of the 16th century, but a carefully prepared edition of a bi-lingual manuscript in Arabic and Ottoman or 'Osmānī Turkish as it was spoken and written in Asiatic and European Turkey from the beginning of the 14th to the middle of the 19th century. For making the manuscript readily available to scholars, the author has published a beautiful edition of the text with a transliteration and translation, while to explain the large number of technical, theological and legal terms he has added a very extensive series of footnotes with detailed references to the original sources. The author discusses the history of the development of Ottoman Turkish language and adds a detailed appendix on the system of transliteration which he has followed in the work. Two extensive chapters are devoted to the Institution of the Waqf, the Origin of Waqfs in Islam, Waqf, *Zakāt*, and *Ṣadaqah*, Laws regulating to Waqfs, the Classification and Nature of Waqfs, the Requisites of a Valid Waqf, the preparation and registration of a Waqf-deed or Waqfiyah, and finally the administration of Waqfs. The importance of Waqfs in Turkey and their administration in the early Ottoman Waqfs are also discussed in detail. Two further chapters are devoted to the Life of 'Ahmed Pāšā and an analysis of his Waqf-deed or Waqfiyah. In an appendix is given a brief summary of the Hanafi Laws concerning the administration of Waqfs.

The work of edition and translation is so carefully carried out that Mr. Simsar's work would serve as a model for the issue of texts and translations of Oriental works, while the printing and get-up reflect great credit on the University of Pennsylvania Press.

B. PRASHAD.

SHĀH ABDUL LATIF OF BHIT: HIS POETRY, LIFE AND TIMES.  
*A Study of Literary, Social and Economic Conditions in Eighteenth Century Sind.* By H. T. SORLEY. Pp. 432+xx. Oxford University Press, London, 1940. 18 Shillings.

Dr. Sorley's work provides a very careful study of a collection of mystical poems known as the *Risālā* of Shāh Abdul Latif of Bhit. The poems are the work of a poet of Sūfi leanings and display a remarkable depth of philosophical and religious bent of mind. They were composed in the first half of the eighteenth century, and, according to Dr. Sorley, 'are held in such universal and popular esteem as is accorded only to poetry which has interpreted the most intimate thoughts and the sincerest feelings of a people'. The author's object in undertaking this work, as he explains in the preface, was twofold, firstly to introduce the work of Shāh Abdul Latif to English readers, and secondly 'to explain, by reference to the historical and social environments of the age in which the poems were composed, something of the message and meaning they convey'.

The work is divided into three books: (1) History, (2) Literature and Criticism, and (3) The *Risālā* of Shāh Abdul Latif.

The Historical Section of the work consists of six chapters followed by seven appendices. After discussing the character of the period 1690-1760, which the author rightly designates as 'The Twilight of the Moghuls', with reference to the conditions in Sind, he includes a broad outline of the characteristic features of its history and comments on the inadequacy of the available historical sources. This is followed by an account of how, after the Moghul domination, the Kalhōrō Clan assumed independent sovereignty and continued in power during the eighteenth century. The detailed account of Sind's contact with the European world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and of the trading centres of the East India Company in Sind during the same period based on a careful scrutiny of original documents in the Bombay Government Records is of great interest, and should prove of value for future historians. Records of contemporary writers including those of some notable European travellers in Sind during the seventeenth century have also been studied in this connection. The trading conditions in Sind, the industries and commerce of Sind with special reference to cotton, saltpetre, indigo, leather and leather-work, and the trading methods of the East India Company are carefully analysed, and Dr. Sorley concludes 'it is utterly fallacious to assert that the profits made by the East India Company in its commercial dealings with India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were to the disadvantage of India'. The three chapters, dealing with the standards of life and comfort of the common people, the Government and the governed, and

the privileged classes, contain a very good summary of the social and economic structure of Sind during the period. The sixth chapter of this book provides a fitting finale to the historical account. Dr. Sorley states 'Sind was a Muslim State which struggled to semi-independence in the mid-eighteenth century. It sought to found its basis on the theocracy of Islām, amongst a population composed for the most part of converted Jats', and further 'in the Islām practised by these people, very punctilious in the performance of external duties, there subsisted a vast body of superstitious beliefs dating from before the days of Islām'. It was in this *milieu* that Shāh Abdul Latif, whom Sorley considers as 'the greatest man whom Sind has produced in the realm of imaginative art', was born and grew up. 'His life is an epitome of the age in which he lived and of the rural circumstances of the people amongst whom he dwelt . . . the spontaneity of his message lies deep in the hearts of all classes of Sind's population, Muslim and Hindu, lettered and unlettered.' The appendices contain, in addition to a very concise historical, literary and critical bibliography, detailed information in reference to the merchant vessels of the East India Company, irrigation and agriculture in the Chāndookah Purgunnah, synopsis of the important historical events, and notes on the spelling and transliteration of Oriental words, and on the original Sind documents in the Bombay Record Office.

The second book of the work is, according to the author, meant to clarify 'the meaning of much that may seem obscure in the translation' of the *Risālo*. With this end in view the author discusses the principles of poetry and poetical criticisms and concludes that 'all sound literary criticisms must differentiate between thought and the manner of its expression . . . This warning is particularly true of mystical and metaphysical poetry where symbolism and hidden meanings are characteristic features and language takes on a quality of transcendence'. In discussing the birth of a classic the author remarks: 'The emergence of genius is an event which in the present state of human knowledge approaches the inexplicable. Heredity and environment are certainly an inadequate explanation. There is usually little in the immediate circumstances of his birth and his upbringing to account for the manner in which an exceptional man towers above his fellows. In Shāh Abdul Latif's case the enquirer finds small help towards knowing how this outstanding poet came to the fulfilment of his genius.' The old adage *poeta nascitur, non fit* seems to be fully borne out by Shāh Abdul Latif's life and his work. The poverty of Sindhi literature before his time was due to the late emergence of Sindhi as a vehicle for literary expression. Shāh Abdul Latif is no mere imitator of Jalaluddin Rūmī, of Jami, or Hāfiẓ or Al-Bistāmī, but his poems represent in his own inimitable language the ideas current during his time. He is not conspicuous for any great

originality of thought, but expresses extremely well 'a species of religious philosophy current amongst the better educated men of his time'. His poems are due to a lyrical impulse and were apparently composed to be recited, intoned or sung to a musical accompaniment; this close connection with music they still retain. While his poetry is typically Muslim in sentiment and expression, the musical form in which the poems are set 'are part of the Hindu heritage of India'. All the poems of the *Risālō* are set to *Rāgs* and *Rāginīs* in accordance with the strict Hindu theory of music, and this is probably an additional reason why the Islamic poetry of Shāh Abdul Latīf exercises so strong a spell over the non-Muslim inhabitants of the land. In the second chapter the author discusses the nature of the subject-matter of the *Risālō* and compares, in passing, the mysticism of Shāh Abdul Latīf with the poetry of Blake, Shelley, Browning, Donne, Watt and Crashaw. The work of Shāh Abdul Latīf, according to Dr. Sorley, is a web of many strands in which Arabic, Persian and Baluchi influences are definitely indicated, but he believes that the influence of Urdu poetry on the *Risālō* is definitely negligible, though Hindu poetry may have influenced his work to a certain extent. In a further chapter the influence of the mysticism of Islām on the poetry of Shāh Abdul Latīf is examined in fair detail, and the author is of the opinion that the *Risālō* is 'an expression of the later Sūfism in India, especially as influenced by the Muhammadan domination of Upper India from the fifteenth century onwards'.

The third book, which is devoted to a verse translation of the *Risālō*, is divided into three parts:

- (1) Mercy and Grace (twenty-one poems),
- (2) The Daily Round (six poems), and
- (3) Love poems of Sasūi and Punhūn, Suhinī and Mēhār and others (five in number), which are based on folk stories current throughout Sind and other parts of the country.

In the translation of these purely lyrical verses the author has endeavoured 'to keep the actual words of the translation as close to the text as circumstances will allow'. Except where the exigencies of meters made it inevitable, he has followed the original faithfully. With a view to making the poems more intelligible he has also included short summaries of the stories as introductions to the translations of the poems.

Dr. Sorley's work is a very important contribution not only to our knowledge of the Sindhi poetry but also of the history of Sind during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while the critical analysis of the poetry of Shāh Abdul Latīf will stand out as a monument of painstaking scholarship and his translation of Shāh Abdul Latīf's *Risālō* will make it possible for those unacquainted with Sindhi to realize the greatness of the poet's

genius. The work is beautifully produced and is remarkably free from misprints. The glossary of the uncommon words found in the poems, the comprehensive index to Books I and II, and the indices of the opening lines of the verses add materially to the usefulness of the work.

B. PRASHAD.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

To

THE EDITOR,

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,  
1, PARK STREET, CALCUTTA.

SIR,

In the issue of the Journal of the R.A.S.B. (Letters, Vol. V, 1939, No. 1) just published, Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti has reviewed 'Sanskrit Poetesses, Part A (select verses) with a supplement on Prakrit Poetesses', compiled and edited by me. There are a number of points in this review which are likely to misrepresent the work and create wrong impressions on the minds of the readers. I shall be obliged, therefore, if you will be pleased to permit me to explain and answer some of these points.

The work is avowedly an anthology of select Sanskrit and Prakrit verses as Mr. Chakravarti himself recognizes. It is difficult therefore to understand in what sense the title of the volume is 'confusing'. If he objects to the use of the term 'Sanskrit' before poetesses, it may be pointed out that such expressions as 'Latin Poets' or 'Hebrew Writers' are commonly used. He says that Rāmakṛṣṇa's Guruparamaparā-carita, which contains interesting traditional accounts about some of the poetesses, might have yielded useful materials, but this has not been used'. The work was certainly consulted, but the reason why it was not used was that the entire work is mythological, and not at all historical, and the accounts given there about the personal history of the Sanskrit Poetesses are all not only mythological, but also fantastic through and through. For instance, Vijakā is mentioned as having mastered the Vedāntas when only six years old. She is said to be born in different colours in different ages such as white in Satya and black in Kali-yuga (pp. 88b-89a). Śilā Bhāṭṭārikā is mentioned as saying to her parents that she was Bhagavatī incarnate, etc. (p. 97a). Similar fantastic stories are given about Rājkanyā (Saśikalā) who, to escape her father's wrath, is said to have flown to the realm of Siva with her lover in a chariot sent by the god himself (p. 219b); about Nāgammā, who, it is said, used to assume the form of a serpent during the night (p. 251a) and so on. Mr. Chakravarti certainly cannot mean that accounts such as these should have been utilized in a serious work on anthology. He is of opinion that 'accounts of modern poetesses are rather scrappy and the list palpably incomplete'. If he had taken the trouble to read the Preface (p. vii) and the Introduction (p. lix) a little more carefully, he would have found that it has been made clear that it was not the object of the work to include modern poetesses at all. A brief account of a few of them was,

however, added in the Introduction to show that even under modern conditions poetical works of merit are being written in Sanskrit by women such as Kamalā Bāī Bāpat, who in her work, devoted to ritualistic matters, has included some beautiful stotras in Sanskrit of her own composition for which she certainly deserves mention in this volume.

Regarding the question of headings, they were taken from the original sources and are certainly adequately expressive. The heading of verse 139 is distinctly given as निष्ठ in the MS. concerned, while the verse is found in a somewhat corrupt form. It was, therefore, taken as referring to निष्ठ and was translated accordingly. Whether inflections should have been used in the language of the headlines or whether hyphens should or should not have been used in distinguishing compound words in the verses, is a matter of individual opinion as there is no precise canon to follow. I should like to state, however, that in making use of these devices, I have followed the practice adopted in the Catalogue of Sanskrit (and Prakrit) books compiled and edited by Dr. Pran Nath and myself, the first volume of which was published by the India Office in 1938. It will, no doubt, be news to Mr. Chakravarti that these devices, including the use of hyphens, which he has ridiculed so much were approved by Sanskritists of no less eminence than Prof. F. W. Thomas and Dr. H. N. Randle.

Mr. Chakravarti complains that there is no alphabetical index of the sources with an indication of the verses taken from each. He has apparently overlooked the general index (Appendix X) in which there is an indication of the verses taken from the anthologies and other works references to which are also given in the critical notes to the text. Regarding the omission of critical accounts of the MSS., it would have been clearly out of place in a work of anthology which does not pretend to give a critical review of the manuscripts from each of which only a few verses were selected. As regards the inclusion of Dictionaries and Catalogues of printed books in the Bibliography, some Sanskrit and Prakrit kosas like the Amara-koṣa, Desi-nāma-mālā, and Catalogues of Sanskrit and Prakrit books have been included because page-references to particular editions of these have been given in the critical foot-notes.

As regards translation, it was not the object to give literal but rather free renderings of the verses with the intention of keeping more to the poetical spirit than to the literal sense. It was also felt that some of the verses were of an erotic nature, e.g. V. 137c (mentioned in the review) and were unsuited for a literal translation. But Mr. Chakravarti's contention that the translations in many cases were wrong and failed to reveal the true meaning of the verses cannot be admitted. As for instance, what is the difference between the expression 'plead with' as

used in the work and his 'entreat' in the rendering of the word 'अनुनेयः' (V. 4d) and also between the word 'enjoyable' and his 'fit to be dallied with' in the rendering of the word 'रम्या' (V. 38c)? In this latter verse, the word 'रम्या' does not carry any idea of 'fitness to enjoy' as the reviewer thinks. It is of course known that 'आश्रमीन-रम्यौ' (V. 34d) means a woman whose lover has gone abroad, but it would be ridiculous to translate it as 'the wife of a traveller' when the perfectly good English word 'love-lorn' conveys the same sense according to the best of English dictionaries. The suggested rendering of 'नलिनौ' (V. 73a) which has been translated as 'water-lily' (कुमुद) by 'lotus' would not bring out the idea of the proverbial attachment of water-lily to the moon implied in the conversation of two lovers, for lotus would bring in a hostile idea and the lexicons justify the rendering of the word as water-lily. It is not possible to accept Mr. Chakravarti's translation of 'नाशादितः' (V. 101a) as 'Have you not received?', as this interpretation does not fit in with the remaining part of the verse. There is no conceivable connection between the King's receiving other kings (1. 1) and his being taken as the sole lord of the world (1. 2). The alternative interpretations suggested in some cases (43cd, 74b, 74d, 75d) are, after all, matters of individual opinion.

3, Federation Street,  
Calcutta,  
June 12th, 1940.

Yours faithfully,  
J. B. CHAUDHURI.

#### THE REVIEWER'S REPLY

The somewhat 'confusing character' of the title is principally due to the absence of any description of the scheme of what appears to be a 'series' of works of which Vol. II, Part A is chosen to be published first.

It is reassuring to learn that the *Guruparamparācaritra* has been consulted, but it is a pity that it has not been deemed worth mentioning anywhere in the book although an extensive Bibliography is given.

It is not unknown to the reviewer that the work contains verses of ancient and medieval poets alone. But this is no reason why the interesting account of modern poetesses, which has been incorporated in the introduction, should be incomplete and imperfect. It is from the editor's rejoinder that one

is enabled to know that Kamalā Bāī Bāpāt has a right to be included in the list of modern poetesses, for she composed 'some beautiful stotras in Sanskrit'. Very little information has been given on the life and works of poetesses like Śrīdevi Bālārājñī and Sunāmanī Devi. The latter is disposed of with one solitary sentence, viz. 'She has composed a work called Kāmākṣāmīta, a religious treatise'. It requires a strong imagination to realize from this meagre description the poetic character of the work mentioned. It is not again clear how a selection was made of the poetesses described under this head, a dozen in number mostly belonging to South and West India. It is also difficult to account for the omission of poetesses like Paṇḍitā Kshama Rao of Bombay who has a number of very interesting works to her credit, e.g., *Śamkarajīvanākhyāna*, *Satyāgrahagītā*, etc.

The statement, that the headings (like धू, नेच, असमय etc.) are 'certainly adequately expressive', is a most disappointing one. As a matter of fact, some of the headings (like नायके मानिनौ-वचनस्, विरहिष्टौ प्रति सख्यक्तिः, विरहिष्टां प्रलापः, नायकं प्रति नायिकोक्तिः) are happy and expressive. And mere consistency—if nothing else—would demand the others to be of similar form and nature. Is it sufficient justification that the wrong heading of verse 139 is supported by manuscript—and that only a single one? Is there any indication in the verse to connect it with the heading? It is a pity, however, that the translation of the verse has been made somehow or other to suit the heading, which may not unlikely have been wrongly given by an ignorant or careless scribe, who is not unusually responsible for peculiar mistakes.

The reviewer may assure Dr. Chaudhuri that it is not 'a news' to him that the use of hyphens in distinguishing compounds is sometimes approved and resorted to by Sanskritists in the case of texts printed in the Roman script. But 'it will no doubt be news to' Dr. Chaudhuri that 'even Sanskritists of no less eminence than Prof. Thomas' have *not* used hyphens in the works published by them in Devanagari characters. As a matter of fact, the reviewer is not aware of any scholarly Sanskrit publication in Devanagari script using this modern sign. The attention of the editor may in this connection be drawn to works like the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* edited by Prof. F. W. Thomas in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, *Sarvānukramanī* edited by the late Prof. Macdonnel in the Anecdota Oxoniensia Series, *Buddhacarita* edited by Dr. E. H. Johnston in the Panjab University Oriental Publication Series, the *Mahābhārata* edited by Dr. Sukthankar with the co-operation of a band of renowned scholars and in course of publication by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, to mention only a few.

It is painful to find that the author is averse to even harmless suggestions like those for adding some new appendices. There

is no reason to suspect that the reviewer has 'overlooked the general index' in which the names of the source-books are scattered and cannot reasonably be found in one place. The suggestion for the introduction of a separate appendix containing an alphabetical index of the principal source-books of the verses was made for facility of reference. The value of a work depends greatly on the character of the materials on which it is based. And hence the need of giving a critical estimate of the materials used. This can never be 'out of place' in any work if it claims to be scholarly.

The inclusion of Catalogues of printed books (of which one entitled *An Alphabetical Index to the Sanskrit Printed Books and Manuscripts, compiled by the Office of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* could not be identified) and modern dictionaries (like the *Śabdasaṅgraha* of Girish Chandra Vidyaratna) on the plea of referring to them in the foot-notes can hardly be justified, for reference to them in the foot-notes is also scarcely commendable. As a matter of fact, the purpose of a Bibliography appended to a work is not to give the names of all the books consulted, but only the peculiar, the more important, and less known ones that have been specially utilized for the work. But this basic principle has not been observed by Dr. Chaudhuri in compiling his Bibliography.

It is learnt from the rejoinder that the object kept in view in preparing the translation has been to make it a free one with the intention of 'keeping more to the poetic spirit than to the literal sense'. But as has been already indicated in the review this intention has scarcely been fulfilled. The attempt to give a free rendering of erotic verses, of which there are a good many in the work and some of which (Nos. 81, 133) have been translated literally, has in most cases failed to bring out their subtle and charming implications and given them a most unpoetic appearance. The verses supposed to be unsuited for a literal translation on account of their erotic nature should have rather been left untranslated than presented in a mutilated form. It is strange that the learned editor does not appreciate the defects, even though attention was drawn in the review only to the most palpable and elementary ones. He has raised objection against five of the fifteen instances of defects and inaccuracies cited in the review. An attempt is made below to meet these objections:

4d. 'Entreat' seems to be more literal and direct than 'plead with'.

34d. Dr. Chaudhuri pleads that the correct sense of the term चधनौनरसणौ is well-known, but it is curious that there is no indication of this either in the translation of the present verse or in that of verse 109b where the translation is definitely wrong. One fails to understand how 'it would be ridiculous

to translate it as the "wife of a traveller" with an indication of the idiomatic English expression within brackets as the translator himself has done in the case of विनिद्रा (v. 73d)—sleepless (i.e. full-blown).

38c. The learned editor seems to have missed the main point of the verse as well as of the suggestion of the reviewer. The implied sense of personification—the relation between the *satpada* and the *gandhaphalī* as that of a hero and a heroine—appears to have been ignored in the translation. And this accounts for all the difference between the translation and the suggestion. As for the correctness of the sense of रना as suggested in the review the translator may be referred to *Pāṇini* III. 3. 169.

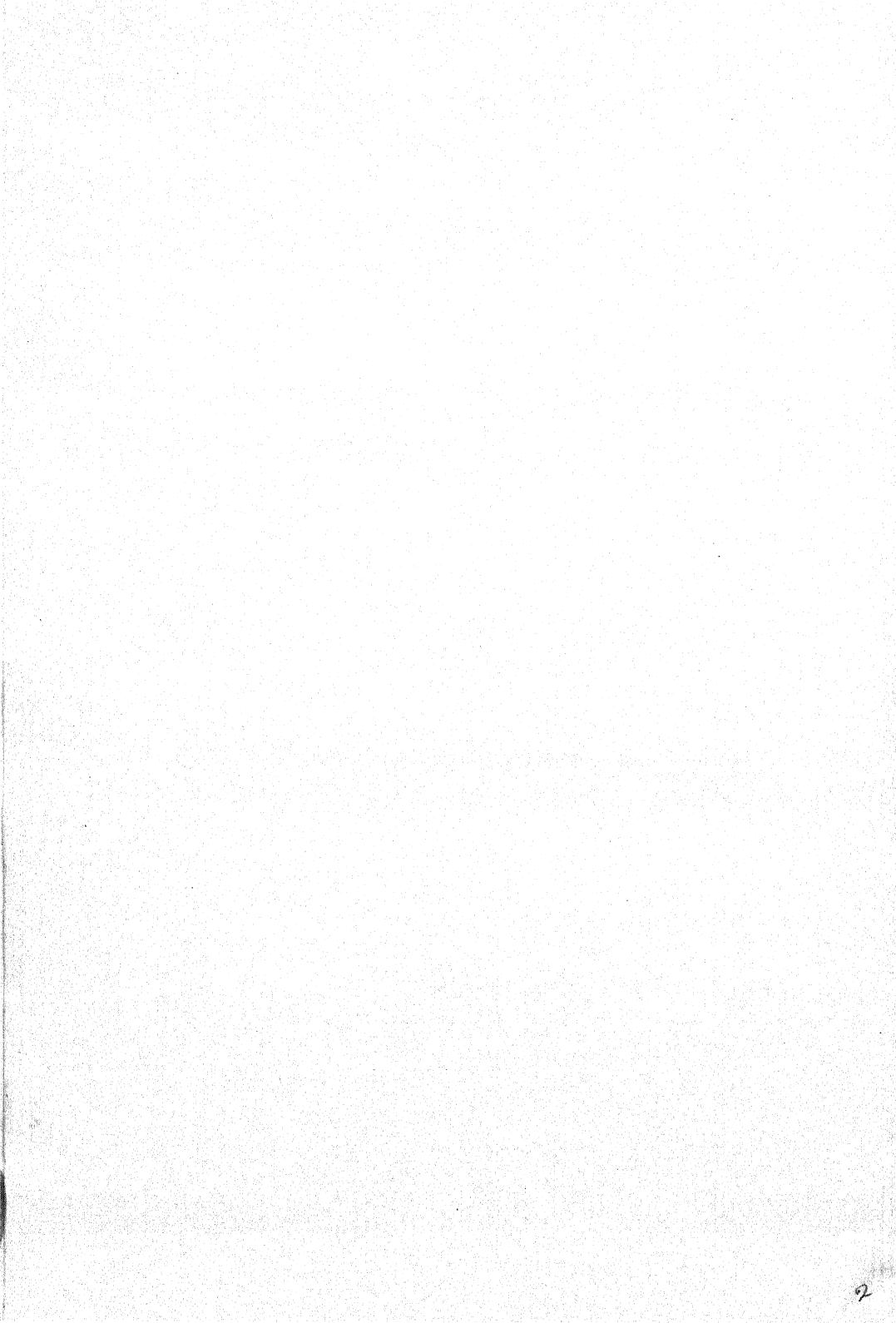
73a. This is a well-known verse which gives no sense if नलिनै is translated as 'water-lily' as there is not the least likelihood of the lily and the moon not seeing each other, for according to poetic convention, the lily blooms only on seeing the moon.

The verse is quoted in a number of rhetorical works and scholars, both Indian and European, have taken it to mean 'a lotus' (cf. Ballantyne, *Mirror of Composition*, p. 395; *Sāhityadarpana*, edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Haridas Siddhantavagisa, p. 695).

101a. This is one of the lines the idea of which the translator has totally failed to grasp. It refers to the many kings of the solar and lunar dynasties that already ruled over the earth and points out the superiority over them of the king under description. The translator has committed a hopeless mistake by supposing that it refers to the subjugation of other kings of the universe by the present king. आसादितः has the sense of receiving and not subjugating.

Dr. Chaudhuri thinks that the interpretations suggested in four cases 'are after all matters of opinion'. But the individual opinion that prefers inaccuracies to accuracies must be a peculiar one. For in the cases of 43cd and 75d the translations are definitely wrong and there cannot be any scope for an alternative suggestion. In 74b the published translation would make one of the two words (गोपाल्लौ and वज्रवधु) redundant while in 74d the rendering of भव by 'mundane miseries' is not supported by lexicons, ancient and modern.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.



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